

The background of the entire cover is a repeating pattern of small, teal-colored stars or snowflakes on a light cream or off-white background. The pattern is dense and covers the entire surface.

THE PORTLAND EDGE

*Challenges and Successes
in Growing Communities*

EDITED BY CONNIE P. OZAWA

ISLAND PRESS

WASHINGTON · COVELO · LONDON

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*Dedicated to our students, in whose trust we place our cities,
and to publicly spirited citizens everywhere.*

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Suite 300, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data.

The Portland edge : challenges and successes in growing communities / edited by Connie P. Ozawa.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-55963-687-4 (alk. paper) — ISBN 1-55963-695-5 (pbk. : alk. paper)


1. Regional planning—Oregon—Portland Metropolitan Area. 2. Urban
renewal—Oregon—Portland Metropolitan Area. 3. City
planning—Oregon—Portland. 4. Environmental protection—Oregon—Portland
Metropolitan Area. I. Ozawa, Connie P.

HT394.P67P67 2004

307.1'216'0979549-dc22

2004012458

British Cataloguing-in-Publication data available.

Printed on recycled, acid-free paper 

Design by Teresa Bonner

Photographs of Portland today by Dr. Leslie Good

Manufactured in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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PREFACE

In late spring of 2001, three Portland State University faculty, Karen Gibson, Charles Heying, and I, sat down for lunch at a restaurant near campus that offers seasonal menus of locally produced foods. In the course of our meandering conversation, we touched on what might seem an eclectic array of topics: university politics, what drew each of us to Portland and what we found once here, the broader academic and popular press discussions about livability and sustainable cities, and the fact that PSU had been selected to host the 2004 annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning. Karen put forth what seemed a brilliant idea. Why not put together an edited book on Portland, with chapters written by faculty at Portland State University's School of Urban Studies and Planning?

This was a stroke of genius for several reasons. As a school of urban studies and planning with a community development undergraduate degree, a master's degree in planning, and a master's and doctoral degree in urban studies, we felt our faculty should be part of the larger national discussion on livability, sustainability, and other fashionable labels for desirable urban environments. We also were experiencing a loss of a sense of community in our own workplace as pressures of growth at our university began to impose on us. A project that created a vehicle for conversations among us about something for which we all cared deeply, community, seemed like a proactive response. Finally, hosting a national conference with planning educators seemed like a golden opportunity to present those attending with a collection of writings that would foster a deeper understanding of their experience

visiting the Portland metropolitan region and the role that planning has played here.

In a truly collaborative spirit, we invited other faculty to help us scratch away at the surface of possibilities. Tom Sanchez, who was at PSU at the time, joined Charles Heying and myself on an Internet search of possible funders, guided by Tracy Prince, then director of development for the College of Urban and Public Affairs. In summer 2002, Portland State University provided a small faculty development grant to support graduate assistance in grant writing. Jennifer Porter, a master's degree planning student, compiled a list of books and articles about the buzz and the bust of the Portland urban scene. Planning graduate student Kristin Dahl provided logistical support and Carl Abbott added his publishing experience to the mix, helping to write the book proposal. And in fall of 2002, without funders or a publisher yet, the authors began meeting regularly to hear and react to proposed chapters one by one.

These "seminars" were truly one of the most enjoyable aspects of this project. While weekly or monthly seminars are a routine part of many department calendars, an opportunity to discuss our own research and interests not as a fully formed product but as an emerging idea, sometimes with little more than passion or curiosity behind it, and to feel confident that the group's response would be not only tolerant but supportive and informative, is less usual in the academy. In addition to the authors in this volume, our colleagues Charles Heying, Barry Messer, Irina Sharkova, and Richard White joined these meetings and helped enormously to expand and enliven our discussions. These sessions allowed the more recently arrived faculty to take advantage of the vast and insider knowledge of the long-term residents. Conversely, the taken-for-granted assumptions of the longer-term faculty were challenged. Most importantly, we were constructing together a shared understanding of what constitutes the fields of urban studies and planning, at least at Portland State University.

Eventually, in response to an anonymous outside reviewer's urging for a lead editor, I assumed this role. However, I prefer to think of myself as a shepherd of this project; the authors themselves, as colleagues, have been moving this project forward with their energy, mutual support, and shared commitment to sustaining a sense of community in our workplace.

