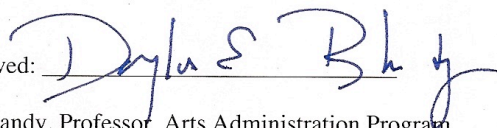


Gentrification and the Arts
On Mississippi Ave.
Creating Two Neighborhoods and Trying to Make Them Whole
by
Milo Francis Petruziello

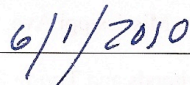
A Master's Project
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Master's Degree in Arts Management
Arts and Administration Program
School of Architecture and Allied Arts
University of Oregon
2010

Approved: _____


Dr. Doug Blandy, Professor, Arts Administration Program

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EDUCATION

M.S. in Arts Administration, Anticipated 2010 from The University of Oregon, Eugene, OR

B.A. In Music, 2007 from The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Presently at University of Oregon Cultural Forum, Eugene, OR

Performing Arts Coordinator

- Research, negotiate, contract, and implement quality national and international performing artists for students and community members at University of Oregon venues ranging in size from 500-800.
- Research, negotiate, contract, and implement quality regional music artists for students and community members for annual Willamette Valley Music Festival that attracts over 9,000.
- Create performance budgets typically exceeding \$10,000.
- Write and submit funding proposals and grants to corporate and regional arts institutions resulting in two awards of \$2,500 from the Western States Arts Federation.
- Collaborate with community and University organizations to organize community programs by touring performers, as well as informational booths and nonprofit demonstrations at events.
- Coordinate volunteers and event related staff.
- Contribute to the development of marketing materials for events.
- Conduct extensive research on international artists and the USCIS Visa process.

January 2010 – March 2010 Bill Flood Consulting, Portland, OR

Special Problems Researcher for the Revival of the Oregon Folklife Program

- Perform key interviews with employees of other folklife programs around the country to develop recommendations regarding the proposed program's structure, potential entrepreneurial opportunities and language.
- Attend meetings and teleconferences with key stakeholders from across the state of Oregon.
- Create a comprehensive diagram representation of the proposed folklife program with input from key stakeholders.

June 2009 – September 2009 Portland Center Stage, Portland, OR

Community Programs Intern

- Worked with Portland Center Stage community partners to plan community programs for expanding access to the 10 play 2009-2010 season and highlighting relevant community issues raised by the thematic elements in the plays, in particular *Ragtime*, *Ben Franklin: Unplugged*, *Snow Falling on Cedars*, and *The Chosen*.
- Coordinated community artist labs and a theatre fair featuring 40 Portland area theatre companies for Portland Center Stage's annual JAW festival, a workshop festival for new plays.

(Portland Center Stage Continued)

- Contributed to Portland Center Stages evaluation of its community programs by working with my supervisor and an outside consultant to plan focus groups, write transcripts of focus groups and conceptualize and distribute surveys.
- Researched and wrote resource guides for plays in the 2009-2010 season.

June 2009 – September 2009 Dill Pickle Club, Portland, OR

Programs Intern

- Worked with Dill Pickle Club founder to plan the growth of the new organization by working on budgets and strategically planning for programs that would create cash flow and raise the organization's visibility.
- Helped coordinate field trips that engaged participants with relevant Portland issues by contacting potential sites and collaborating on themes, schedules and informational materials.

December 2004 – July 2008 Skilken Properties, Columbus, OH

Development Assistant

- Performed market research through car trips and Internet searching to identify potential shopping center tenants.
- Used market research to create targeted mass mailing to 400 businesses around central Ohio.
- Updated \$600,000 annual utilities/maintenance budget for a Florida shopping center with 12 local and national retailers.
- Reviewed commercial lease abstracts to make sure that they are accurate and up-to-date.

2005 – 2008 Professional Musician, Columbus, OH

Guitarist, Band Leader

- Performed around central Ohio with different bands of many different musical styles.
- Booked gigs for a Jazz Fusion group and a Country cover band in a variety of different venues including clubs, festivals and private parties.
- Built strong relationships with club owners and negotiated dates and payment.
- Organized the rehearsal schedule for a six-piece band and a four-piece band.
- Created promotional materials including press packages, flyers and posters

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

June 2008 – August 2008 The Jefferson Academy of Music, Columbus, OH

Private and group Guitar Instructor

- Taught a guitar class for middle school age low-income students.
- Gave private lessons to two students.

September 2007 – June 2008 The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

Lecturer

- Designed the curriculum for Music 101.37 Introduction to Guitar for Non-majors.
- Taught a guitar class to a variety of students whose musical backgrounds and abilities varied significantly.
- Used the Internet to distribute course materials including recordings and a course packet.

(The Ohio State University Continued)

- Tested students on skill development.

August 2006 – May 2008 Fort Hayes Career Center, Columbus, OH

Instructor

- Instructed students of a Columbus Public Schools career center in a wide variety of musical skills including theory, ear training, and performance techniques.

May 2007 – September 2007 Ohio State School for the Blind, Columbus, OH

Music Aide

- Taught guitar to blind students.
- Gave general instruction in music.
- Used computer software to create marching band charts.
- Helped to organize and ran sound for the school concert, which included all students.

VOLUNTEER WORK

May 13, 2009 Oregon Arts Summit, Portland, OR

General Volunteer

- Worked registration.
- Provided assistance wherever needed.

March 2009- May 2009 UNESCO Center for Intercultural Dialogue and Peace, Eugene, OR

Logistics Coordinator for Conference

- Scheduled transportation to and from events.
- Addressed equipment needs for events.
- Created volunteer job descriptions.
- Organized and managed volunteer labor.

October 2007- June 2008 The Ohio State School for the Blind, Columbus, OH

Radio Station Volunteer

- Supervised the student radio station every week that school was in session for 9 months.
- Built strong relationships with students.

COMPUTER SKILLS

Microsoft Office

- Word, Excel and Power Point.

Adobe Creative Suite

- InDesign, Illustrator, Dream Weaver, and Photoshop.

GRANT AWARDS

Western States Arts Federation

- \$2,500 TourWest grant to partially fund Noreum Machi at the EMU Ballroom, February 11, 2010.
- \$2,500 TourWest grant to partially fund The Yuval Ron Ensemble at Beall Hall, April 15, 2010.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I have to thank my research adviser Dr. Doug Blandy for guiding me through the process and easing my fears in moments of crisis. I also have to thank him for his willingness to take a chance on me when I called three weeks before my first quarter started and asked him if I could accept my offer of admission after having initially declined it.

I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to all of the people who agreed to be interviewed for this research. All of them are busy people and I cannot thank them enough for their valuable time. In particular I must extend my appreciation for their trust and willingness to speak candidly on a sensitive issue.

To my cohort, I love you guys, you're beautiful, don't ever change. As the two years that we have shared together come to a close I must say that I look forward to a bright future of hitting you up for consulting work whether I am qualified or not, asking you for job references, and, of course, surfing on your couch when I pass through town on a whim. Holler any time; as Biggie said, "call the crib, same number, same hood"...well, probably not the same hood but the cell shouldn't change anytime soon..."it's all good."

My family deserves a great deal of credit for my success. To my parents, Frank and Gina Petruziello, and my brother Ian, thank you for your unconditional love and brutal honesty.

To Elizabeth, my love, thank you for your patience and your support. I could not have done this without you.

To the rest of the AAD faculty thanks you for sharing your wealth of knowledge. I have learned a lot in the past two years and I greatly appreciate the contribution that all of you have made to my education.

And, of course, big-up to Bus-Town and all my peoples in the Midwest, Northeast, and across the pond... be easy.

Peace.

Abstract

Gentrification is a complex process of urban development that often leads to the creation of vibrant cultural districts. While this often has a positive effect on the established arts community and on the neighborhoods economic and physical infrastructure, it also causes the displacement of the areas original residents. This research will attempt to explain how the arts fit into this process and make recommendations on how the arts can and should play a role in community revitalization without gentrification.

Keywords

Gentrification, Neo Liberalism, Cultural District, Redlining, Community, Culture, Development, Creative Class

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Chapter 1 | Introduction and Research Design

Problem Statement

Up-and-coming cultural districts like Portland, Oregon's N. Mississippi Ave. are a boon for artists and small businesses, small business owners, and middle-class members of Richard Florida's creative class. At the same time their development often results in the displacement the original population through gentrification. Artists are common players in the process, often being some of the first members of the middle class to brave the "urban frontier" by relocating to low-income neighborhoods (Caulfield, 1994; Deutsche & Ryan 1984; Cole 1987). In some cases, the in-migration of artists leads to a neighborhood revitalization that forces the original inhabitants to move. This is a moral dilemma for local artists and art organizations that cannot be ignored.

In some cases, artists do received certain benefits from gentrification. Abandoned factories can provide the workspace that artists need for their studios, as was the issue in Hoboken, New Jersey in the 1980s (Cole, 1987). Gentrifying neighborhoods like Mississippi Ave. often boast trendy galleries, fashionable boutiques, performance venues, hip restaurants and bars, and regular promotional events highlighting local businesses and arts participation. The creation of New York's East Village in the 1980s shows how gentrification provides artists the opportunity to build new artistic epicenters after they have been priced out of other more trendy and entrenched arts districts, in this case Soho and Uptown (Deutsche & Ryan 1984). Artistic scenes created in gentrified districts assist artists by facilitating the easier exchange of information, creating access to education, and bolstering the market for artists' work (Zukin, 1987).

