

# **KING, PORTLAND, OREGON**

## **A Neighborhood in Transition**

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### **Nature of Project**

The neighborhood of King, Portland, Oregon has seen tremendous changes since the first residents moved into the area over one hundred years ago. What started as a heavily wooded region evolved into a community of European and Russian immigrants, and when these first residents moved on after WWII it evolved again, this time into an African American enclave, fueled by discriminatory housing practices in a primarily white city. From the 1940s through the 1990s, King was a neighborhood plagued by persistent racism, prostitution, and drug problems.

The last twenty years have been a time of renewal, to a certain extent, but not for everyone in King. Although there is no officially recognized distinction between different parts of King, the recent development of the Alberta Arts District in an adjoining neighborhood has carried over into only the southern half of King, revitalizing the area, leaving the north half to face the continued problems of old.<sup>1</sup> The improvements in the south have coincided with a dramatic exodus of black residents, leaving one to wonder what this means for the north if revitalization comes only at the cost of the neighborhood's black identity and history.

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Silver, Chair of the Board of the King Neighborhood Association. Personal interview. September 18 and 21, 2011.

## Neighborhood History and Development

King is found in what is considered ‘Inner Northeast’ Portland, Oregon, and was originally a neighborhood called Highland in a town called Albina (Al-BEAN-ah).<sup>2</sup> Albina was sited in a heavily forested area in 1872 and incorporated in 1887.<sup>3</sup> The population grew from 3000 in 1888 to nearly 6000 in 1891, the year it was consolidated into Portland.<sup>4</sup>

Prior to annexation, Albina was considered a company town for the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Co. (OR&N).<sup>5</sup> The railroads helped spur industry, such as the Portland Flouring Mills, which by 1883 became the largest milling operation in the Northwest.<sup>6</sup> As industry grew, the proliferation of streetcars helped speed the development of middle class suburbs.<sup>7</sup> The OR&N invested over \$1.5M to construct a rail center in Albina<sup>8</sup> and the area “became the western terminus of what was to become the area’s largest employer, the Union Pacific Railroad.”<sup>9</sup>

The semi-skilled jobs created by the railroads attracted large numbers of Irish and German immigrants in the mid-1880s, followed several years later by Russians.<sup>10</sup> Other early settlers in what became King were primarily of Swedish and Polish heritage.<sup>11</sup> The population of Portland as a whole at this time included only 519 black people scattered throughout the entire city,<sup>12</sup> but by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the black community had started to coalesce. At the end of WWII, the original Russian and European settlers in King moved onto new neighborhoods and were largely replaced by African Americans,<sup>13</sup> who moved to the area primarily to work in the Kaiser shipyards.<sup>14</sup>

By 1939, “the majority of Portland’s blacks lived in Albina.”<sup>15</sup> In the ten years from 1940 to 1950, Albina’s black population nearly tripled from 1600 to 4500, and would continue to increase dramatically primarily due to discriminatory policies that concentrated them in the area.<sup>16</sup> For example, “Realty Board members could be expelled if they willingly encouraged a minority family to assume residence in a white neighborhood or apartment complex;”<sup>17</sup> this racial exclusion was systematic and taught in courses designed for apprentice brokers.<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>2</sup> *Adopted King Neighborhood Plan*. Portland, Oregon, Bureau of Planning, October 1993.

<sup>3</sup> Portland State University, Comprehensive Planning Workshop. *History of the Albina Plan Area*. Portland: Portland State University, Urban Studies and Planning, Winter, 1990. (Hereinafter *History of the Albina Plan Area*.)

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* at 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 38.

<sup>11</sup> *Adopted King Neighborhood Plan*, page 3.

<sup>12</sup> *History of the Albina Plan Area*, page 42.

<sup>13</sup> *Adopted King Neighborhood Plan*, page 3.

<sup>14</sup> *History of the Albina Plan Area*, page 44.

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

<sup>16</sup> *Id.* at 45.

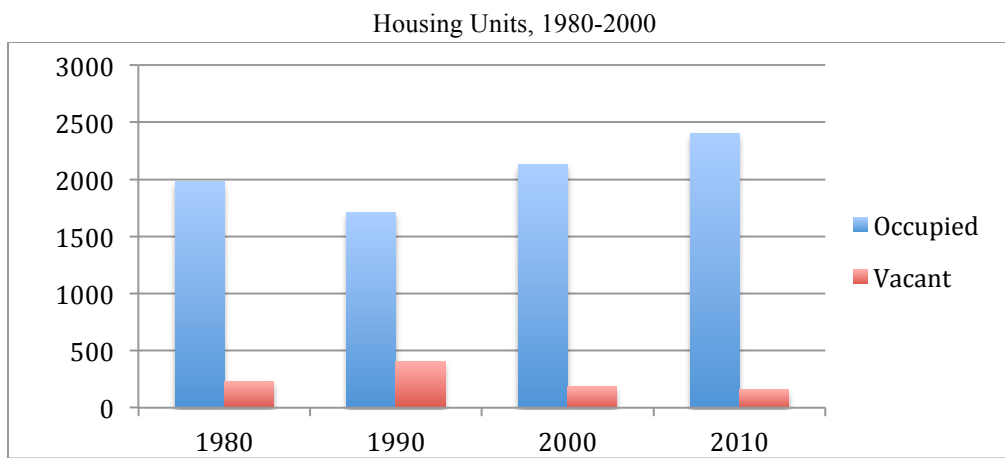
<sup>17</sup> *Id.*

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

segregated housing fostered broad racial tensions, which ignited into riots during the mid-1960s.<sup>19</sup>

Redevelopment policies further marginalized black residents and created deep conflicts between black leaders and city agencies.<sup>20</sup> Nearly entire neighborhoods around King were designated as ‘blighted’ so that local officials could procure federal funds from the Housing Act of 1957.<sup>21</sup> The Memorial Coliseum was built in the predominantly black neighborhood of Eliot and destroyed 476 homes, and then the Federal Highway Act of 1956 allowed for the building of Interstate 5 through Eliot, which resulted in the demolition of several hundred housing units.<sup>22</sup> As black businesses and homes were destroyed, the community was pushed north into King, which became the center of the black population.<sup>23</sup>

The area hit rock bottom in the 1980s (and ironically, actually became blighted) and local politicians finally took notice. “Economic stagnation, population loss, housing abandonment, crack cocaine, gang warfare, redlining, and speculation were all part of the scene.”<sup>24</sup> By 1988, “the King and Boise neighborhoods, which comprised 1 percent of the city’s land, contained 26 percent of the city’s abandoned housing.”<sup>25</sup> Eventually, the extreme predatory lending schemes



Source: created by the author using data from Social Explorer.

employed in the area came to light, which helped to explain the rapid and continuous deterioration of the region.<sup>26</sup> The City of Portland finally put an effort into revitalization in the 1990s, and four nearly concurrent transformations changed the entire demographic of the region.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *History of the Albina Plan Area*, at 46.