As this project has progressed, our community has widened. The PSU Office of Graduate Studies and Sponsored Research provided

editing support through collaboration with the PSU English Department's graduate writing program. Thanks to Bill Feyerherm and Tracy Dillon, we enjoyed the editorial assistance of graduate student Merilee D. Karr, who read our drafts with the fresh perspective of an outsider and a keen eye for good prose. We also appreciate the editorial assistance of graduate student Hilary Russell, who employed the expertise she has gained as assistant editor of the *Journal of the American Planning Association* as she reviewed the complete manuscript for consistency and continuity and provided valuable project management skills. We are most grateful to Nohad Toulan, then dean of PSU's College of Urban and Public Affairs, for stepping in with funds when needed to support our final steps toward publication.

Finally, we thank Heather Boyer and the staff at Island Press and beyond, who provided the support, push, and expertise necessary to get the manuscript to press.

Introduction

Challenges in Growing Communities

Urban areas across the United States and indeed the world are growing rapidly spatially and demographically. As we entered the twenty-first century, much of the talk in the United States concerned the recognition that the physical form of our cities creates costs we are unwilling to pay. Traffic congestion, loss of air quality, floods, and wildfires threatening suburban development, as in Southern California in autumn 2003, are rather unsubtle signals that continuing urban growth along past patterns will spell disaster. In the final decades of the past century a worry emerged about increasing social ills and a loss of a sense of community (Bellah et al. 1985, Putnam 2000). Homelessness, alienation of youth, and fears of random shootings in busy metropolitan areas mark the inadequacy of our social connections. Where should elected officials, planners and public administrators, and citizens look for a path out of what seems at times an inevitable downward spiral heading toward increasing law enforcement, higher walls, and greater isolation among the citizenry?

How can we organize ourselves spatially and socially to maintain and restore our sense of community? A search for ideas begins with places that have ventured off the trodden path and have arrived in the first years of the twenty-first century as places where people, at least reputedly, want to live. The Portland, Oregon, metropolitan region is one such place.

In an interview with the libertarian Reason Policy Institute, renowned urbanist Jane Jacobs was asked about the regulatory

and planning approach that Oregon, and Portland in particular, have undertaken for the past 30 years. As one might imagine, the Reason Policy Institute questioner was inviting Jacobs, who has advocated for an organic, bottom-up approach to developing city form, to damn the presumed heavy hand of Oregon planners. Jacobs's response was refreshingly simple and straightforward. She said, "In Portland, a lot of good things are being done." When the interviewer asked what she liked about Portland, Jacobs replied, "People in Portland love Portland. That's the most important thing" (Reason Policy Institute 2001). And then she went on to say,

They really like to see it [the City] improved. The waterfront is getting improved, and not with a lot of gimmicks, but with good, intelligent reuses of the old buildings. They're good at rehabilitation. As far as their parks are concerned, they've got some wonderful parks with water flows in them. It's fascinating. People enjoy it and paddle in it. They're unusual parks. The amount of space they take and what they deliver is terrific. They're pretty good on their transit, too. It's not any one splashy thing. It's the ensemble that I think is so pleasant.

Newcomers to the Portland region are often struck by a few consistent themes. Certainly the landscape is exceptional, and the location, equally accessible to the snow-capped peak of Mt. Hood and the rugged Oregon coast, offers a myriad of recreational opportunities. Nine months of the year, the land is hugged by rain-soaked clouds that (after enough years) begin to feel like a comforting blanket and seem to disappear next to the thick line of green treetops. The dry summer months offer temperate temperatures and clear blue skies. But more than just the landscape and the well-kept secret of summer keep Oregonians in Portland despite high unemployment rates and low wages. There is something else about this place.

As a recent transplant myself a decade ago, I was struck not only by the appearance of planning-related news items reported in the local papers on nearly a daily basis, but also by the high level of awareness of ordinary people, such as my dental hygienist and Little League moms, about relatively technical aspects of land use planning, such as Portland's "urban growth boundary" (UGB). But Portland's difference goes beyond the state land use system.

People seem to care about one another. Shortly after moving to the region, my then 10-year old son rode his bike to a local shop and lost the money he had stuffed into his pocket to buy a snack. Seeing him searching

up and down and around the bike rack and looking rather upset, a passerby asked what the problem was. Upon hearing about my son's plight, the stranger reached into his wallet and handed him a twenty-dollar bill.