From a certain perspective, the city also benefits from gentrification. Neighborhoods targeted for revitalization are often in disrepair and dangerous, much like Mississippi Ave. in the 1980s, which saw significant gang activity (Gibson, 2007). Gentrification repairs buildings and improves the city's property tax base (Shaw, 2005). The creation of the East Village in New York City drew praise from local media, celebrating artists as heroes for their role in the area's development (Deutsche & Ryan 1984). Revitalization is a term used throughout the literature to describe the process of gentrification; this suggests a positive view of gentrification's effects. And certainly, the changes Mississippi Ave. have had many positive outcomes. The street is safer than it was two decades ago, many of its historic homes have been restored, it hosts many successful small businesses, and it boasts vibrant third spaces like coffee shops, bars, and music venues.

Unfortunately, cultural districts like Mississippi Ave. do not appear out of nowhere. Gentrified neighborhoods begin as low-income and working class communities. The original residents are commonly forced to leave as rents increase along with property values and taxes. While the artists are simply one piece of the puzzle amongst bigger forces of economics, municipal policy, commercial development and the expansion of a more educated middle class; they are, in many cases, an important piece in this cycle of displacement. Often the artists become displaced themselves as rents continue to rise due to an influx of wealthier residents; a phenomenon commonly called the SoHo effect (Kirk, 2009).

Despite the pivotal role that artists often play in gentrification, they are rarely given any thorough consideration in the literature outside of a few articles from the 1980s. They come up in more current literature as members of a marginal middle class or marginal gentrifiers who gravitate to urban neighborhoods that suit their values and lifestyle (Caulfield 1994, Shaw,

2005). But little attention is given to the details of their role outside of the traditional model of the artist as the pioneer. Several cases suggest that artists create an artistic milieu that makes the neighborhood appealing and the sense of safety that makes the neighborhood palatable to the rest of the middle class (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Cole, 1987). In cases where artists are one of the primary first wave gentrifiers, they create a community identity that is conducive to revitalization. This is a very powerful role but it does not thoroughly address the complex way that arts and culture interact with a neighborhood as cultural space.

Considerable research exists on the role of the arts in building stronger communities. Work in the community cultural development field by practitioners like Borup (2006) and Goldbard (2001, 2006) show compelling evidence that arts participation empowers communities economically and culturally. Furthermore Feldstein and Putnam's (2003) work on social capital shows arts participation to be a connective force across disparate groups. Several of their case studies show the significant accomplishments people have achieved by working with others, regardless of how different they might be. The arts are not, however, only positive in their cultural impact; people like Goldbard (2001) and Le Texier (2007) show the harm that can be done when a community's cultural practices, symbols, and values are misrepresented or replaced by another, more dominant culture.

Community strength is important because authors attempting to find methods of gentrification prevention like Shaw (2005) and Angotti (2008) suggest that stronger communities are more resistant to displacement. Integrating this literature advocates for a more nuanced look at the role of the arts in gentrification. Artists and arts organizations are not simply colonizers, although they have certainly shared that role, but community builders and protectors as well. Answers to the difficult dilemma of revitalization without gentrification require a hard look at

the holistic potential of arts and culture in neighborhood life, while addressing the important – often more potent – roles of planning and development in community change. Taking this broader perspective is necessary to finding effective, equitable, and sustainable solutions.

Conceptual Framework

The greater arts and culture community – encompassing everyone from individual artists, community artists and community cultural development practitioners, arts organizations (for-profit, nonprofit and informal), and related design fields – have a complex relationship with the process of gentrification. Depending on the context of the neighborhood and the perspective taken, artists are can be considered the heroes, villains, pawns, dividers, unifiers, beneficiaries and/or victims of gentrification.

As heroes they may lead the way for revitalization, becoming the champions of the new neighborhood, drawing praise from the city, the media and commercial interests. To the original population they may be the villains because revitalization often pushes out low-income residents who have been in the community for a while. Divisions in the neighborhood can happen when one culture, often the more affluent newcomers, dominates the area's milieu including opportunities for involvement in the arts. But artists can become unifiers as well when they find ways to use art to bring long-time residents and new residents together, bridging their differences to form a more vibrant and equitable community. In the bigger picture of urban development artists are often the pawns because while they may provide the neighborhood with a newer, hipper image, revitalization comes down to capital and the interests it serves. Artists and other creative workers often benefit because of the improved art scene and better amenities. Finally, artists can become the victims because they often have moderate incomes and, in many cases, become priced-out of the neighborhoods they helped revitalize.

Obviously, this model cannot be applied to all gentrified neighborhoods since the situations vary widely. But it does provide an ideal type that can be used to analyze the role of artists, if any, in specific cases. This research will demonstrate how artists can and do fit these roles, in many cases multiple ones at the same time. It will accomplish this by positioning the arts within the broader context of neighborhood revitalization policy actors who provide the capital, regulation, incentives, and leadership necessary for significant reinvestment.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to take a more nuanced look at the way the artists, arts organizations and cultural workers impact gentrifying communities. Through this study I hope to create a more complete picture of the complex relationships between arts and cultural actors and other community actors in an effort to help inform how leaders in the arts work in gentrifying or potentially gentrifying neighborhoods. In line with the idea of praxis, I plan to apply the lessons of my research to my professional practice in the field and, hopefully, influence other professionals to do so.

Methodological Paradigm

The paradigm that I position myself in for the purpose of this research is critical inquiry. I am beginning my research with the belief that the current injustices of gentrification are unacceptable despite the processes benefits. My assumption is that the arts often play a morally precarious role in gentrification. Despite this fact, I also believe that the arts have an important role to play in neighborhood development models that do not lead to displacement. Even though some economic models make gentrification seem uncontrollable, I believe that better methods of development can be found. Finding a solution to the problem of gentrification that is both good

for the arts and for social justice requires a detailed analysis of the relationship between gentrification and the arts, as well as arts-based community-building practices.

Critical inquiry's use of reflexivity will be essential to my research. Neuman (1991) uses the example of Bourdieu to demonstrate the importance of being reflexive to critical inquiry. I embrace the process of being reflexive in my research by challenging my own assumptions. It is possible that many of my assumptions will not hold up to facts. I must be willing to challenge my assumptions in order to yield practical results that are applicable to real world practice.

Because of my interest in finding practical solutions to the problem of gentrification I will not limit my research to simply describing or attempting to explain the forces at work. I will also research models for dealing with gentrification that exist both in theory and in practice, as well as arts-based civic dialogue and community-building models, which share many elements with some of the community-based planning models I have studied. It is my goal to synthesize these elements into theory that informs new strategies for addressing the problem.

Research Questions

My research is informed by the following questions. How do arts and cultural organizations contribute to and benefit from the creation of cultural districts through gentrification? What role can/should arts and cultural organizations play in neighborhood revitalization? What effect does this have on the residents? What influence do such organizations contribute to gentrification? How is culture represented in gentrified neighborhoods?

Delimitations and Limitations

No two neighborhoods, much less cities, are the same and gentrification is complex process. Because of this fact addressing gentrification broadly is beyond the scope of this study. To delimit the study I decided to focus on only one neighborhood, the burgeoning Mississippi

Ave. Historic District in North Portland. My goal is to do a comprehensive study of contributing factors to Mississippi's rapid change as well as how neighborhood residents and organizations are coping with change. Studying more than one neighborhood would be too large of an undertaking for me to achieve the appropriate level of detailed analysis.

Because the study focuses on only one neighborhood its generalizability is very limited. This is the most significant limitation of the study. The actors and political context that promote and constrain gentrification are different in every city. This makes it impossible to apply the lessons of Mississippi's situation to another location without considerable adaptation for the unique political, economic, cultural and historical context of the new site. However, it is my intention to provide a comprehensive enough picture that arts and cultural leaders, as well as other community leaders, in other cities will be able to find it helpful in informing their practice.

Benefits of the Study

Gentrification had been a significant problem in American cities, particularly since the 1980s, which is when much of the literature starts to appear. Except in possibly a few specific cases, no sufficient solution has been found. This study intends to offer a thorough examination of the role of arts and culture to help inform models for revitalizing blighted areas that do not simply replace the original residents with wealthier ones. The gentrification paradigm of urban redevelopment is the easy way out, not fixing the problem but moving it. Much harder is building from the ground up to benefit the original residents of low-income urban neighborhoods. Furthermore, fears of gentrification should not stymie the well-meaning and responsible redevelopment of depressed areas, because people in those areas deserve to live in a vibrant neighborhood too. This conundrum leaves cities, developers, communities, and arts leaders with a difficult task. Hopefully, this study will be a positive contribution to easing that

burden, especially in the City of Portland, which has undergone significant change in the last decade and experienced gentrification in more neighborhoods than this study could address.

Selection of Site and Participants

My research will take the form of a comprehensive case study of the burgeoning cultural district on Mississippi Ave. in North Portland. North Portland in general has changed significantly over the past two decades. According to the Urban League of Portland's *The State of Black Oregon* in 1990 51% of all African Americans in the state of Oregon lived in North Portland, now it is only 20% (Urban League of Portland, 2009). That is a massive change and one that has been contentious.

Mississippi Ave. is an interesting case because it is currently in the process of gentrifying, so it provides an opportunity to investigate the process while it is still ongoing. North Portland also features initiatives to help the neighborhood cope with the change. The most high profile one is called the Restorative Listening Project, which engages the traditional residents and the newcomers in dialogue about the issue. My case study will seek to identify the political, cultural, economic, and historical contexts that lead to the gentrification of Mississippi Ave. and examine how local initiatives and residents are interacting with these processes.

I used snowball sampling to identify subjects for key interviews. During my time interning at Portland Center Stage I started to develop a network of potential informants. I began with names that I acquired during my summer in Portland and, through interviews with those informants and informal conversations about my research with Portland residents, other names surfaced. By the time I finished I had the opportunity to speak with Barry Manning, Nicholas Starin and Debbie Bischoff of the Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, Judith Mowry and John Canda of the Restorative Listening Project, Kay Newell, owner of Sunlan Lighting on

Mississippi, Eric Isaacson, owner of Mississippi Records, Cathy Galbraith, Executive Director of Bosco-Milligan Foundation, and longtime area residents Ural Thompson and Gary Vollstedt. Most interviews were done individually, except for the employees of the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, who were interviewed as a group for the sake of convenience, and Mr. Thomason and Mr. Vollstedt, also interviewed together for the sake of convenience.