<sup>20</sup> Gibson, Karen J. “Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000.” *Transforming Anthropology*, 15, 1 (2007): 3-25.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* at 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* at 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* at 17.

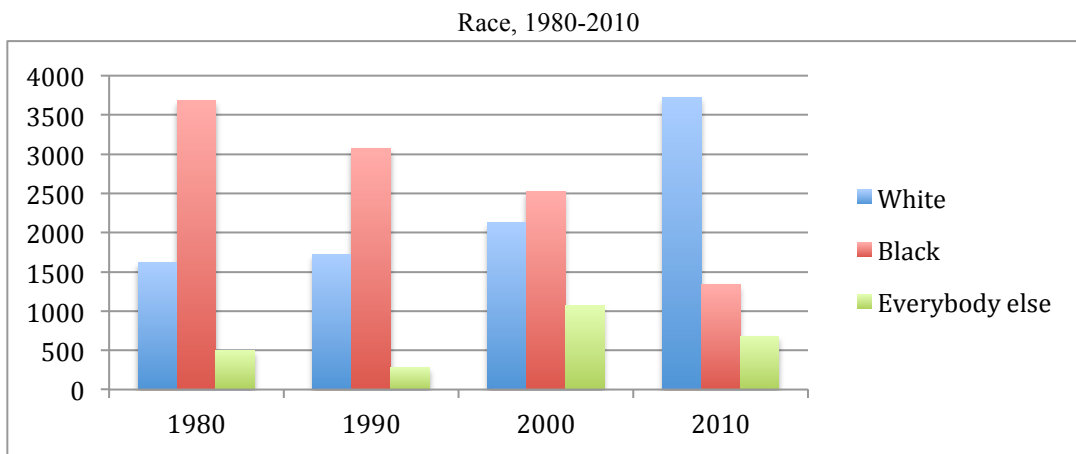
<sup>25</sup> *Id.* at 18.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Id.* at 20.

1. Black people continued to leave the area in large numbers.
2. White residents moved in and purchased the low-value housing (and investments and capital followed them).
3. Rapid home sales to white buyers increased home values dramatically, pricing out and displacing many of the remaining black residents.
4. Ethnic minorities, especially Hispanics, moved into the area in large numbers and further altered the racial composition of the area.

King remains the center of the black community, but a black community that is increasingly dispersed throughout the city.



Source: created by the author using data from Social Explorer.

For some residents of King, gentrification represents a new kind of racism.<sup>28</sup> An area dominated by African Americans was displaced and undercompensated for highways and basketball arenas, and federal projects that never saw fruition. The community was moved further and further from the city center, so far north that eventually it ran into the physical barrier of the Columbia River. King and surrounding neighborhoods were allowed to collapse when only a minimal investment could have saved them; when the area finally hit rock bottom, it was primarily white people who cashed in on the misery, at the further expense of those who had been made to suffer all along.

It is questionable whether future development can result in more broadly shared benefits. South King, with its Alberta Arts District development, is seeing “an increasing number of businesses that are clearly more upscale.”<sup>29</sup> North King, on the other hand, is visibly poorer with little commercial development. To quote the Chair of the King Neighborhood Association:

“[...] commercial development in King is depressed, and relies largely on urban renewal financing. South King [...] is not depressed, it is actively gentrifying, and becoming ‘integrated’ with the more-upscale commercial development nearby. North King appears

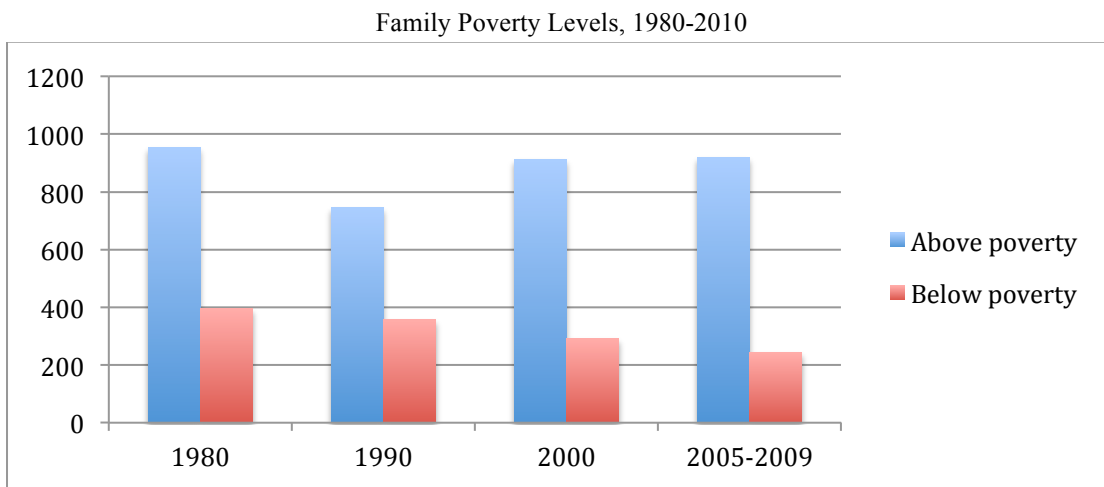
<sup>28</sup> Gibson, page 22.

<sup>29</sup> Alan Silver.

to be depressed, economically, and the sheer lack of commercial development on its borders speaks heavily to that, in my mind.”<sup>30</sup>

If the local patterns persist, the north will only see development in proportion to the exodus of its black residents.