Although numerous examples come to mind, one prominent story of community activism in the region is the history of a nonprofit organization called City Repair. In 1995, some residents in the Sellwood neighborhood of Portland recognized what they perceived as an absence of public meeting spaces in their neighborhood. Banding together, they approached a landowner and got his approval to set up on his lot what they called the "Moon Day T-Hows," (Monday Tea House). The neighbors held Monday night potlucks at the T-Hows and stocked it with pillows, books, and games. The structure won the 1996 People's Choice Award from the American Institute of Architects, Portland Chapter (City Repair 2004).

The next step by these residents was a bit bolder. Noting the lack of public space resulting from the grid street pattern that characterizes much of Portland's east side, they decided to claim a local street intersection as their own public square. Although their initial efforts to gain formal permission from the city were refused, the residents persisted. They eventually constructed a tea station where free, hot tea is available 24 hours a day, reserved a place for people to obtain or give away free food, and painted a colorful design across the intersection. In January 2000, the Portland City Council passed an ordinance that allows any group of citizens to create public squares at street intersections in their own neighborhood. Since then, four additional neighborhoods have organized similar community-building efforts. Is the success of such community-based initiatives a reflection of effective activist organizing or something more elusive and pervasive in social relationships here? How significant was the apparent responsiveness of the city council in this case?

What is myth and what is reality in the Portland, Oregon, metropolitan region? Do these anecdotes resemble life in the other 100 largest U.S. cities, or is a sense of responsibility to one another unusually strong in Portland? To what extent are physical form and a sense of community related, and to what extent are conditions in the Portland region a result of intentional actions by its leaders and institutions? Is Portland a model for Smart Growth advocates and a contender for sustainability awards? Or, in contrast, is Portland simply "behind the curve" in hitting the challenges of urban sprawl, housing affordability,

and environmental degradation? Will Portland continue to “look different” from other cities of its age, or will the homogenization of globalization flatten out its urban scape into a standardized metropolitan form?

As scholars, teachers, and citizens of the Portland metropolitan region, the authors of this volume have come together in a joint inquiry to examine how special the Portland region is (or isn't), in what ways, and to understand how this came to be. We are intrigued by the attention lavished upon the region by the national press for its quality of life; by the intensity of controversy among proponents, skeptics, and critics of Oregon's progressive planning system; and by the questions that still surround the design of urban form and culture. We are also struck by what is missed by out-of-town scholars in their examinations of this region, about both the institutional structures and the nature of this place and its people.

Our objective through this volume is to enhance our collective understanding of the evolution and development of the Portland metropolitan region as an example of a livable place. We focus on particular, critical elements of the urban system, choosing to address what we as residents and scholars know best and recognizing that important questions remain. Our intention is not only to speak to the current and future residents of Portland about what is special here and how such qualities can be protected, but also to contribute to a broader discussion among scholars, practitioners, politicians, and urban activists about how North American cities can accommodate growth while sustaining a sense of community for their residents. We believe that our chapters shed light selectively not only on the role of state and local government, but also on the role of citizen leaders in shaping healthy urban communities and regions.

Organization and Structure of This Volume

The overall approach of this collection of chapters is to illuminate how institutions and people have come together to create current conditions in the Portland region. Several questions framed our research:

- What has the Portland region achieved that is special or especially valuable?
- What are the innovations in policy, planning, or plan making that we see in the Portland region?
- Where has Portland been successful or innovative in utilizing national programs or policies or adapting to national trends?

Although in some cases we may be able to suggest how this region compares with other localities, our main objective is to provide a view of this region and a point of reference for others to conduct such a comparison. Consistent with our belief that scholars *in a place* are best able to interpret the critical features of the social, physical, and political environment, we present the Portland region's case and invite others to do similar work on their own regions as they see fit.

We begin by presenting a snapshot of the demographic, economic, and civic character of the Portland region in a chapter by Heike Mayer and John Provo. They also present data for Portland and other similarly sized U.S. metropolitan areas on key dimensions of economy, equity (which considers education and homeownership patterns among various socioeconomic and ethnic groups), and environment to set a general context for the remaining chapters.