Through conversations with participants, examining of local media outlets, and continued presence on the street, I was able to identify important community events to attend. During the course of my research I attended two sessions of the Restorative Listening Project, a performance of August Wilson's *Radio Golf* at Portland Playhouse that included a post show discussion, the Mississippi Ave. *Spring Greening* event, the opening of the collaborative Hello Neighbor and Boise Voices art show at City Hall, and a Sunday afternoon jam session at Ural Thomson's home. Attending these events, along with my interviews, gave me a sizable amount of data from which to glean my findings.

Strategy of Inquiry

Case study is a strong method for addressing gentrification and the arts because it allows for detailed study of specific neighborhoods or cases. No two neighborhoods are identical so in order to understand this process it is important to analyze its real-world impact in context. Case study provides the best platform to accomplish this task. Even though case studies are not generalizable, their foundation in the real allows the research to make informed recommendations regarding practice. A significant portion of the gentrification literature draws on case study including Cole (1987), Caulfield (1994), Angotti (2009) and Deutsche and Ryan (1984).

Neuman (1991) defines a case study as “Research that is an in-depth examination of an extensive amount of information about very few units or cases for one period or across multiple periods of time.”(p. 40) Although it is not perfect, the case study method is a valuable tool for addressing practices and phenomena as they occur in real-life. It is a versatile method that can be applied to many different situations and disciplines. Through extensive research and thick description, case studies can reveal a significant amount of information about a specific case and in doing so inform theory and practice for future scholars and professionals.

Case studies done by Animating Democracy are excellent models of the strategy. Animating Democracy publishes case studies, conducted over a two-year span, of arts organizations that conduct arts-based civic dialogue. Stern (2005) and Graves et al (2006) both provide detailed accounts of the dialogue projects they studied. Both studies include significant background information on the involved organizations and communities, interviews with participants, observations of important events.

In *African in Maine* Graves et al (2006) provides detailed background information on each of the three immigrant communities that the Center for Cultural Exchange worked with. *Out North* recounts the projects entire formation process with comments from key players (Stern, 2005). In both cases the researcher reflects on the successes and failures of the initiative they studied. While not completely generalizable, these studies are very useful because they put the successes and failures of each project into context and help the reader to take away valuable lessons.

Participant observation will be one of my main methods of data collection just like in the Animating Democracy examples. Case study data collection is primarily observational, with the researcher serving as the collector (Gerring & McDermott, 2007). Participant observation is a

significant data collection tool in the previously mentioned Animating Democracy case studies. I will conduct observations by spending time in the neighborhoods that I decide to study, attending functions in those neighborhoods and observing their cultural life.

In-depth interviews with a wide group of relevant people will be used to get more detailed, first hand information that cannot be obtained from observation alone. Interviews are an important field work technique and are a common tool in case study research (Neuman, 1991). They provide first hand accounts of events and daily practice. Both Bostwick (2008) and Byers (2008) use interviews in their case studies, which were part of their master's projects. Potential interviewees include neighborhood residents past and present, neighborhood artists, business owners, developers, area leaders and city planners.

Textual analysis will also be an important part of my research. Historical documents will be essential to studying the neighborhood. My interpretation of current conditions in each neighborhood will be contrasted with historical accounts, allowing me to document the changes and put the gentrification process in perspective. City policy documents will also be important to the study. Since city policy plays a crucial role in the gentrification process, it is impossible to analyze a gentrification case without also analyzing the policies that contributed to it.

Thorough data collection is essential to a good case study. No case study can ever be complete, since it is impossible to know everything about any given case (Richardson, 2000). However, a good researcher will gather as much information as possible to create a thick description of the unit of study. Neuman (1991) defines thick description as "a rich, detailed description of specifics (as opposed to summary, standardization, generalization, or variables)." (p. 382). Utilizing participant observation, interviews and detailed textual analysis will provide the wealth of information necessary to creating this thick description.

Ethical Issues

The risk involved in participating in this study is minimal since providing the requested information will create no risk greater than what the interviewee would encounter in everyday life. There may be some economic risk involved for interviewees who work or own a business in the neighborhood since there is the potential for their comments to offend their boss or local costumers. Economic risk may also exist for developers who are likely to be concerned about being portrayed as the enemy. Social risk is a concern since participants may have their comments criticized by neighborhood leaders or residents. As with any study of this nature loss of confidentiality is a risk. To mitigate this I will be extremely careful in my stewardship of the data and will seek permission to quote all participants.

Procedures

As outlined above my categories for key interviews included neighborhood residents past and present, neighborhood artists, neighborhood business owners, neighborhood leaders, planners and developers. Due to time constraints I was unable to engage such a wide variety of participants however I did speak with some residents, business owners, leaders, and planners. Participants were recruited via email, telephone, and in person. All were provided a formal letter that outlines the study and the details their level of involvement complete with contact information for my adviser and myself. Once all of the data was collected into this document, all participants were given the opportunity to review the portions of the paper that paraphrased their words or quoted them directly.

Instruments and Forms

I used a series of forms for the recruitment of participants and obtaining informed consent. All forms take into account the ethical concerns of this study and are intended to respect

the rights of participants. A sample consent form can be seen in Appendix C and a sample recruitment form can be seen in Appendix B. For each category of informant I developed a unique interview protocol that I used as starting point to frame the conversation (See Appendix D).

Credibility

I used triangulation to establish credibility by seeking multiple perspectives from a variety of different neighborhood stakeholders, attending as large a number of relevant community events as possible, and analyzing relevant historical documents. My interviewees were diverse, including city planners, area business owners, local leaders, residents, conflict resolution and social service specialists, Black community members, and White community members. Many of my interviewees have been and continue to be active participants in civic affairs on Mississippi Ave. and North Portland in general. Some participants have directly benefited from the changes in the area, while others have not. All interviewees will be asked for member checks to insure that they are quoted accurately and appropriately.

Prolonged engagement was essential. Since the site is only two hours north of my home in Eugene I was able to spend a considerable amount of time in the neighborhood allowing me to observe and participate in community life. Over the course of my research I spent enough time in the Fresh Pot at the corner of Mississippi and Shaver to recognize the regulars. I made sure to familiarize myself with the neighborhood by walking around and frequenting its businesses. I also attended a number of community events during my data collection phase. Events that I sought included ones that dealt specifically with the issue of gentrification in the neighborhood, branded the neighborhood as cultural destination, or were representative of arts involvement in the neighborhood.

The combination of a diverse group of relevant interviewees, textual analysis, and prolonged engagement with the neighborhood through informal patronage and event attendance provided me with a wide-ranging data set, representing multiple perspectives. This allowed me to look at the case with many lenses and provide as complete an account of its situation as possible. My efforts resulted in sufficient data to effectively triangulate towards thick description of the case that is credible and accurate to the best of my abilities given the time constraints of the project.

Chapter 2 | Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to establish a theoretical framework for understanding the gentrification process on Mississippi Ave. and the role of the arts. It elaborates on theoretical explanations for gentrification as well as the traditional narrative of artists as first wave gentrifiers. Modern literature on creative economy and community cultural development are used to add nuance to the role of the arts in community building. An overview of participatory planning is included to help draw attention to the role of neighborhood planning and models for minimizing displacement. Finally, it provides a review of policy mechanisms commonly used to establish cultural districts, which, in some cases may lead to gentrification.

Gentrification, The Process, and the Artist as Pioneer

Gentrification is “the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use” (Zukin, 1987, p. 129). This transition causes property values to rise, which raises property taxes and rents, typically resulting in the displacement of the majority of the previous residents. The most vulnerable residents tend to be poor Whites and minorities, the elderly, female headed households and blue collar/working-class occupational groups (Shaw, 2005). This phenomenon reflects a movement, beginning in the 1960s, of private capital investment in the United States’ urban centers (Zukin, 1987). It is an extremely complex process that takes different forms in different cities, and many different causal explanations exist. Middle class gentrifiers – middle class citizens who relocate to gentrifying urban neighborhoods – include a very diverse cross section of people and cannot easily be broken down into neat classifications (Caulfield, 1994). While no one gentrifier or one gentrification pattern exists, cases of this process are often the result of similar forces and share common themes.

In many cases the neighborhoods that experience gentrification have been victimized by years of disinvestment. This often comes in the form of redlining, or capital blacklisting.

Redlining is the act perpetrated by banks denying capital in the form of mortgages, home improvement loans, and business loans, often to African American communities; historically it involved bankers literally drawing a red line on the map around areas to which they would not lend money (Lane, 1990). The practice is analogous to what Jacobs (2002) calls capital blacklisting, which is when financial institutions refuse capital to a neighborhood. The practice has a devastating effect on communities, relegating them to slum status. It has its roots in the Great Depression when banks began to map out areas with high foreclosure rates. Around the same time municipal slum clearance maps began to appear; Jacobs argues that the two are intertwined, helping to buttress each other's legitimacy and creating a self-fulfilling prophecy that the blacklisted area will inevitably decay.

Gibson (2007) helps illuminate how this form of disinvestment leads to gentrification. She argues that gentrification's profitability is based on a developer's ability to "purchase a structure in an area, rehabilitate it, make mortgage and interest payments, and still make a return on the sale of the renovated building" (p. 5). She cites Smith's (1996) concept of devalorization, which lays out the steps for achieving this level of disinvestment in a five-part process. First, the neighborhood is built, but as houses begin to age the residents move out. Second, absentee landlords take over and choose to make money off rent while neglecting repairs. Third, is block busting, when realtors use fears of racial turnover and loss of property value to get owners to sell at below market rates, sometimes turning around and selling to minorities at inflated prices. Fourth, redlining by banks denies access to capital and decreases homeownership. Fifth, comes abandonment, often accompanied by arson as landowners try to cash in on insurance. Once an

area is so disinvested that it becomes profitable to developers, it becomes gentrifiable.