No single policy can undo a history of racism and exclusion, but the hope is that a new approach can eventually empower groups to maintain their communities and overcome their collective past. In the following sections I will attempt to compare the changes in North King to those in South King by focusing on Census Tracts 33.01 and 33.02, in order to determine whether empirical data backs up the anecdotal claims about the distinctions between the two. I will conclude by recommending programs that will achieve the dual goal of commercial development and black retention for King.



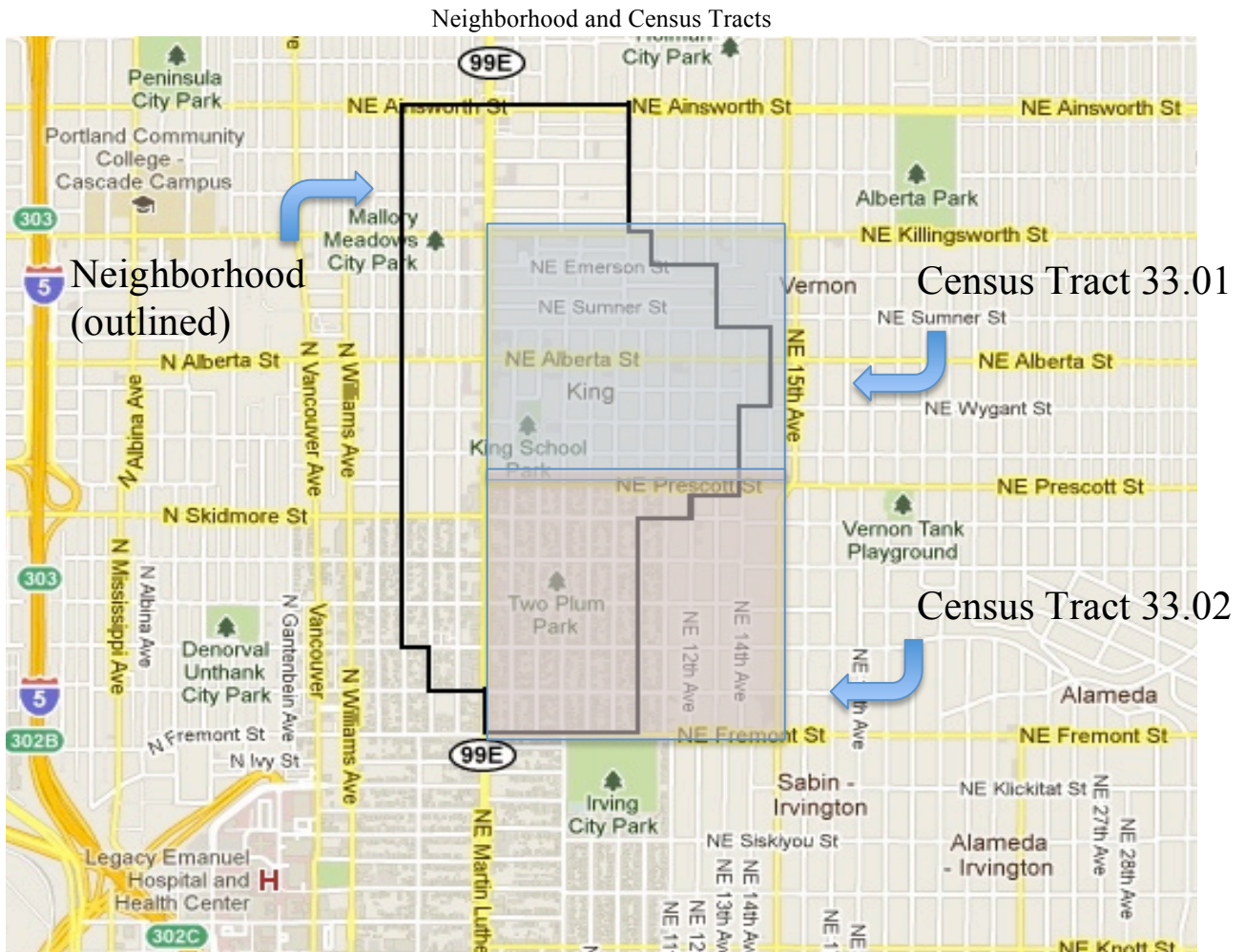
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<sup>30</sup> Alan Silver.

### North King vs. South King

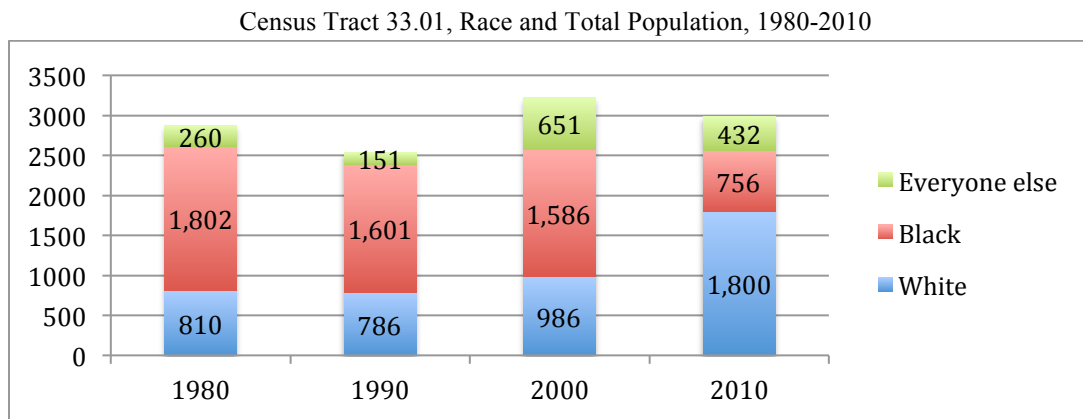
Most of King falls within Census Tracts 33.01 and 33.02. The tracts do not correlate precisely with the North/South distinction, but for the purposes of this paper, 33.01 will represent North King and 33.02 will represent South King. Based on anecdotal evidence, the expectation is that North King, when compared to South King, will show a smaller decrease in black residents, a lower median household income, a greater percentage of families below the poverty level and a more rapidly aging population. Data was collected using Social Explorer reports for the decennial census for the years 1980-2010, and from the 2005-09 American Community Survey where necessary to fill in the gaps from the simplified 2010 Census.