Then we progress to the institutional structures that have been put in place in the Portland region. The next three chapters describe the roles and intentions of major regional and city bodies. Ethan Seltzer's chapter explains the regional framework enabled by the 1973 state land use law and the evolution of Metro, an elected regional planning authority, over the 1990s. Metro's efforts have laid the groundwork and a frame for many of the activities described in the later substantive chapters on transportation, housing, and the environment. Karen Gibson's chapter examines how the Portland Development Commission has pursued urban redevelopment and the extent to which it has become more inclusive in its planning processes as it goes beyond large-scale, downtown development to projects that impact the neighborhoods. Gibson raises questions about the quality of citizen involvement and how it has or hasn't changed over time. Matt Witt's chapter describes Portland's unique neighborhood association program, which has been brought to scholarly attention by works such as *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (Berry, Portney, and Thomson 1993). Witt describes the 30-year history of the neighborhood associations, changes in the program's structure and composition over time, and some of the tensions that threaten even today to rip the system apart.

In the next group of chapters, we look at elements of the culture of this place and its people. Steve Johnson's chapter describes the level of engagement of the general population in organizations concerned about the collective good over time. Gerald Sussman and J. R. Estes describe Portland's community radio station as both an example of voluntary action and a contributing force to the creation of a sense of community.

KBOO has resisted pressures to professionalize its staff and format in the face of increasing corporate ownership of competing airwaves and, in the process, remains accessible to and reflective of the region's diverse ethnic groups and subcultures. It serves as a magnet for progressive communications. Chet Orloff's chapter describes the history of public space preservation in Portland going back to the founding years of the city and leading up to the present. This history illustrates how the hands of visionary elites and citizen advocates together worked to draw the map of Portland's parks and open spaces.

The last chapters lay out various measures of current conditions in the region and describe to varying levels how agents and structures worked together to produce these conditions. Some of these chapters address directly debates in the scholarly literature and the popular press about what is and what is not working about Oregon's land use system. Carl Abbott's chapter describes the liveliness of the central city and the deliberate efforts that occurred to sustain its prominence in the region. New challenges may be arising, however, Abbott notes, as expansion of the central city encroaches into neighborhoods that had been deliberately protected in prior decades. Deborah Howe's chapter responds to criticism about perverse effects of the urban growth boundary on housing affordability and explains the steep rise in market prices within its historical context. Nancy Chapman and Hollie Lund's chapter addresses questions of density and adds meaning to the notion of livability. Their chapter shows the influence of the combination of state, regional, and local policies on the character of growth and livability in the metro area. Sy Adler and Jennifer Dill describe deliberations around the formulation and implementation of a state transportation policy at the local and regional levels and offer an assessment of key indicators of the policy's success at this relatively early point in time. Connie Ozawa and Alan Yeakley's chapter similarly discusses the evolution of local implementation actions in the context of the state land use law and federal policy on the environment. Their chapter examines changes in one resource, riparian buffers, as a window onto the larger picture of urban ecosystem protection in the region. Although their research is ongoing, their efforts thus far provide a method for assessing and comparing the effectiveness of urban ecosystem policies. Finally, Tracy Prince argues that the city of Portland's progressive response to homeless issues has been guided largely up to this point by the influence and actions of prominent political actors. Whether the city's progressive reputation will extend to the homeless population into the future, however, may be questioned,

Prince suggests, given local ordinances that have been put in the books recently.

As we move further into the twenty-first century, there are indications of increasing stressors on the current urban political, social, and physical system. This collection of chapters helps to identify and understand what policies and processes put in place in the Portland, Oregon, region appear to be working well, and which ones suggest that the Portland region, as other U.S. metropolitan areas, may be approaching a critical "edge."

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1 *The Portland Edge in Context*

Heike Mayer and John Provo

Portland is known as the “Capital of Good Planning” (Abbott 2000). For many urban planners the region has been the poster child for regional planning, growth management, and other innovative urban planning policies. While the following chapters examine a variety of issue areas in which the Portland region has gained this reputation, this chapter provides a broad context for that discussion. We begin by describing the region’s demographic and economic landscapes as well as the evolution of some key policies dealing with urban and regional planning. We provide some comparative statistics on metropolitan Portland and a number of similarly sized regions across the United States. We conclude by highlighting key challenges facing the region.