One of the oldest theoretical explanations of gentrification is the ‘rent gap theory,’ which helps further conceptualize the economic rationale present in devalorization. It suggests that development will occur once the difference between actual rent and potential rent in a given neighborhood reaches a critical level (Ley, 1986). The disparity between actual and potential rent is called the ‘rent gap.’ This theory is tied to the economic tenet that urban space will inevitably be colonized by capital towards its “highest and best” use (Caulfield, 1994). It argues that once the rent gap in any area reaches a certain threshold, capital will inevitably be invested to return its properties to their maximum economic value (Ley, 1986).

The best illustration of this explanation is what Caulfield (1994) describes as the Structuralist-phase model wherein artists and bohemians move into a neighborhood as the unwitting tools of developers and municipal boosters. These artists are unfortunate pawns, later to be replaced by more elite residents as the property values continue to rise and thus approach maximum or “highest and best” value. This theory has significant flaws because it robs the participants of agency and reduces gentrification to nothing more than an economic process. However, the rent gap helps illustrate some of the important economic factors involved and fits some locations (Zukin, 1987).

Caulfield (1994) also provides another stereotypical model that he describes as the neoclassical phase model. This model has three phases. First, members of a marginal middle class move in, this class commonly consists of people with “unconventional life-styles” like artists and gays; second, more mainstream middle-class residents move in looking for a fashionable neighborhood; third, elites move in and prices skyrocket. This is the standard gentrification model but, while it is relevant to some situations, not all gentrifying neighborhoods

follow these distinct phases. Neighborhoods may stay perpetually on in phase one or two, or they may skip a phase all together.

Both of these models begin to point to the classic role of arts and culture as a pioneering force in the gentrification process. Caufield's (1994) neoclassical phase model illustrates this role, putting artists in the first phase as marginal middle-class gentrefiers. In this model the artists are the first middle-class representatives to take up residence in a low-income neighborhood, often attracted by low rents, cultural diversity, and large studio spaces. Once entrenched in the neighborhood the artists create a social milieu that is attractive to more mainstream members of the middle-class.

New York city offers classic examples of the artist as the pioneer. Manhattan's Lower East Side has twice been the target of heavy artist colonization since World War II. Once temporarily in the 1960s with the rise of hippy culture (Mele, 2002) and again in the 1980s when artists found themselves priced out of SoHo and TriBeCa (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). As New York became more and more expensive, artists also began moving to New Jersey, sometimes with active encouragement from developers and municipalities hoping to replicate the effect of successful gentrification in Manhattan (Cole, 1987).

In the Mid-60s the Lower East Side saw a huge influx of hippies who rejected suburban values (Mele, 2002). The new residents brought with them a vibrant art scene, running the gamut from visual art, music, theatre and film. Their presence was a boon to property owners and development who capitalized on the migration to rebrand the area as the "East Village." Several new housing developments, like Village View and Village East, were built during this time period while rents began to rise in existing buildings. This was a relatively short-lived phenomenon however, with much of the hippie movement receding in the early 70's.

The influx of artists to the East Village in the 80's had more lasting impact (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). Artists began to leave SoHo and TriBeCa as rents in those neighborhoods skyrocketed, in what has become the classic example of artists being priced out of a neighborhood due to revitalization that they catalyzed. This phenomenon is called the SoHo effect (Kirk, 2009). Artists had been integral to creating the chic that made SoHo a fashionable place to live, but they had done their job too well and were ultimately unable to afford to stay there. Many of the previous residents and small businesses were also displaced. Once artists could no longer afford the rents in SoHo they moved to the East Village and the process repeated itself. This cyclical process, wherein artists inevitably move on to the next gentrifiable area, is commonly associated with the SoHo effect.

When the artists began to move into the Lower East Side in the 1980s it was one of New York City's poorest neighborhoods with 40% of its population lived in poverty (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). It was also a diverse neighborhood being 37% Hispanic and 11% African American. The neighborhood's reputation in the city was that of a dangerous slum, but perceptions began to change when artists moved in. Local media touted the revitalization as a renaissance and middle-class residents began relocating there. As a result, the neighborhood's working class and poor residents were forced to leave. To the original residents this was an invasion.

It is important to note, however, that the revitalization of the Lower East Side was not a completely random or organic process (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). The city already owned 60% of the neighborhood due to tax defaults and building abandonment. By acquiring large amounts of land and letting it deteriorate the city was able to sell large blocks to developers at attractive rates. This, coupled with a city tax abatement for luxury housing development, provided an

economic foundation for developers to take advantage of the neighborhood's burgeoning artistic reputation. Deutsche & Ryan (1984) argue that, despite their efforts to be portrayed to the contrary, artists are inherently linked to the broader development agenda of the city and private developers; artists and galleries are, "enmeshed in the mechanism" (p. 100). This is a classic example of the artist as pioneer gentrification narrative; Artists provide the milieu, the media provides the visibility, the city provides the incentives, and the developers do the building.

The common narrative of the artist as "pioneer" is important, but simplistic. It portrays a vibrant cultural scene as a dangling carrot, seductively luring the traditional middle class out of the suburbs, while failing address the active role that arts and culture have in shaping the community socially and economically. This narrow view is paralleled by past economic impact studies which gauge the economic impact of the arts by "totaling up the amounts that patrons spend on performances and restaurant meals, parking and shopping in districts around major theatres, symphony halls and galleries" (King & Markusen, 2003, p. 3). Thinking of the arts as a commercial anchor, drawing an entertainment-seeking middle class with disposable income, is important and does represent a piece of the economic impact of the arts, as well as the rationale for artistic based revitalization, but the bigger picture is far more complex.

Neo-Liberal Urbanism and the Creative Economy

The neo-classical phase model, the structuralist phase model, and the common narrative of the artist as pioneer are a helpful starting point for understanding gentrification as it can happen in specific neighborhoods. They also provide some basis for understanding the often-cited role of arts and culture as instigators of development. However, they are stereotypes that are limited in their scope and application, and they do not address the broader systemic forces at work. Monje and Vicario (2005) argue that gentrification is part of a larger process of urban

restructuring. Indeed, in order to better understand the process it is necessary to take a broader view of important changes economic policy, values, and lifestyle that have occurred in the United States since the 1970s. Embedded in these changes are an important discourse regarding the economic impact of arts and culture, particularly as it pertains to competitive advantage in a post-industrial economy and neighborhood revitalization.

Recent literature suggests that neo-liberal urbanism is the primary economic policy driver of gentrification (Angotti, 2009; Hammel & Wyly, 2005; Shaw 2005). Neo-liberalism is a movement in governmental planning and development that began in the 1970s; deregulation, privatization, and marketization form its foundation. Characterized by unwillingness on the part of local governments to regulate the use of private capital invested in urban revitalization, as well as increased public subsidies to encourage investment, Neo-Liberalism is accused of turning urban cores into unsupervised playgrounds for major capital developers. It is not difficult to see this phenomenon in Deutsche & Ryan's (1984) East Village. They bring to light the fact that the city owned a significant portion of the neighborhood and used tax incentives to encourage development after artists had begun to change perceptions of the area.

Neo-liberalism has roots in globalization, which facilitated America's economic shift away from manufacturing and towards a service-oriented economy based on ideas and creativity. As globalization reduces the role of location, it becomes more and more important for cities to find ways to attract capital and talent (Wyly & Hammel, 2005). Florida (2009) illustrates this shift by pointing out the two sides of globalization. One is the geographic spread of routine economic functions like manufacturing. The second is the tendency of higher-level economic activities like innovation, design, and finance to cluster in certain locations. This is what Michael Porter (cited in Florida, 2009) calls the "Location Paradox," which states "the more things are

mobile, the more decisive place becomes” (p. 19). The result is civic policy, which, in an effort to turn its municipality into one of Florida’s clusters of higher-level economic activity, lays itself at the mercy of the market. Cities manifest this policy by providing tax and regulatory incentives to big companies while allowing capital to run amok creating gentrified neighborhoods to secure “livability” for the new middle class that drives the idea economy.

The urban “livability” that neo-liberalism is designed to create is quintessential to understanding gentrification because it begins to explain the important question of *why* the middle class began to *choose* to move back into the urban core. Post World War II the American middle-class fled the cities for the suburbs en masse (Caulfield, 1994). In the 1960s capital began to return to the inner city and so did the middle class (Zukin, 1987). Choice is an important concept because explanations suggesting this migration was driven by necessity stemming from rising suburban housing prices have been largely discredited. Instead both Caulfield (1994) and Zukin (1987) point out that people moved to cities because they *wanted* to, not because they had to. Ley (1986) helps validate this point when his studies reveal that many gentrifiers were raised in urban environments, he argues that the migration represents pro-urban values and a desire for urban amenities.

Understanding middle-class choice to return to the inner city is essential because gentrification is as much an issue of culture as it is economics. Gentrifiers move to the inner city because they want to live an urban life style in culturally validated neighborhoods, which “automatically provide new middle classes with the collective identity and social credentials for which they strive” (Logan & Molotch, 1987 cited in Zukin, 1987). Artists often provide cultural validation, as Cole (1987) asserts, by establishing a neighborhood as chic or “cool.” Zukin (1987) also cites an NEA study that found cities with the highest rate of artists in the labor force

also had the highest rate of gentrification (Gale, 1984). Caulfield (1994) calls this phenomenon class-constitution, which he defines as the middle class looking to reaffirm their status and identity. He suggests that this is a rejection of suburban hegemony and cites Castells (1983) claiming that the middle class is looking for a sense of “place” that city can provide, while the suburbs cannot.