Source: created by author using Google Maps

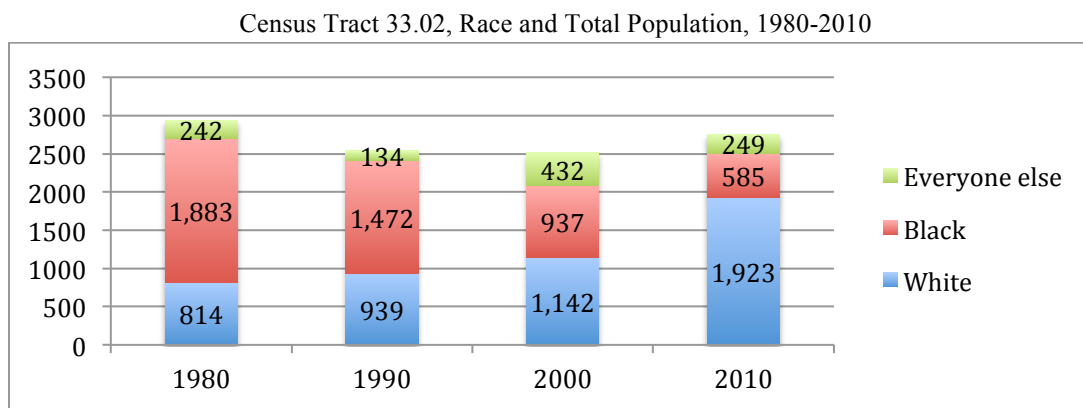
## Race

The total population in North King fluctuated significantly between 1980 and 2010, reaching a high of 3,223 in 2000 and a low of 2,538 in 1990. Perhaps even more dramatic is the change in racial composition during this 30-year period – the white population more than doubled and the black population decreased by more than half. At the same time, the population of ‘non-black’ ethnic minorities accounted for most of the overall population fluctuation. In essence, the total white and black population remained almost constant for 30 years, but ultimately in inverse proportions.



Source: created by author using Social Explorer data

The overall population in South King, on the other hand, had narrower fluctuations, but the change in racial composition was even more dramatic than that in North King. The white population grew by nearly 2.5 times, while the black population dropped by more than two-thirds. This data matches the expected findings – the total black population is greater in North King than in South, and the rate of decline in black population is greater in South King than in North.

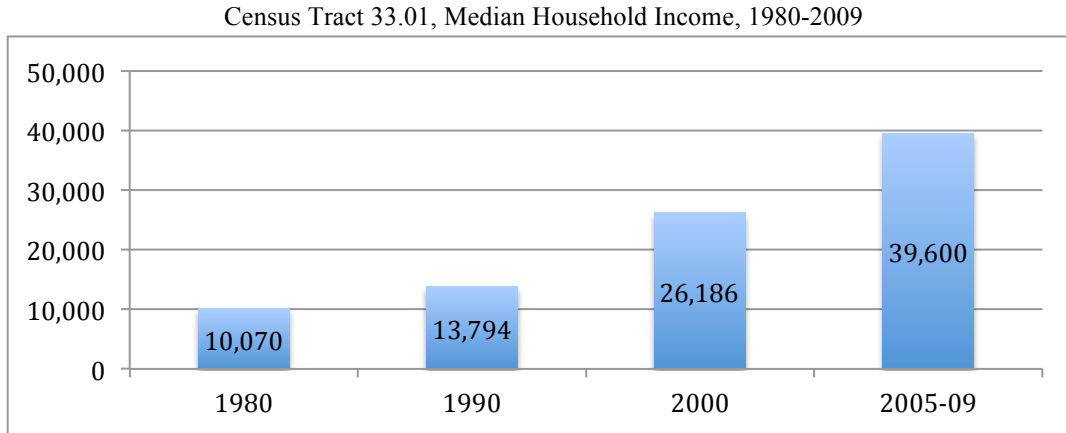


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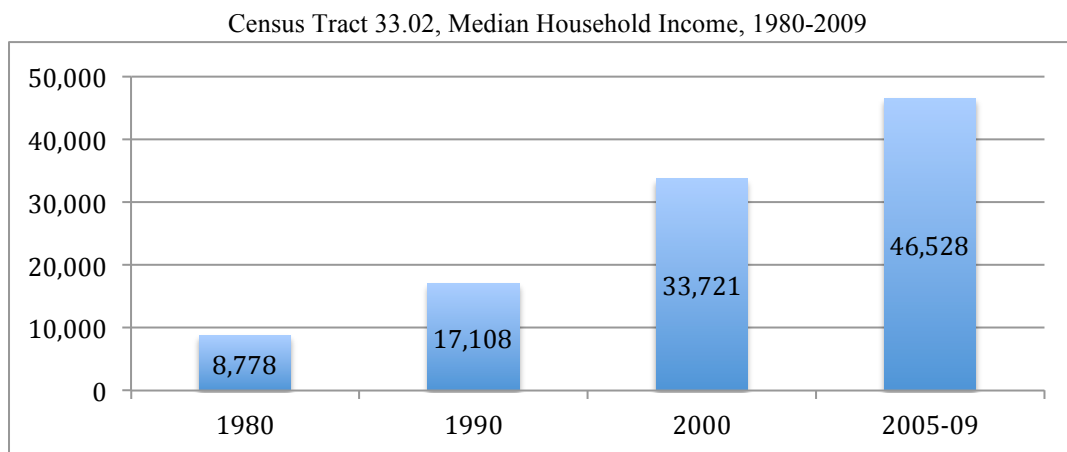
## Income Growth

Median Household Income grew steadily in North King in the time between the 1980 Census and the 2005-09 American Community Survey. Growth in the first decade of this period was incremental at best, but doubled in the following ten years, and grew by a nearly identical dollar amount through the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Despite this growth, the Median Household Income in North King from the 2005-09 ACS was still significantly lower than the median income in the city of Portland during the same period (\$48,053).