The Portland, Oregon-Vancouver, Washington, Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area is 30 miles north of the 45th parallel and roughly on a line with Augusta, Maine, and Fargo, North Dakota. Surrounded by high mountains at the northern end of Oregon’s fertile Willamette Valley, the region’s temperate climate provides mild temperatures all year with a famously wet winter and a wonderfully dry summer. Spectacular mountain views abound throughout the region and inspire a connection with a rich outdoor culture that offers boundless opportunities to kayak, camp, hike, fish, and hunt.

Portland is also known for vibrant, diverse neighborhoods that cluster around commercially active neighborhood streets

like Hawthorne Boulevard, Belmont Avenue, and Northwest 23rd. The city has an excellent transportation system that is anchored by extensive regional bus, light rail, and streetcar systems. These networks support transit-oriented developments like Orenco Station in the region's western suburbs and the trendy Pearl District, formerly a warehouse district adjacent to downtown that is now home to condominiums, restaurants, and specialty shops.

Portland residents and visitors alike spend hours at Powell's City of Books, the nation's largest independent bookstore. They can drink a pint at one of the region's many microbrewery pubs or drive just outside of the city for a pinot noir tasting at a world-class winery.

Things Look Different Here

Looking at the Portland metropolitan region through consumer marketing data and quality-of-life rankings in the popular press suggests that things really do look different here. Portlanders are more likely to spend their time and money on active outdoor recreation than observing team sporting events. They read more and they watch cable television less than folks in most places. The region ranks seventh in U.S. cities in newspaper circulation and it ranks third—after Seattle and San Francisco—in the absolute number of coffee shops (Cortright 2002). *Travel and Leisure* magazine ranked Portland high in safety, cleanliness, proximity to nature, and “getting around” in March 2003. In fact, getting around in Portland by foot is so much easier than in other U.S. cities that the American Podiatric Medical Association ranked Portland among the nation's best cities for those who love to walk. Other magazines and organizations rank Portland as the top market for wireless technology, as the leader for constructing ecoroofs, as one of the most literate cities, and as one of the least expensive cities on the West Coast to live (Portland Development Commission 2003). The cumulative impact of such accolades is apparent. In September 2003, Harris Poll ranked Portland number eight before Seattle and Denver as a place where most people want to live. Echoing this result was *Money* magazine ranking of Portland among the best places to live in the nation, second to New York City. For all that they do tell, these rankings offer only one kind of story about the Portland region. Data like these do not reveal much about the people who live in the city and how they make urban life work. In this chapter we present a thumbnail sketch of the region that goes beyond the questions in magazines.

Demographic Landscape

The historic pace of Portland's growth has been described as temperate—more the tortoise than the hare (Abbott 2002). However, over the last three decades, the Portland region's population has grown larger and more diverse. The six-county metropolitan area counted a total population of 1,918,009 people in 2000. From 1990 to 2000, the region's population grew by 402,557 people, a 26.5% increase. The population almost doubled since the 1970s and as a metropolitan statistical area it ranks 23rd among all U.S. metropolitan areas. The Portland-Vancouver Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA) includes six counties. Five counties are in Oregon and one county (Clark County) is in the state of Washington.

At the center of the region is Multnomah County, home to the City of Portland and accounting for 660,486 residents in the 2000 census (see Table 1.1). The surrounding counties of Columbia and Yamhill make up the rural fringe of the PMSA, while Clackamas and Washington counties include both rapidly urbanizing suburban rings around Portland and large swaths of rural areas outside of the urban growth boundary. Of the six counties, Clark County, across the Columbia River in Washington State, has seen the highest percentage change in population growth between 1990 and 2000, at 45%.

Portland population growth has been primarily attributed to the region's economic success, especially in the 1990s. According to the 1998 Oregon Employment Department's In-Migration Survey, approximately 33% of

Table 1.1
Population by county in the Portland-Vancouver metropolitan region

County	Population in 2000	% Change 1990–2000
Clackamas	338,391	21.4
Columbia	43,560	16.0
Multnomah	660,486	13.1
Washington	445,342	42.9
Yamhill	84,992	29.7
Clark (Washington)	345,238	45.0
Total Portland-Vancouver PMSA	1,918,009	26.5

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 2000. *Ranking Tables for Metropolitan Areas: Population in 2000 and Population Change from 1990 to 2000*. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/phc-t3.html> (accessed 21 February 2004).