Urban living has many amenities that the suburbs lack (Ley, 1987). The perks of the city include greater cultural diversity and, in many cases, the ability to live in a historic home and to walk or bike to work (Zukin, 1987). Neighborhoods with historic infrastructure or large spaces conducive to being turned into artist’s studios are often prime gentrification targets (Shaw, 2005). Florida (2002) mentions that diversity is an important value for the creative class. Although this creates an interesting paradox because gentrification inevitably reduces the diversity of the neighborhood it effects (Shaw, 2005).

Florida’s (2002) concept of creative economy is helpful in bridging the gap between the cultural and the economic drivers of gentrification. Creative economy is based on the idea that creativity is a vital source of competitive advantage in today’s economy. Florida’s book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) identifies two groups of people who drive this economy the creative class (any person who’s economic function is to produce new ideas) and creative professionals (professionals who engage in complex problem solving and independent judgment as necessary parts of their job). According to him, cities that do the best job of attracting and maintaining a high percentage of these two groups will have the strongest and most vibrant economies.

Creative economy is an idea that has become increasingly important since the 1990s (Borrop 2006). It is a response to the rise in “creative industries” in the United States, as the country shifts away from a production based industrial economy, towards a more idea based – or

creative – economy (Borup 2006, Florida, 2002). Florida's *Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002 was instrumental in cementing this idea into mainstream economic thought. Over the last decade numerous studies have been conducted on the role of creativity and/or arts and culture in economic development. Examples include, but are certainly not limited to, Florida's *Who's your City* (2009), parts of University of Pennsylvania's *Social Impact of the Arts Project* (Stern & Seifert, 2007ab; Nowack, 2007), Center for an Urban Future's *The Creative Engine* (2002), Americans for the Arts' *Arts and Economic Prosperity* (2007), and King and Markusen's *The Artistic Dividend* (2003). While all of these studies are different, and some emphasize the creative economy paradigm more than others, all give useful insights into current thinking on arts-based economic development.

One of the most commonly cited economic impacts of arts and culture is their ability to create an environment and amenities – or sense of “place” – that attract and retain creative workforce (Florida, 2002; Center for an Urban Future, 2002; King and Markusen, 2003, Americans for the Arts, 2007). Florida claims that “quality of place,” which includes “what’s there” (built and natural environment), “who’s there” (people), and “what’s going on” (street life, arts and culture), is extremely important to creatives when they choose where to live. The creative economy perspective on “place” helps to elaborate on gentrification scholarship from the 1980s cited above, including Lay (1987), Zukin (1987), and Cole (1987), all of whom point to amenities and attractive milieu as important elements drawing the middle class back to the inner city.

Florida's 2002 study showed that the list of things that creative people value in a city include lifestyle – things to do, nightlife, music scene – and social interaction, which put an emphasis on third spaces – not home or work – like bookstores and coffee shops. Many of these

amenities are often byproducts of or enhanced by a thriving arts and cultural scene. He also points to authenticity, or uniqueness of place, as a primary attractor of the creative class. Arts and culture are an important part of creating an authentic environment by “giving local economies their ‘soul’” (Center for an Urban Future, 2002, p. 2) and creating a vibrant and dynamic setting for creative people to work and play. Nowak (2007) points out that artists are natural place makers because they offer opportunities for creative expression, build social capital, facilitate connections across physical boundaries, create quality public space, and provide educational opportunities. Florida (2002) also credits the place-making power of arts and culture, pointing out that music in particular is essential to creating authenticity, calling it the “soundtrack to the community” (p. 228).

Identity is also an important part of “place” and an essential value of the creative class. Florida argues that as creative workforce becomes more transient location becomes an important source of status for creative workers. This suggests that people draw a significant piece of their identity from their block, their neighborhood and their city; so, the “hipper” or “cooler” the area, the more likely it is to attract creative people. This shows parallels to Caufield’s (1994) previously mentioned concept of class constitution, suggesting that vibrant urban neighborhoods can offer middle-class residents a culturally validated identity that the suburbs cannot.

Clustering is an important concept imbedded in creative economy and arts based economic development literature. Stern and Seifert (2007b) cite Allen J. Scott’s (1996b) study on Los Angeles design industries as an important work on the clustering of creative industries. Scott’s work shows how “Los Angeles design industries are organized into clusters of similar firms that locate near one another in order to share resources and propinquity to their suppliers” (as cited in Stern & Seifert, 2007a, p. 31). He argues three reasons for this phenomenon. First,

clusters are efficient, allowing quicker interface with clients and partners. Second, they encourage innovation by creating a larger infrastructure of knowledge and resources. And third, they show the costs and benefits of different business models by creating a close network of similar firms engaging in a balance of competition and cooperation.

Stern and Seifert (2007b) echo the importance of clustering in their study of natural cultural districts in Philadelphia. Four important indicators mark natural cultural districts, which they define as “the geographically-defined networks created by the presence of a density of cultural assets in particular neighborhoods” (p. 1). These indicators, or “cultural assets” (p. 5) include cultural participants, nonprofit cultural providers (including informal), commercial cultural firms, and cultural artists. Clustering, according to Stern and Seifert, encourages innovation and creativity, creates a flow of ideas, and attracts new services and residents. Their argument shows strong similarities to Scott’s theories.

The importance of clustering also shows up in Florida’s work. His 2002 work *Rise of the Creative Class* talks about the importance of creative centers, which are cities that he claims “provide the integrated ecosystem or habitat where all forms of creativity – artistic, cultural, technological, economic – can take root and flourish” (p. 218). Florida also claims that creative industries cluster together, he acknowledges commonly cited reasons include capturing efficiency from tight linkages, spillovers, and necessities for face-to-face interactions, while adding the importance of access to people. Clustering allows firms to draw from a large talent pool quickly. Another important point that Florida brings to bear is the need for a thick labor market to attract the creative class. By this he means a labor market that offers a number of different interesting job opportunities. He argues that this is important to creatives because they often do not plan on staying in one job for very long. Florida reinforces his emphasis on

clustering in his 2009 study *Who's Your City*. In this study he uses the metaphor of the “spiky world” to point out that economic activity, innovation, and scientific discovery are heavily concentrated in small areas across the globe.

Markusen and King's (2003) artistic dividend helps breakdown the multifaceted economic effects the arts can have on municipalities. They argue “artistic activity produces dividends for a regional economy in two ways – as current income streams and as returns to the region as a whole on past investments” (p. 6). Their study is based primarily on the role of individual artists and uses a narrower definition of the arts – one that excludes the design fields – than the work of Florida, Sterns and Seifert, and Nowack. But it does draw on value of the arts for attracting and retaining talent that is prominent in creative economy literature, which they conceptualize this as a return to the region on past investments. Also emerging in their work is the more direct economic impact of artists and artistic production. Examples of current income streams, or more direct economic impact, include the purchase of works of art and performance tickets by patrons, the purchase of supplies by artists, and the ancillary purchases made by patrons in the process of consuming artistic experiences (i.e. getting dinner before a theatre performance). Their work builds on the 2000 New England Council Study that shows many artists hire others for upstream (pre-production) work, including scheduling and bookkeeping, as well as downstream (production/distribution) purposes like printing, gallery presentation, and performance space (New England Council, 2000 as cited, in King & Markuson, 2003). Artists also contract their expertise to non-arts businesses, thus helping to enhance the product and competitive advantages of those businesses. This approach helps to understand how artists engage in local economies as active participants, not just creative class magnets.

A similar approach to quantifying the economic impact of the arts can be found in the Americans for the Arts' 2007 study *Arts and Economic Prosperity III*. Like Markusen and King, Americans for the Arts looks at the role of the arts and culture sector as a direct participant in regional economies, although they focus on organizations – specifically nonprofits – instead of individual artists. Despite limiting its scope to the nonprofit arts and culture sector – unlike Florida, Sterns and Seifert, and Nowack – it makes a compelling case for the economic contribution of arts and cultural participation. The exhaustive study attempts to put real numbers on this contribution. It integrates audience-spending analysis, which Markusen and King have been critical of, with household income of organizational employees and tax contributions of organizations, while pointing out the connection between arts and cultural life to talent attraction and retention. Americans for the Arts claims that arts organizations contributed \$63.1 billion in total spending, along with 103.1 billion in event related audience spending, totaling 166.2 billion in total economic activity in 2005. The \$63.1 billion in organizational spending includes resident household income of organization employees and tax revenue paid to the local, state and federal governments. The study also claims that nonprofit arts organizations accounted for 2.6 million full-time equivalent jobs.

Taken as a whole, these studies, along with examples of arts-based revitalization nationwide like the meteoric rise of New York's East Village, have cities of all sizes around the United States looking to the arts as a viable strategy to revitalize blighted areas and enhance economic development (Phillips, 2005; Storm, 2002). Storm (2002) sites a survey of 65 U.S. cities that claims 71 major performing arts centers and museums have been built or renovated since 1985; that number is almost certainly higher now. This trend was bolstered in the last decade due to the growing emphasis on creativity as an essential economic asset. Florida's work

in particular has become an increasingly potent tool for arguing in favor of arts-based economic development strategies.

Community Cultural Development and the Ground-up Approach

Economic impact arguments are an important piece of the arts and culture based development cannon, however there is more to the field than economics. A significant amount of literature exists on the role of the arts and culture as valuable community builders, not only in the economic sense, but in the social sense. Scholarship on community cultural development focuses more on the ability of the arts to build social capital and improve civic involvement. The two camps are hardly mutually exclusive, and some scholars, like Stern and Seifert (2007ab), (Nowack 2007), and Borrup (2006) have been successful at bridging them. Also, much of the place-making power of art that is integral to creative class literature is prominent in community cultural development work. Although, community cultural development research tends to be critical of mainstream creative class approaches for manifesting major capital arts projects that ignore the needs of local communities, and often yield little real impact (Stern & Seifert, 2007a; Nowack, 2007). In general, community cultural development practitioners and academics alike champion a ground-up approach to community development. It is important to remember though, that despite the grassroots nature of community cultural development, gentrification concerns still exist.