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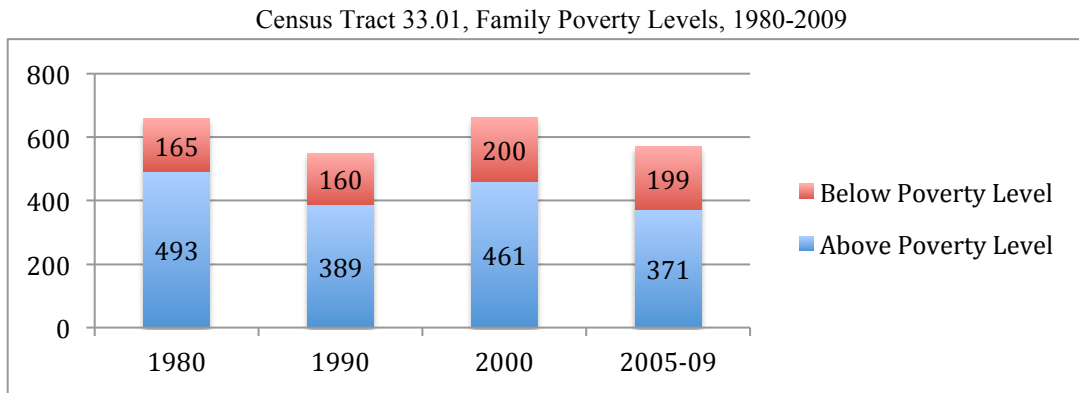
South King started in a worse place financially, but its Median Household Income increased at a greater rate than in North King during the same years. Income doubled from 1980-1990, then doubled again from 1990-2000. Because the ACS uses samples and estimates, the data shows that income grew by roughly the same dollar amount in North and South King in the 2005-09 ACS (~\$13,000). Despite this similarity, the earlier growth in South King pushed the Median Household Income to a level more in line with the city totals. The anecdotal evidence of greater economic growth in South King is therefore corroborated by the empirical data.



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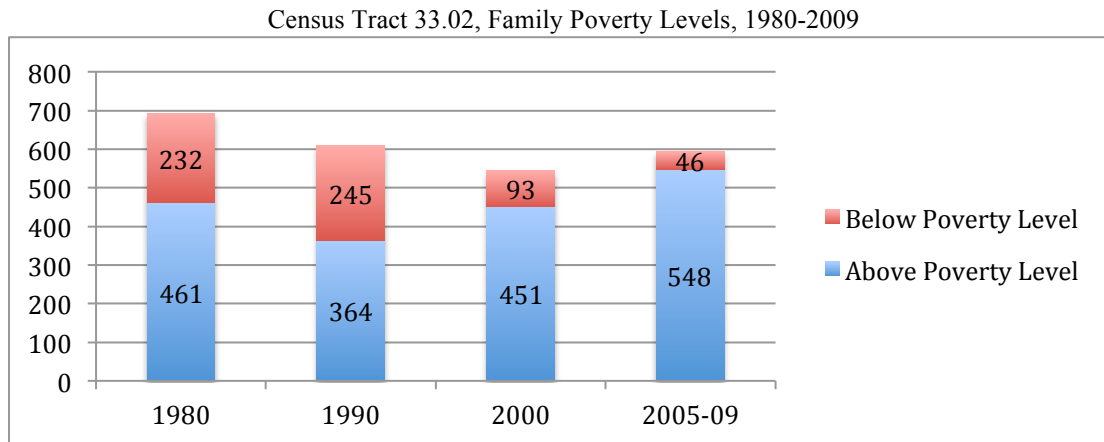
## Poverty

The expectation was that a greater percentage of North King families would be living below the poverty level, and the data shows this to be true. Although the total number of families living in North King fluctuated during these years, the percentage of families living below the poverty level grew at a somewhat constant rate – 25% in 1980, 29% in 1990, 30% in 2000, and 35% in the 2005-09 ACS. Perhaps of greater concern is the fact that the number of families in North King dropped from 661 to 570 between 2000 and 2009, but the percentage of families below the poverty level still grew. The likely rationale is that families with assets left the neighborhood, which might be corroborated by the consistency in the below-poverty numbers.



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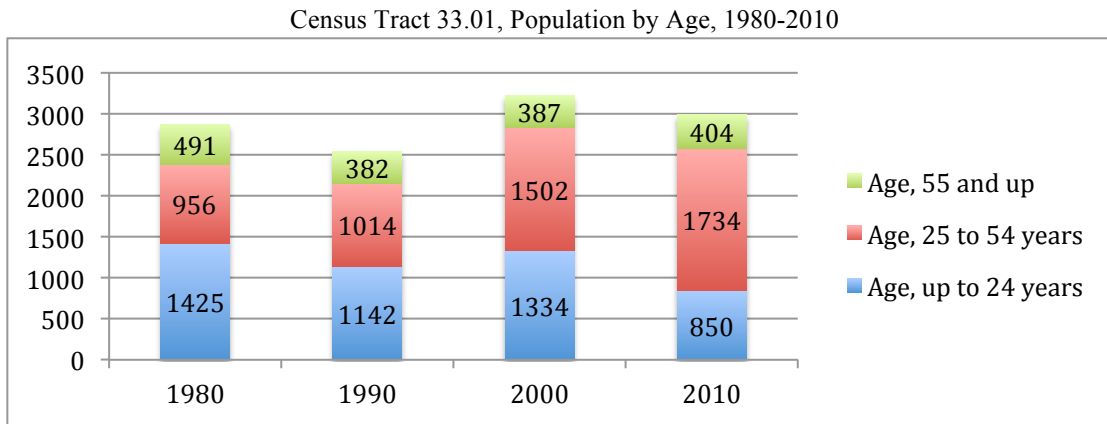
In South King, the numbers are not nearly as grim. The number of families living below the poverty level was significantly worse in 1980, but the current outcomes are much more positive. From 1980 to 1990, the period of King's greatest social upheaval, the number of families living below poverty grew from 34% to 40%, but then began to drop dramatically. By 2000 the number was down to 17%, and as of the most recent ACS the number is down to approximately 8%. Like the data for Median Household Income, these numbers show that South King is experiencing greater economic success.