NOTE: PMSA, Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area.

the survey respondents reported coming from California (Oregon Employment Department 1999). In particular, the young, single, and college educated were attracted to the region. According to a census report, the Portland PMSA ranked fifth behind Naples, Las Vegas, Charlotte, and Atlanta in attracting the young, single, and college educated between 1995 and 2000 (Franklin 2003). The report also found that this demographic group is more likely to settle in central cities than in suburbs or nonmetropolitan areas. In the Portland metropolitan region the central county, Multnomah County, experienced the greatest influx of young people (see Fig. 1.1.) The "young and restless" still flock to Portland even though the region experiences high unemployment. In contrast with the invitation issued in the 1970s by Oregon Governor Tom McCall "to visit but don't stay," Governor Kulongoski quipped that today's new residents were welcome but should bring a big savings account and a picnic basket (Wentz 2004).

In 2000, the largest ethnic minority group in the Portland metropolitan area was the Hispanic or Latino group, which accounted for 7.4% of

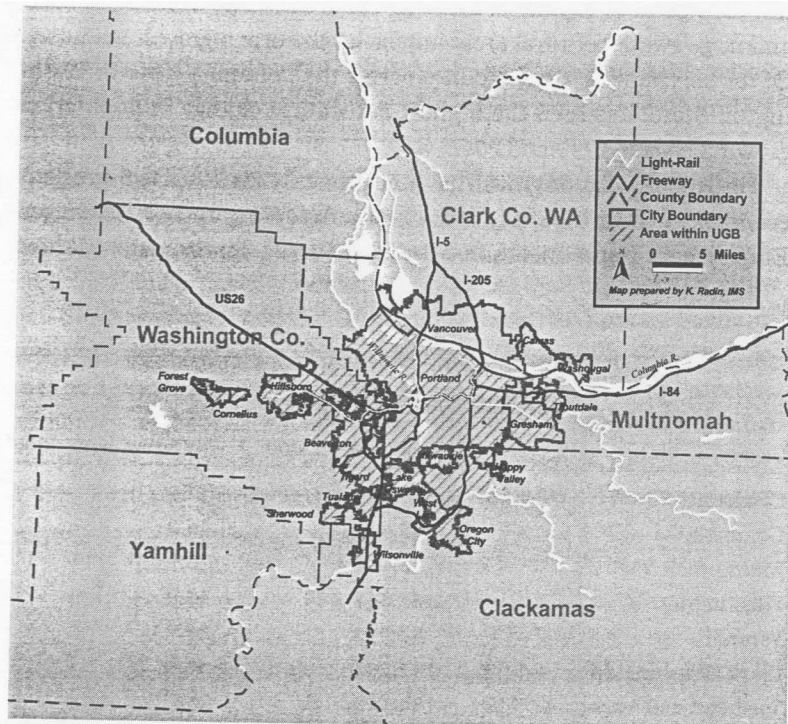


FIGURE 1.1. The Portland Metropolitan Region with the Urban Growth Boundary.
Source: Original.

the total population. The Asian/Pacific Islander population in the region accounted for 6.2%. Other ethnic groups have a rather small presence. The 2000 census reported that the region's population included 3.4% African Americans and 1.9% American Indians. These figures represent a sharp increase, with the total nonwhite and Hispanic population almost doubling from 11% in 1990 to 19.5% in 2000. This was driven by the dramatic and largely suburban phenomenon of growth in the Hispanic population, which increased its share by 4.5% between 1990 and 2000.

In general, the region's poverty rates follow national trends, with rates across the metropolitan area increasing from 1980 until a period of decrease from 1993 to 1996. Since 1997, however, poverty rates in the region have increased while national figures show decreases. The latest data on poverty from the census indicate that poverty rates in the region as a whole have risen, from 9.2% in 1997 to 9.5% in 2000. Increasing suburban poverty has contributed to this change. In Multnomah County, which includes most of the City of Portland, the poverty rate has dropped from 13.6% in 1997 to 12.7% in 2000, while Washington County's poverty rate has risen from 7.1% in 1995 to 7.4% in 2000. Poverty rates decreased in Yamhill County (11.2% in 1995, 9.2% in 2000) and in Clark County, Washington (9.3% in 1995, 9.1% in 2000).