Community cultural development is a diverse field that utilizes arts participation to further social goals. Its multiplicity is evident in the many terms that are often used to label the field, including community arts, community animation, and cultural work (Goldbard, 2001). Goldbard (2006) defines community cultural development as “the work of artist-organizers and other community members collaborating to express identity, concerns, and aspirations through

the arts and communications media” (p 20). Her breakdown of each individual word is helpful in conceptualizing the field and its values. Community, she states, is to “acknowledge its participatory nature, which emphasizes collaborations between artists and other community members.” (2001, p. 5). Cultural indicates the “generous concept of culture (rather than, more narrowly, art)” (2001, p. 5) and allows for the inclusion of oral history, social studies, and new media. Development suggests “the dynamic nature of cultural action...incorporating self-development rather than development imposed from above.”

Defining community is a difficult task. As Borrup (2006) points out, community is an elusive term. The definition that he uses for his book the *Creative Community Builders Handbook* deals predominantly with geographic location; it includes “the people and the natural and built environments within a geographically defined area” (p. 4). Goldbard (2001) offers three possible definitions. She echo’s Borrup’s geographic definition, while adding communities of “interest (e.g., shipyard workers, victims of environmental racism) or any other affinity (e.g., Latino teenagers, the denizens of a senior center)” (p. 33).

The complex process of defining community is extremely important. The diverse nature of communities and power dynamics within communities gives significant impact to the process of community definition. Communities are not monolithic entities, but dynamic living organisms constantly in the process of becoming (Goldbard, 2001). Individual members of a community have their own personal opinions and values (Mattern, 1999). The task of creating a piece of art that represents everyone within a community is nearly impossible. Because of the issue of diversity there are critiques that question the value community all together, arguing that community robs individuals of agency (Mattern, 1999). The issue of power further complicates the task of appropriate representation. Arts-based community development projects can easily be

co-opted to serve the interests of more powerful institutions or community members (Purcell, 2007). This leads to the silencing of minority voices, which need to be heard.

Community participation is at the heart of community cultural development, focusing on the empowerment and collective efficacy of the participants. Goldbard (2001) states that “community cultural development work embodies a critical relationship to culture, through which participants come to awareness of their own power as culture makers and employ that power to solve problems and address issues of deep concern to themselves and their community” (p. 33). Active participation is essential to achieving these goals. Projects that the community perceives as being imposed from the outside will usually fail (Stephenson, 2005). Borrup (2005) calls this top-down approach cultural imperialism, which he defines as “viewing, advocating and advancing the values and aesthetics of one cultural group over others” (paragraph, 21). This approach is culturally harmful and runs counter to community cultural development’s goal of empowerment. Instead, successful projects are open ended and guided by community involvement, emphasizing process over product (Goldbard, 2001, 2006). A process-oriented project allows the participants to actively shape the product and teaches them to wield cultural tools for the creation of personal meaning, allowing them to express themselves on their own terms.

Reciprocity is a key driver of a participatory and truly community-based project. Goldbard (2001), argues that exchanges between different groups must always be grounded in equality and reciprocity in order to further community cultural development goals. A reciprocal approach means that the artist and participants are actively learning from each other. Practitioners who impose their own social or artistic goals, or transfer social values of other

groups onto participants are no longer engaging in authentic community cultural development. Imposing values crosses into Borrup's cultural imperialism terrain.

Community asset mapping is a common tool of community cultural development. It helps facilitate a community-driven and participatory process by identifying the cultural assets that are already present in the community. This practice is based on community development literature that advocates for the use of assets including, "human, organizational and community strengths, resources and capacities" (Borrupt, 2005, paragraph 3), towards community development goals. The asset-based approach has two primary functions; it allows community organizers to accomplish goals with minimal resources and it allows communities to build from a position of strength by utilizing the assets that already exist within their community and recognizing the value of those assets (Borrupt, 2005). This two-pronged effect makes the practice both pragmatic and empowering for the community involved. Borrupt applies this strategy specifically to cultural development, using this example to illustrate the technique's cultural value.

A community arts center director may look into her impoverished urban community and see immigrant populations committed to hanging on to traditional cultural practices. In this, she sees fertile ground for building bridges of communication. She finds artists among these communities who can serve as ambassadors and teachers, and she sees foods, celebrations and aesthetic practices as vehicles to learn about and build more substantial dialogues across cultures. This leads to strategies to ease tensions, facilitate neighborhood and civic life, and assist children in gaining access to better education. These cultural strengths also provide ground upon which grassroots economic development can take place. (paragraph 17)

The idea of social capital is very important to community cultural development work (Burrop, 2006). Putnam and Feldstein (2003) define social capital as “social networks, norms of reciprocity, mutual assistance, and trustworthiness” (p. 2). They go on to illuminate two different kinds of social capital, bonding social capital – social capital formed within a similar group of people, and bridging social capital – social capital formed between different groups. Carson et al (2007) and Borrup (2006), suggests that studies have shown that involvement in community-based art programs shows positive impact on community engagement and civic engagement, which are key indicators of social capital. Burrop (2006) illustrates the bridging social capital potential of the arts in his case study of In the Heart of the Beast Puppet and Mask Theatre May Day Parade and Festival in Minneapolis, Minnesota. This event drew on the talents of diverse immigrant and native populations in the Phillips and Powderhorn neighborhoods of Minneapolis. Beginning in February the annual event brings Native and African Americans, as well as immigrants from Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia together for a series of workshops where they work together to create the puppets, costumes and banners for the parade, with each culture making its own unique contribution. The parade transforms Bloomington Ave. on the first Sunday in May every year and builds important community bonds that last far beyond that single day. Putnam and Feldstein (2003) also see the bridging potential of the arts; they claim that “The creative and performing arts bring together more ethnically diverse participants than any other type of association” (p. 281). Of particular value is the ability of the arts to address crosscutting issues that help “enable connections across perceived diversity” (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003, p. 282; Bacon et al. 1999). Building social capital can create the potential for community identity and strengthens ties between community members (Stephenson, 2005).

The arts also have an important role in creating a community identity. Building social capital can create the potential for community identity and strengthens ties between community members (Stephenson, 2005). As Burrop (2006) points out when commenting on the relationship between culture and art “art refers to the results of one’s labor or the outward expressions of people from one of the many cultures on the plant” (p. 5). This is particularly important for minority communities in the United States because as Goldbard (2001, 2006) and Bray (2002) argue, they are constantly faced with mass media culture of white middle-class hegemony. Cultural participation provides people the opportunity to claim their own ethnic and class identities and “recast themselves as makers of history rather than its passive objects” (Goldbard, 2001, p. 33). The community cultural development helps communities to represent themselves on their own terms.

The communicative ability of art is essential to its community building power. Art can communicate in multiple ways through its own text, as well as through the context of its creation (Mattern, 1999). By expressing a specific idea or point of view art can catalyze debate or sway public opinion. Pieces of art can also confront an audience with the multiple factors within a complex issue and, as a result, cause them to reflect on their own interpretation of that issue (Mattern, 1999). The AIDS quilt provides an example of how art can communicate via the context of its creation and circulation (Mattern, 1999). On the subject of the AIDS quilt, Mark Mattern writes “As it circulates and grows, it draws people into participation, and creates spaces for interaction and social networks of production and consumption” (1999, p. 58). This aspect of the quilt has nothing to do with what it physically depicts, but is essential to understanding its greater meaning.

It is possible that art is a more potent form of communication than words alone. Purcell suggests that photographs are a powerful tool for creating civic dialogue because images elicit better responses from participants than discussion of the issue will accomplish alone (2007). Art allows for meaning to be shared between artist and audience without the use of words in a way that produces a more immediate quality of experience (Mattern, 1999).

Reflection also helps art build community. Art can help people to reflect on their own situation, allowing them to think critically about their place in the community (Purcell, 2007). Stephenson suggests that art can foster reflection in effort to confront issues that would otherwise be avoided (2005). Art can facilitate this on an individual level and a community level “The arts can create opportunities for individual and communal introspection that may impel a testing or rethinking of fundamental assumptions” (Stephenson, 2005, p. 82). This process of reflection is essential to instigating change. A community cannot move forward without confronting the status quo.

The communicative power of the arts and their ability to facilitate reflection makes them a valuable tool for creating civic dialogue around important issues facing communities. When communities are divided over contentious issues, community cultural development often uses arts-based projects to open discursive space for constructive dialogue in a effort to avoid polarization (Goldbard, 2001). Goldbard gives the example of Appalshop, a nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation of Appalachian Culture, which used its community radio station WMMT to sponsor community forums and radio programs on forestry policy. They included views from government, business and environmental groups to facilitate a comprehensive debate aimed at finding broad-based community solutions.

Understanding Neighbors, a project conducted in 2003 by Out North Contemporary Art

House in Anchorage, Alaska, used community interviews to create multimedia pieces on gay marriage (Stern, 2005). This project is a great example of arts-based civic dialogue and its potential pitfalls. The multimedia pieces were used to catalyze community discussion on the topic, which were led by trained facilitators from the community. Questions were raised by facilitators and participants concerning the neutrality of the artwork, which tended to sympathize with gays. There were varying perspectives on whether or not the bias impeded dialogue. Some participants felt that it was noticeable, but inconsequential, while others, including gay participants, felt that more diverse viewpoints in the artwork would have lead to richer discussion. This brings up important questions about the role of art and the artist in dialogue programs. Many participants noted that because of the bias, the art became less of a facilitator and more of a direct participant in the discussion. Is this OK? The artists who created the work must be questioned for their negotiation of the conflict between personal artistic vision and community dialogue needs. Following their muse led them to create art that slanted the debate instead of framing it from multiple perspectives. Is this OK? These questions are not easy to answer, but they must be considered.