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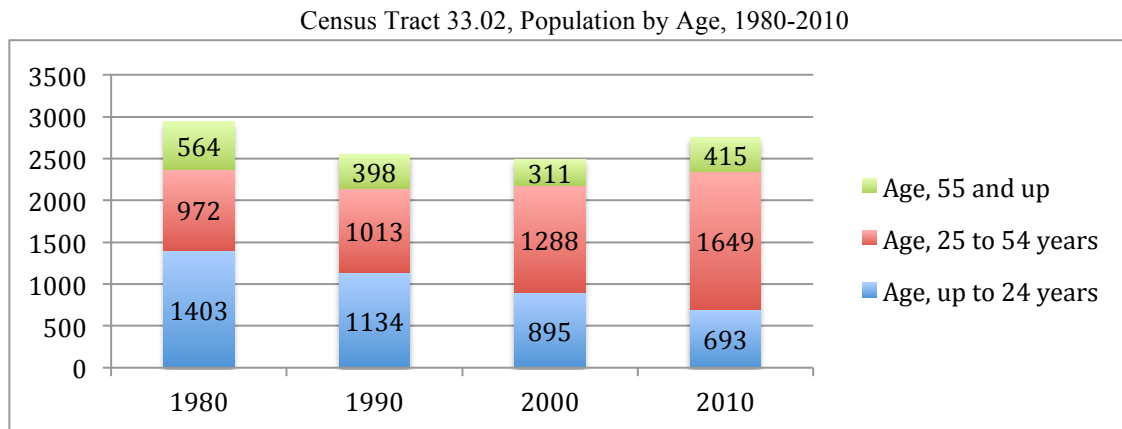
## Population by Age

The final data set addresses the population of each tract by age; the expectation was that North King would be aging more rapidly than South King. In North King, the population aged 25+ was 50% in 1980. This grew to 55% in 1990, 59% in 2000, and 72% in 2010. The spike from 2000-2010 might be of particular concern, but unexpectedly, this number is within a few percentage points of Portland's total 25+ population (~71%).



Source: created by author using Social Explorer data

South King shows the same general trend as North King and Portland as a whole, although South King started out older and actually aged at a slightly greater rate. Its 25+ population was 52% in 1980, 55% in 1990, 64% in 2000, and 75% in 2010. Although contrary to the expected findings, it is still within range of Portland's growth trends as a city. Also, the combination of Portland being seen as a destination city for many young adults<sup>31</sup> and an overall aging population nationwide, both of which are beyond the scope of this paper, may account for this trend in both Portland and King.



Source: created by author using Social Explorer data

<sup>31</sup> Frey, William H. "Migration Declines Further: Stalling Brain Gains and Ambitions." *Brookings Institute*, retrieved from [http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0112\\_migration\\_frey.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0112_migration_frey.aspx) on December 3, 2011.

## Conclusions from the Data

Aside from the assumptions about the rate of aging populations, all of the anecdotal distinctions between North and South King have been shown to be true. North King lost its black residents at a slower rate, has a lower median household income, and a greater percentage of families living below the poverty level. What conclusions can be drawn by looking at this data together with the historic social trends in King?

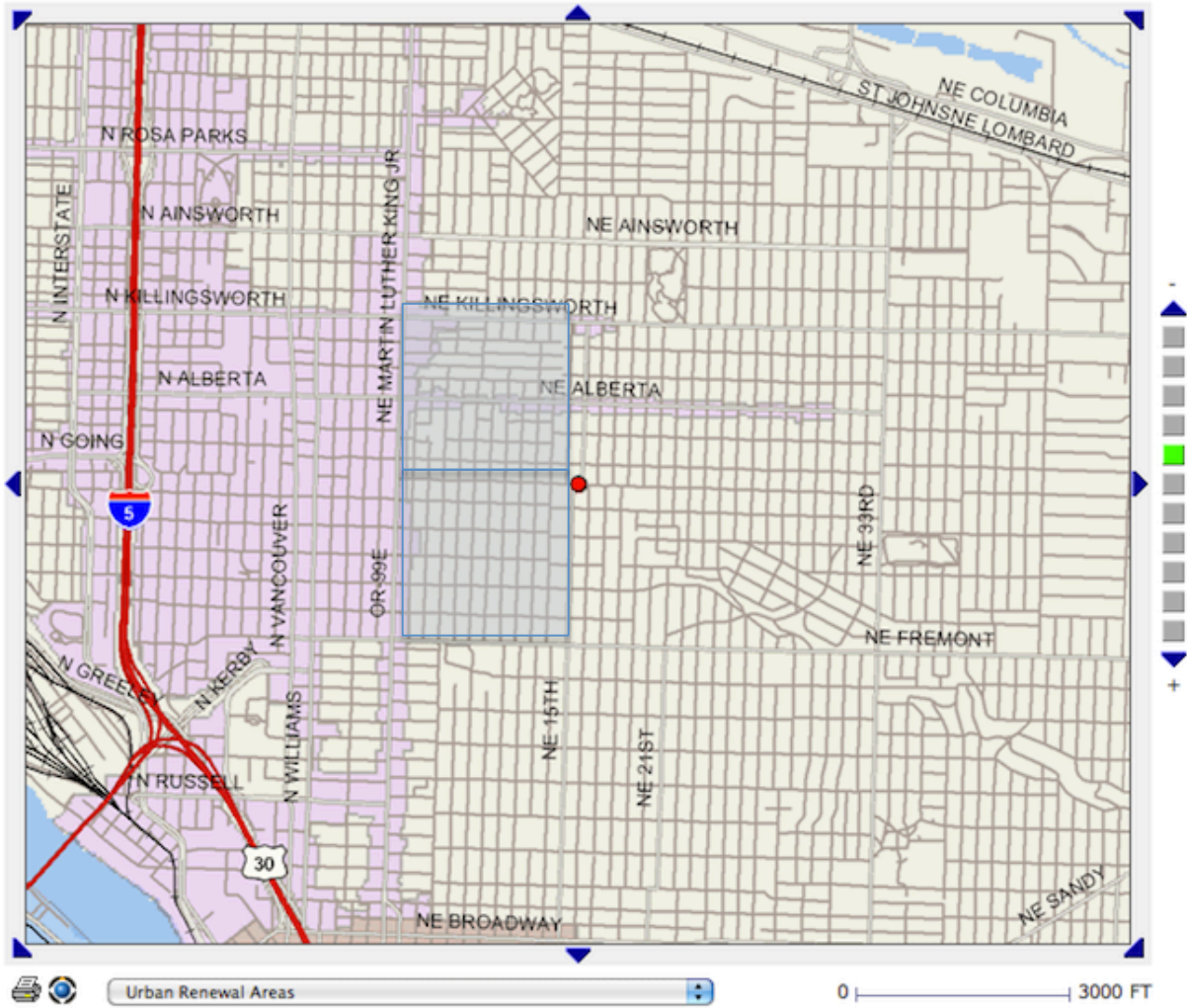
As discussed in a previous section, the black population was pushed progressively further north over time, that is, gentrification was a south-to-north process. The data reflects this trend in several ways. First, South King lost approximately 70% of its black population from 1980-2000, and saw its median household income rise to an amount in line with city levels. North King, on the other hand, lost a little less than 60% of its black population while gaining a significant number of non-black ethnic minorities. Median household income grew but remains significantly lower than city median levels.