Economic Landscape

The Portland metropolitan economy has grown rapidly over the last decade. Underlying this growth has been a structural transformation of the region's economic drivers with the most striking change being the emergence of high technology firms. The region's economic history began with its success in trading natural resource products. Portland's proximity to the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean was pivotal in its role as a trading gateway to the rest of the world (Abbott 1983). The region exported grain, lumber, and wood products. Consequently, the necessary infrastructure—grain elevators, wholesale operations, and warehouses—was set up in close proximity to the ports and the railroad. All this economic activity took place near Portland's downtown, and from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century the suburban counties in the region were part of the agricultural hinterland. In the latter part of the twentieth century, suburbanization and growth in the high technology industry changed the role of these suburban counties and most of them are now not only residential but also have a large share of the region's traded-sector industry clusters, networks of export-oriented firms and their specialized suppliers.

About 16% of the region's 1.2 million workers are employed in traded-sector industry clusters that include agriculture and forestry; metals, machinery, and transportation equipment; high technology; nursery stock; wood and paper products; and creative services (see Table 1.2). Even though there is only one company, Nike, that belongs to the *Fortune* 500 group, the list of export-oriented firms that call the region their home looks quite impressive: DaimlerChrysler's Freightliner manufactures trucks, Tektronix produces measurement equipment, Intel develops and manufactures high-end semiconductors, Adidas America and Nike are in the sports apparel markets, and Wieden & Kennedy produces TV commercials and advertising campaigns for companies like Nike, AOL, and Coca-Cola.

Portland's economic geography displays some distinct patterns. Most of the service-oriented firms, such as public relations companies, multimedia firms, insurance brokers, and banks, have their offices in the central city. High technology industry, in contrast, is concentrated in suburban Washington County. The nursery industry takes advantage of the availability of agricultural lands protected from development and locates at the edge of the urbanized region just outside of the urban growth boundary.

The region's traded-sector industry clusters benefit from geographic conditions and historical accidents. The nursery industry, for example, draws on the availability of fertile soil, relatively cheap agricultural land, and an urban transportation infrastructure. It also benefits from Oregon's mild climate with its wet winters and dry summers. The apparel



Table 1.2

Employment and average pay in select industry clusters, 2001

Industry Cluster	Total Employment	Average Pay
Agriculture and forestry	29,399	\$26,282
Metals, machinery, and transportation equipment	45,957	\$50,939
High technology	68,149	\$68,339
Nursery	4,216	\$24,062
Wood and paper products	17,195	\$42,514
Creative services	30,007	\$55,203

SOURCE: Oregon Employment Department. 2003. *ES-202 Data*. Portland, Oregon. Washington State Employment Security Department. 2003. *ES-202 Data*. Vancouver, Washington.

industry can trace its history back to Phil Knight, the founder of Nike, whose athletic activities began in the Oregon college town of Eugene where he ran track and field for the University of Oregon. Adidas America was later drawn to the region mainly because of the availability of specialized labor in the sports apparel market. The metals, machinery, and transportation equipment industries have their roots in the shipyards here during World War II. Employment in this industry peaked in 1944 when more than 115,000 worked for the shipyards (Abbott 1983). And the high technology industry traces its roots to 1946 when two local engineers founded Tektronix to make electronic measurement instruments (Lee 1986).

Common to all of these industry clusters is that they are more innovative and knowledge-intensive today than they were just a couple of decades ago. In that time the economy in the Portland region transitioned from a natural resource-oriented economy to one that is knowledge based. One key measure of knowledge creation is patent registration activity. By this measure the Portland region has been highly innovative over the last decades. While patent activity from 1975 to 1999 in the United States grew annually by 2%, patents in Portland were registered at an annual growth rate of 6% during the same period. The large high technology corporations such as Intel and Tektronix have been the most prolific patent holders. However, other sectors of the region's economy have adopted innovative products and production processes as well. The region's nursery industry, a national leader in the field, for example, relies on sophisticated marketing and merchandising techniques to increase sales of their products, which are different from traditional agricultural goods such as potatoes and grain.

The Portland region flourished economically in the 1990s, driven by export-oriented manufacturing. By 2000, about 12% of the region's total workforce was employed in manufacturing industries. Between 1990 and 2000, the six-county metropolitan area added 22,871 manufacturing jobs. This growth is remarkable because during the period most regions in the United States posted a loss in manufacturing employment due to the migration of these jobs overseas.