Public health can be promoted via the arts. Multiple studies suggest that involvement in the arts can improve community health (Purcell, 2007). The arts accomplish this by improving the social and physical environment of the community. They make streets prettier, encourage social interaction and improve quality of life. In this way, arts have a value-added effect that expands the reach of traditional medicine (Carson et al, 2007). Their role in building social capital is integral to their ability to promote public health. Putnam and Feldstein (2003) assert that neighborhoods where neighbors know one another have lower crime rates. They also claim that “a child born in a state whose residents volunteer, vote, and spend time with friends is less

likely to be born underweight, less likely to drop out of school, and less likely to kill or be killed than the same child – richer or poorer – born in another state whose residents do not” (p. 269).

Economics are also an important part of community cultural development. In many ways, the boundary drawn between economic development and social development is artificial. As Borup (2006) points out, all of the projects in his book contribute to the community holistically, “building both economic and social capital” (p. 17). Likewise, a significant amount of community cultural development utilizes ideas from creative economy literature and often projects have similar broad economic goals like creating jobs and encouraging cultural tourism. But scholarship on community cultural development and economic development differs from the Florida model in its approach. While Florida’s work focuses on attracting and retaining creative workers, community cultural development focuses on building leadership, skills, and creativity from existing residents. Work by Borup (2006), Stern and Seifert (2007a), Nowack (2007), and Stephenson (2005), focus on a ground-up approach to arts based economic development.

The basis of the argument for the effectiveness of more community based economic development strategies is in many ways fundamentally the same as thinkers, like Florida, who take a more pure economic approach. In fact, all of these authors were cited together in the economic impact portion of this literature review. They share an emphasis on clustering, on “place-making,” and on artists as economic drivers.

Community cultural development approaches to economic development differ from more traditional creative class approaches in their emphasis on ground-up, instead of top-down economic development. Literature on community cultural development is often critical of approaches that are based on major capital, or “big-box,” solutions like giant retail outlets, sports or convention centers, or giant performing arts centers (Borup, 2006). Stern and Seifert (2007a)

lament the fact that cities often turn to big-ticket downtown cultural districts that fail to utilize cultural assets that already may have existed in the area. They refer to this as what Joel Kotkin call's "the ephemeral city" (As cited in Stern & Seifert, 2007a, p. 1). Their work, as well as Borup's focuses on a grassroots approach built on existing community assets responsive to community needs. Borup goes on to argue that this approach leads to a more stable economic base and returns more to the local economy than big-box development that imports assets from outside the community instead of building from within.

The asset-based approach has already been discussed in this review, and it is fundamental to community based economic development, as well as it to cultural or social development. As was pointed out above, it's double-edged effect – practical use of limited financial resources and empowerment through recognition of valuable cultural resources already within the community – makes it both economically effective and socially empowering for community members. Stern and Seifert (2007a) and Nowack (2007) both acknowledge the importance of utilizing existing assets within the community. Nowack explicitly claims, "Significant development always builds from existing assets and points of strength" (p. 2).

Nowack (2007) helps construct the connections between cultural assets and economic assets in creating a strong community with his concept of "architecture of community." His concept positions arts and culture as important place makers at the foundation of a four-part community structure. The first piece of the structure is social capital and civic institutions; based on Putnam and Feildsten's (2003) ideas he points to social capital as an important precursor to prosperity and advocates for the importance of strong connections between citizens and civic institutions. Second, is public assets and infrastructure; this includes parks, schools, safety, and basic elements like sidewalks and lamps. These assets are essential to home values and livability.

The third piece includes economic assets and market, asserting, “vibrant communities have competitive assets” (p. 7). Economic assets and market are indicated by real estate prices, taxing capacity, the quality of public amenities, the value of nearby retail and the quality of human capital. Their value is tied to levels of investment; buildings must be maintained and the workforce must have current skills. Lastly, Nowack points to flows of information defined as, “connections between places as expressed through the flow of people, capital and information” (p. 7). This builds social capital within the community and between it and other communities. Communication enhances the effectiveness of economic clusters and prevents isolation that can reinforce poverty and lack of investment.

Within Nowack’s architectural model it is easy to see how all four elements are inherently connected, each one built upon the other. Social capital is tied to communication, which is tied to investment and economic development, which is tied to public investment and infrastructure, which helps facilitate social capital. Within this conceptualization arts and culture can be positioned as important drivers of all four elements, building social capital and potential for communication within and across groups, helping to beautify public space, and contributing to economic development as a natural place maker and as a commodity in-and-of itself.

Stephenson’s (2005) case study of a leadership program in the economically depressed Dan River Region provides an excellent example of how grassroots arts-based economic development can utilize local assets towards social and economic development goals. The project surveyed forty-five local artists and arts representatives from across many different art sectors in an effort to identify potential leaders and projects. Individuals were identified from a broad cross-section of local organizations and locations in an effort to create a diverse group and facilitate network connections across disparate sub-communities. Participants were engaged in

leadership training that helped them develop practical skills in leadership and technology. While they were building important practical skills participants were also taken through a process of civic dialogue regarding history of the region, their collective identity as members of the region and the difficulties facing the region. The process also helped them develop actionable projects to make positive change. Important outputs of the project included these actionable projects, as well as the creation of learning action networks defined as, “a set of relationships which lay over and complement formal organizational structures linking together by the flow of knowledge, information, and ideas” (Roome & Clarke 2002, p. 78 as cited in Stephenson, 2005 p. 88). The network focus of the project allowed participants to increase the impact by supporting each other and by imparting their skills on to other community members who were not involved in the training.

Facilitators of the project ran into several key challenges that point to the cultural concerns involved in this kind of work as well as its potential for empowerment through addressing the challenges involved (Stephenson, 2005). Agency and efficacy was an important obstacle because poor and minority communities often feel as though projects will benefit them. Because of this it is essential to put them in the best possible position to lead projects and reap rewards. Also, all meaning is mediated; leaders must accept the fact that others will have different perspectives on change and make their own decisions. Leaders cannot and should not control others actions and views. The next issue was community identity and particularism, meaning that members of a community are often fiercely proud of their own heritage and may hold onto an idea that makes it difficult or impossible to work with other groups. This is a problem for individuals as well, leading to the issue of individual identity and social efficacy. The town’s history of racism and “company town” mentality has robbed many residents of their

individual efficacy, leading to issues of “who is empowered to make choices and why?” (p. 91). Finally social networks are a challenge because they may not operate in an ideal fashion. Facilitators cannot ensure that reciprocity, civility, and trust will typify network interaction outside of the trainings themselves.

Taken as a whole the integrated process of cultural empowerment and economic development, as well as the addressing of the challenges that have been identified start to show the complex relationship between community actors that Nowack (2007) structures in his architecture of community. Stephenson’s (2005) work shows a project that address social capital as well as flows of information by facilitating learning action networks, and addresses economic and public assets and infrastructure through the development of actionable projects for improvement while building the leadership and economic capacity of individuals within the community, which, at the same time, strengthens local institutions like nonprofits. With this broader view it is easy to see how the social and the economic realm are inherently bound.

An integrated view of economic and cultural development is important for analyzing gentrification because it is both an economic and cultural process. As Nowack’s (2007) architecture points out a community is both economic space and cultural space. This perspective can be applied to any neighborhood and addressing both the cultural and economic issues at stake in neighborhood change is essential to investigating any gentrification case. Multiple case studies of specific neighborhoods dealing with the issues of gentrification and revitalization – including Putnam et al’s (2003) study of the Dudley street neighborhood in Boston, Le Texier’s (2007) study of San Diego’s Barrio Logan, and Mele’s (2002) profile of New York’s East Village – address the importance of the neighborhood as cultural space. Searching for Caulfield’s (1994) class constituent often leads middle class gentrefiers to drastically change the gentrifying

neighborhood's culture. This can manifest itself in many ways including the kinds of goods and services available, the kinds of cultural activities present, the restaurants that open, and the neighborhoods overall aesthetic.

Fundamentally changing the culture of a gentrifying area is particularly contentious because neighborhoods experiencing this process are low income and often home to marginalized populations who draw community support and identity from the area. When important community ties and institutions are erased by gentrification, the previously entrenched population often sees its culture whitewashed, resulting in a new and painful wound in what has been a larger history of oppression. Le Texier's (2007) case study of Barrio Logan provides an excellent example of the cultural significance of the neighborhood to Latino residents of San Diego and how they fought to preserve their cultural home.

Barrio Logan is one of San Diego's Latino communities (Le Texier, 2007). It is low-income, with 40% of residents living below the poverty level, and includes a significant amount of foreign-born residents many of which are not naturalized. A Barrio, according to Le Texier (2007), is a neighborhood that is at least 40% Latino. Gentrification began to spread in San Diego as investment returned to downtown and Padre's Stadium was built. In 1998 Barrio Logan became a Redevelopment Project Area. Evictions began to rise and the community organized to protect itself. In 2000 the organization Developing Unity Through Resident Organizing (DURO) formed and began distributing flyers about tenants' rights, helped renters fight illegal evictions, organized protests, and built coalitions with other groups.