Another outcome in relation to the south-north population shift is the correlation between urban renewal, which began in the early 1990's, and family poverty levels. Urban renewal started in South King and worked its way north along Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, east and west along Alberta Street, and then *west* away from MLK Jr. Boulevard into adjoining neighborhoods. King, for the most part, is *east*, of MLK Jr. Boulevard. South King, with less than 8% of its families living below poverty, is an urban renewal success story.

North King, on the other hand, has a declining population and approximately 35% of its families living below poverty. Whether there is a causal relationship between the success of the south and the challenges of the north is not readily apparent from the data, but one compelling possibility can be raised. The historic trend has been that the poor of South King and adjoining neighborhoods are pushed north, as we have seen. It is entirely possible that South King's economic success has pushed its less privileged residents into North King, and that North King's more affluent residents have ultimately left the neighborhood as a result, taking the potential for investment with them.

Whatever the reason for the population shifts and disparities, urban renewal projects continue to crowd the borders of North King. Already, a Walgreens and a Starbucks have anchored themselves to King's northwest corner (along the MLK Jr. Boulevard corridor). If historical patterns hold, investments will eventually follow into the heart of North King, further shifting the racial and financial demographics. The next section provides recommendations that aim to improve the quality of life for North King residents, so that they might commercialize their region from the inside out.

Select Urban Renewal Districts: Portland, Oregon (URD in pink, approx. census districts in blue)



Source: created by author using Portland Maps

## Recommendations

Admittedly, a degree of arrogance precedes any proposal made to a community by a complete outsider (i.e. one who has never even visited the city, let alone neighborhood, in question). On the other hand, the outsider perspective can also be useful in avoiding local politics, as well as in seeing the bigger picture of moving parts and players. With this in mind, these proposals blend the values aligned with Alberta Main Street (AMS), the King Neighborhood Association, and local organizations devoted to fostering positive change in Portland as a whole.

Albert Main Street is a local organization devoted to developing “Alberta Street as a vibrant, creative, sustainable commercial district serving residents and visitors to [the] community”<sup>32</sup> On its website, AMS shares its 20-year vision for the region. Without delving too far into the specifics, the vision can be reduced to three points:

1. Creating the most sustainable business district in Portland, the nation, the world;
2. Fostering the development of Alberta Street as a world class arts/creative district;
3. Solidifying the local, non-corporate small business base on the street.<sup>33</sup>

This vision is worth noting because Alberta Street bisects King, as previously mentioned. Proposals for King that share a vision with a burgeoning neighboring organization enhance opportunities for regional cooperation and ultimately for success, by sharing local resources and leveraging local relationships. Specifically, the recommendations that follow focus on AMS’s first and third points. Finally, it is hoped that the Portland Development Commission (PDC) supports at least the spirit of these recommendations and the attempt to supplement the ongoing URA projects.

## Food

Food is a basic necessity of life. Economically depressed areas can become food deserts, but even the availability of quality food does not guarantee adequate means to purchase it, or even the appropriate knowledge to make healthy choices. In Portland, food deserts are not a significant problem, per se, but challenges in access to healthy food options remain.<sup>34</sup> King does not fall into the worst categories of food accessibility,<sup>35</sup> but it is among the neighborhoods in need of improvements. A variety of agencies have taken an active role in addressing some of these problems,<sup>36</sup> but these recommendations are more focused on the community level, rather

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<sup>32</sup> Alberta Main Street website, retrieved from [albertamainst.org](http://albertamainst.org) on December 3, 2011.

<sup>33</sup> Id.

<sup>34</sup> Sparks, Andrea, Neil Bania and Laura Leete. “Finding Food Deserts: Methodology and Measurement of Food Access in Portland Oregon.” Paper prepared for National Poverty Center/USDA Economic Research Service research conference “Understanding the Economic Concepts and Characteristics of Food Access,” Washington D.C. (2009).

<sup>35</sup> Brown, Ruth. “Portland’s Food Deserts.” *Willamette Week*, May 4, 2011. Retrieved from [http://wweek.com/portland/blog-27063-portlands\\_food\\_deserts.html](http://wweek.com/portland/blog-27063-portlands_food_deserts.html) on December 5, 2011.

<sup>36</sup> Waldron, Ben. “Experts, Advocates Weigh in on Nutrition Debate in Portland.” *Neighborhood Notes*, August 5, 2011. Retrieved from [http://www.neighborhoodnotes.com/news/2011/08/experts\\_advocates\\_weigh\\_in\\_on\\_nutrition\\_debate\\_in\\_portland/](http://www.neighborhoodnotes.com/news/2011/08/experts_advocates_weigh_in_on_nutrition_debate_in_portland/) on December 5, 2011.

than the neighborhood level. As such, the “Food” proposal has two parts: individual and/or family food production, and community food production.

Individual/family food production is typically done through urban or community gardens, which have grown significantly in popularity nationwide in recent years. One of the greatest benefits is the ability to maintain a degree of self-sufficiency during periods of economic duress. Organizations have sprouted around the country to help residents of their communities address hunger needs and rising food costs through simple gardens. In Portland, Growing Gardens helps people grow organic gardens in urban spaces such as backyards, porches and patios.<sup>37</sup> The organization offers ongoing gardening support, particularly for low-income families, plus programs for children and Spanish-speakers. Their survey at the end of 2010 found that 78% of their home gardeners saved money on groceries as a result of having a garden, amongst other highly desirable outcomes.<sup>38</sup>

Some of these ventures have even expanded to more commercial purposes,<sup>39</sup> which brings us to community food production. Portland is home to a variety of food-based initiatives, from Tazo and Stash Tea, to year-round farmers’ markets, to increasingly successful food carts. King could situate itself as the premier provider of a variety of food products for local consumption, of course within the parameters of local zoning requirements. Opportunities include small and medium-scale urban farming, urban chicken raising, bakeries, and so forth. Potential customers include not only individuals and families, but also local restaurants,<sup>40</sup> King’s already-successful farmers’ market, and stores like the locally owned and operated Alberta Co-op Grocery.