These manufacturing gains centered on the high technology industry. Echoing other high technology regions, the area branded itself with the name "Silicon Forest" in the 1980s. Tektronix sowed the seeds for the growth of this Silicon Forest in the late 1940s. The company grew quickly and became the world's leader in oscilloscope manufacturing. At its peak in the mid-1980s, Tektronix employed 15,000 people in the Portland

region and 24,000 worldwide. In late 1976, Intel set up its first branch plant in Washington County. Intel chose Portland because of the availability of cheap water and electricity and a less competitive environment for attracting talented employees as well as lower costs of living compared to Silicon Valley. The region never had a world-class research university, the commonly presumed prerequisite for high technology development. However, Intel and Tektronix compensated for this lack by functioning as "surrogate universities" (Mayer 2003). With Intel's move to the region, a host of supporting firms, suppliers and subcontractors, and competitors discovered the Portland location. Over time, a complex and innovative industrial cluster evolved that today benefits from close proximity to demanding customers such as Intel. Talented employees were attracted to the region because of the opportunities the high technology industry could offer and the high quality of life.

For the most part, the aforementioned industry clusters evolved without receiving much strategic attention from economic developers. Economic development policy has been characterized by a supply-side approach. During the region's high technology boom in the 1980s and 1990s, local and state leaders used tax measures to influence economic development. During the mid-1980s, the state repealed the unitary tax and during the 1990s instituted a tax break program—the Strategic Investment Program—for capital-intensive industries such as semiconductor manufacturing. Most of the jurisdictions in the region have economic development plans but a regional consensus on where the economy should head in the future has yet to emerge. Regional discussions about economic development mainly revolve around issues related to the availability of industrial land and the ability to grow knowledge-based industries. The latter has become a discussion topic because business, higher education, and economic development leaders are realizing the role higher education institutions can play in economic development.

Civic Landscape

Historian Kimbark MacColl (1979), chronicling Portland in the first half of the twentieth century, described an unambiguously conservative civic landscape. This was expressed in rural values, a belief in the sacred nature of private property, a deep-seated Anglo-Saxon bias, and an overriding desire for stability in the neighborhoods (see Chap. 5, Johnson). This was perhaps at odds with Portland's reputation as a wide-open port town, where sailors were warned against the risks of involuntary impressments

through a series of "shanghai tunnels" along the waterfront red light district (Lansing 2003).

On the whole, however, Portland escaped most of the highs and lows of early twentieth-century capitalism. Although a region with strong unions, it never experienced the levels of labor-management conflict or ethnic strife rampant in other western cities. The upheavals of central-city urban renewal and auto-driven suburbanization that remade many U.S. regions following World War II were also slow to arrive in Portland. Carl Abbott describes this stability as advantageous for a new generation of civic leaders in the 1960s and 1970s whose relatively small, homogeneous metropolitan region could be visualized "as a single place in need of common solutions" (Abbott 2002, 7).

Playing out on the demographic, economic, and civic landscapes just described, innovations in local and regional planning have contributed to Portland's reputation as a livable place. The 1970s saw state and local policies that laid the foundation of the region's reputation as a livable and well-planned metropolitan area. Senate Bill 10 was adopted in 1969, requiring cities and counties to prepare comprehensive land use plans that meet statewide standards. Senate Bill 100 created the Land Conservation and Development Commission in 1973 to monitor local comprehensive planning and compliance with a set of statewide planning goals. These goals are still in effect and focus comprehensively on the preservation of farmland, open space, housing, public facilities and services, urban growth boundaries, and economic development. By establishing a statewide land use planning framework in the early 1970s, Oregon was at the forefront of what is termed today the smart growth movement.

Urban growth boundaries were mandated statewide in 1973–1974 and Metro, the regionally elected land use and transportation planning agency, defined the boundary for the Portland metropolitan region in 1979 (Gibson and Abbott 2002). Initially the motivation behind state land use planning was to protect the fertile farmland in the Willamette Valley (Abbott 1983, Abbott et al. 1994). As urbanization increased, however, attention has shifted toward managing the forms growth takes within the established urban growth boundaries, especially in the Portland metropolitan area.

While the 1970s saw the introduction of innovative planning policies statewide, they also saw new approaches to downtown planning. Following World War II, downtown Portland faced the same challenges as other U.S. cities: The central city area lost its attraction to shoppers,