### Microenterprise

Broadly, microenterprise development refers to “an economic development strategy that provides small loans, business training, and technical assistance to people starting very small businesses.”<sup>41</sup> Collaboration with the PDC would be a crucial aspect to the success of a microfinance initiative. According to the PDC, small businesses provide the majority of jobs in the city of Portland.<sup>42</sup> For an area like North King, with 35% of its population living below the poverty level, the opportunity to develop a “very small business” might be enough of a boost financially and psychologically to start moving towards the middle class.

As a caveat, microenterprise is known to be an expensive option for community development. Turning away from such a strategy due to costs ignores the non-financial value of such a program, “especially in developing ‘human capital’ (including self-esteem, confidence, and the drive to obtain financial self-sufficiency).”<sup>43</sup> To ensure the best possible conditions for

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<sup>37</sup> Growing Gardens website, retrieved from <http://www.growing-gardens.org/index.php> on December 3, 2011.

<sup>38</sup> Id.

<sup>39</sup> For example, see <http://news.yahoo.com/farms-stores-brighten-stalled-nyc-building-lots-150435606.html>.

<sup>40</sup> For a more in-depth discussion of the farm-to-table movement, see <http://www.farmtotableonline.org/>.

<sup>41</sup> Jones, Susan R. “Legal Guide to Microenterprise Development,” page 1 (2004)

<sup>42</sup> Portland Development Commission website, retrieved from <http://www.pdc.us/default.asp> on December 4, 2011.

<sup>43</sup> Jones, at page 13.



success and mitigate these costs, the PDC and community groups should work together to develop a comprehensive framework that takes the neighborhood's unique characteristics into account. Issues for consideration should include the skillsets of residents, the need for training, the importance of addressing the challenges of home-based businesses, legal support, and a desire to eventually move some of these very small businesses into storefronts on MLK Jr. Boulevard. The PDC already has expertise in all of these areas; the challenge will be to narrow the focus down to North King.

A secondary arm of this initiative is to encourage and develop youth enterprise. Based on the dataset, North King has nearly 1000 youth under the age of 25. Tapping into this labor force and creative source might bring challenges and risks, but it will almost certainly also bring many rewards. Portland as a whole is pushing for the development of technology and sustainability/green sector job creation; the city's youth may be in a unique position to capitalize on this demand. Targeted training can help youth push to the forefront of this trend through either business creation, or by using these individuals as a tool to attract new or established companies into the neighborhood with the promise of a skilled workforce.

#### Intra-King Resource Sharing

At its core, resource sharing is a way to build community and develop relationships. It is a means of leveraging assets in a neighborhood where assets are limited. Building a stronger community cooperatively increases the level of personal investment to maintain what has been built. Part of the beauty of resource sharing is that it can often be achieved with little to no cost. Portland has a multitude of examples of this in action (see, for example, tool libraries) so it would seem that the social value is already in place.

For North King, this principle can be easily applied to previous recommendations. As just one possible example, churches are often empty during the week, and King as a whole has approximately a dozen churches within its borders. A church itself could start an initiative, or, alternatively, provide some of its space for new community and/or business projects. Some potential ideas include: the PDC providing training sessions in church halls, food production initiatives can start small in a church kitchen, churches might be used for like-minded people to meet to discuss potential joint ventures, and the list goes on. Churches are of course just one example of resource sharing in action, to highlight how such behavior might benefit the region as a whole.

#### Joint Community Ventures

The final recommendation is for the King Neighborhood Association (KNA) and its ongoing community-building adventures. The organization clearly makes an effort to keep its residents informed of ongoing development projects, social events, volunteer opportunities, and anything else that people might find entertaining or informative. Alan Silver displayed a great deal of enthusiasm when approached by email with this project proposal, and his love for his



neighborhood is readily apparent. Maintaining this level of engagement and transparency, plus the continuance of unique projects like the Mural Initiative, is crucial to King's success.

The single recommendation for KNA (beyond the continuance of the above-described activities) is that it may be time to reimagine King. The King Neighborhood Plan was adopted in 1993 and describes "A Vision for King in the Year 2010."<sup>44</sup> The following section opens with a description of the changes a former King resident might notice upon returning to the neighborhood in 2012. The reality is that we have reached 2012. King might be continuing to face demons of old in economic disparities, but it is facing them in a new way. It is time to bring the community together to plan its next steps forward.

### **Conclusion**

This paper started with the question of whether the revitalization of North King was appropriate if it came at the cost of the neighborhood's black identity and history. The reality is that King as a whole has seen a substantial demographic shift over the last thirty years, a trend which is unlikely to reverse itself. In that sense, the black identity is already gone, but this does not have to be a bad thing so long as the neighborhood maintains its sense of history.

King was home to a variety of European backgrounds. Then it was home to black people. Now it is home to an ethnic mix. People were attracted to King because of its proximity to port and railroad jobs. Then they were attracted by racial familiarity. Then they were forced in by redlining. Then they left when it got bad and others moved in for the inexpensive housing. Now people are attracted by the affordable housing, proximity to downtown, and the local arts scene. The community has changed, the people have changed, and now it is time to embrace the next phase and set a new course.

The recommendations contained in this paper are all designed to empower King to control its own destiny. The focus is on building relationships and commercializing the neighborhood from the inside out for a future that cultivates growth and opportunity, an emphasis that King is apparently moving towards already. When presented with a general outline of the recommendations, Alan Silver had this to say: "It's a lovely idea - something I was discussing informally over the weekend, concerning how to empower residents to guide business development in their immediate neighborhoods."<sup>45</sup> Clearly, it is time to move forward, to extend the growth and success of South King into North King, and allow each resident a voice as the neighborhood reintegrates itself as one, strong community.

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<sup>44</sup> *Adopted King Neighborhood Plan*, page 4.

<sup>45</sup> Alan Silver, personal interview, December 4, 2011.

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