Le Texier (2007) addresses two conflicting narratives of gentrification that were related to Barrio Logan. The first one is materialized space, the narrative most often used by city officials, developers and members of the media. This narrative turns the Barrio's space into a

market commodity, using language like “revitalization, beatification, revival, clean up, and redevelopment” (p. 212). Barrio residents, however, used a different narrative; theirs was one of common history. Collectively they wanted to preserve the neighborhood as a Mexican neighborhood because it was a space of shared culture and identity. Le Texeir uses this example to argue that “the struggle against gentrification is a struggle not only for the defense of a physical space but also for the definition of symbolic boundaries and collective identities.” (p. 213)

The Barrio’s importance as cultural space was essential to the organized effort to resist gentrification. Le Texier (2007) points out that “Ethnic and territorial identity forms one of the essential symbolic resources in the barrio” (p 215). Resistance was made possible by social connections that had been forged through shared culture and place; ethnic identity, territorial identity and, Language identity (particularly Spanish) were essential lines of social capital that bonded the community together. They also managed to create an “other,” or “white, non-Mexican,” as the object of resistance. Instead of calling the change a “clean-up” they called it a “whitening” (p. 215).

Mele’s (2002) East Village of the 1960s also points to the highly contentious nature of gentrifying neighborhoods as cultural space. His account includes episodes of violence perpetrated against the white middleclass hippies who had flocked to the area by Blacks and Puerto Ricans, many of whom found the privileged new-comers’ preference for the low-income Lower East Side patronizing. One African American is quoted saying, “The hippies really bug us, because we know that they can come down here and play for a while and then escape. And we can’t, man” (p. 172). Older White ethnics shared this dissatisfaction, many of whom yearned to achieve the privilege that the Hippies enjoyed and resented their choice to “act” poor. They

also disliked the public challenges to authority that the Hippies performed regularly on the streets and in the park.

Both of these examples point to the harmful practice of lauding the gentrification of a neighborhood, while devaluing the culture of its original residents and erasing their cultural claim to the area. As Mele (2002) argues the characterization of the area as the “East Village” had little relevance to the cultural lives of White Ethnics, Blacks, and Latino’s who lived in the “Lower East Side.” Le Texier (2007) claims that. prior to the establishment of the Redevelopment Project Area, city documents and the daily newspaper regularly characterized Barrio Logan as dangerous and impoverished. Interestingly, the only positive images of the neighborhood provided by the San Diego Union-Tribune, were references to cultural expressions like art and food. However, these were still embedded in a narrative that portrayed the neighborhood in a negative light. As the neighborhood gentrified the city and the media altered the discourse surrounding it, Barrio Logan became “a vibrant residential community” (p. 209). Le Texier gets to the heart of the matter of representation asserting, “all representations of the barrio and discourses about it are important because the struggle over the meaning and the boundaries of the barrio is also about the struggle for power” (p. 205). In the cases of Barrio Logan and the Lower East Side representation is more than a simple exercise in branding, it amounts to an essential struggle over ownership of the neighborhood as cultural space.

Because neighborhoods are cultural space, not just economic space, a community cultural development lens is essential for addressing the process of gentrification. Community cultural development sheds light on the complex nature of cultural life within a community including the web of social capital that can be achieved through cultural participation. At the same time, it provides tools to analyze the importance of cultural representation within the neighborhood itself

and as it is characterized from the outside. There are important insights into the empowering possibilities of appropriate representation and the harmful potential of misrepresentation to be learned from the field. Taking a broader community cultural development look at the role of arts and culture in revitalization allows for a deeper analysis of the process of gentrification, as opposed to one that is limited to the “artist as pioneer” narrative.

Participatory Planning and Unslumming

According to Jacobs (2002), slums – the primary target of gentrification – operate in vicious cycles. She asserts that municipal slum clearance efforts fail because they do not address the root problem, which is a lack of community investment in the neighborhood. In chronic slums, people leave as soon as they are able to; this prevents the establishment of a stable community. Successful unslumming requires the breaking of this cycle; when people choose to live in the slum, bonds begin to grow and the neighborhood can stabilize itself.

Scholarship exists that suggests stronger, tighter knit low-income communities may be more resistant to gentrification. Shaw (2005) points to examples of communities that were able to successfully organize against gentrification for a period of time. She also points out that housing tenure is one of the largest deterrents to gentrification, since homeowners are less likely to be displaced than renters. However, there are weaknesses in Shaw’s argument because in some cases community organization was only able to prolong the inevitable. Also, she does not suggest a way for neighborhoods to avoid gentrification *and* improve their quality of life. It is not good enough to maintain dilapidated and dangerous neighborhoods simply so poor people have some place to live.

Angotti’s (2008) work suggests a method of Progressive Planning, which empowers the residents to take control of their neighborhood planning while, in theory, making them more

resistant to displacement. The model includes three key elements; community land, process, and tension between eliminating environmental injustice and preventing gentrification. He says that communities should find ways to put land in public trust, thus giving that community control over its real estate assets. The process he advocates for is one in which the community participates directly in the planning of the neighborhood through “conflict, contradiction and complexity” (p.19). Tension between eliminating environmental injustice and preventing gentrification leads Angotti to the major conundrum of gentrification, how does a community improve its quality of life without becoming attractive to a gentrifying middle class? As he points out, the poorest citizens often become the victims of noxious land use, a problem that environmental activists have worked hard to combat. But the battle is futile if the residents will simply be displaced later, only to find themselves in another poor environment.

Very similar to environmental justice is the issue of aesthetic justice, which is equally important. Aesthetic justice is based on Monroe Beardsley’s idea that “the possibility of having aesthetic experiences is a necessary part of a good life” (Cited in Mattila, 2002, p. 132). Beardsley’s ideas are strengthened by multiple studies that suggest involvement in the arts can improve community health (Carson et al, 2007; Purcell, 2007). The arts accomplish this by improving the social and physical environment of the community. Mattila (2002) advocates for a process of Collaborative Planning, which is very similar to Angotti’s Progressive Planning, as a means of creating aesthetically pleasing neighborhoods for low-income communities. She claims that engaging the community in the planning process is the only way to assure that the neighborhood aesthetic meets community needs. However, she does not account for the possibility of displacement.

Neighborhood-based planning carries many similarities to both Angotti's and Mattila's models. Jones (1990) defines neighborhood plans as "sets of recommendations about how to improve a given area of the city" (p. 6). Neighborhood plans focus on specific neighborhoods that are clearly defined in the plan. Professional planners often facilitate their creation by working collaboratively with community members and stakeholders, which may include schools, public officials, developers, businesses, and local nonprofits. The primary goal of a neighborhood plan is livability; because they are focused on a relatively small area and are highly participatory they are likely to be more responsive to local characteristics and meet the needs of citizens better than traditional plans (Rohe & Gates 1985, as cited in Jones, 1990). Despite their detailed attention to a specific areas needs, neighborhood plans are still subservient to the municipality's comprehensive plan.

A typical neighborhood plan identifies within the neighborhood what should be preserved, added, removed, and kept out (Jones, 1990). It generally will address these goals with a list of tasks. Each task is assigned to a stakeholder or list of stakeholders responsible for carrying it out. A good plan will also include a path to implementation, as well as a process for evaluation. Jones (1990) identifies four important reasons for doing a neighborhood plan. First, it will help guide future development around a shared vision of the future. Ideally this is a vision that is a product of consensus among community members, not a vision that has been imposed on the community by outside forces. Second, it provides tasks for improvement, giving the community a clear path towards its shared vision. Third, it gives weight to community efforts to control changes that do occur by allowing community members to assess development projects against the plan. This makes it easier to resist a project that is inconsistent with the plan. Fourth, it can create civic involvement, develop leadership, increase knowledge about, and commitment

to, the neighborhood. In this sense it is very similar to community cultural development; it creates social capital by mobilizing community members towards a common goal of community improvement.

Putnam and Feldstein's (2003) case study of Boston's Dudley Street Neighborhood offers an example of what is possible when a community actively participates in its own revitalization. Dudley Street is an inner city Boston neighborhood that suffered a steep decline in the 1970s and 1980's following white flight that began in the 1950s. It was marred by vacant land, illegal dumping, public drug deals and arson committed by property owners to gain insurance settlements. The neighborhood also found itself redlined by the banks. Its population is unusually diverse, made up of 56% African Americans, twenty-four percent Latino's, five percent Cape Verdeans, four percent Whites, and eleven percent other.

Revitalization began in the mid-eighties when a Latino service agency contacted the Riley foundation about funding to fix its carpet. When Riley trustees visited the agency they had little interest in the carpet, but were alarmed by the level of degeneration in the neighborhood. The foundation responded by gathering about twenty leaders, promised to assist a revitalization effort with funding and helped them form the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI). An advisory group was formed and, after painstaking planning process, the plan was unveiled at a community meeting at a neighborhood church in 1985. Much to the surprise of the foundation the plan was met with significant hostility from neighborhood residents, many of whom had concerns about gentrification.

Faced with this challenge the advisory group reconvened and decided to scrap the original plan in favor of more public participation (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). They began a series of public discussions that led to an expanded governing body for DSNI and a new plan.

The Board was to include thirty-one members including sixteen community members, twelve of which had to be evenly distributed between Blacks, Latinos, Cape Verdeans, and Whites.

According to Putnam and Feldstein's (2003) study, the initiative was highly successful. A professional community organizer was hired and she went door-to-door around the neighborhood talking to residents and hearing their concerns. The primary concern to surface was garbage dumping in vacant lots. "Don't Dump on Us" was one of DSNI's early successes. Residents participated in picking up garbage, and they were able to pressure the city to remove abandoned cars and close illegal trash transfer stations. This early accomplishment was key, as it demonstrated to residents what they could accomplish when they worked together and removed the perception that the people in the neighborhood did not care about their community.

Other successful initiatives included refurbishing the playground using public participation and the establishment of a community land trust to address the neighborhoods most blighted area (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). The land trust, called Dudley Neighbors Inc. (DNI) is now home to land trust homes, gardens, parks, a community greenhouse, and a shopping area. When concerns about the use of Eminent Domain by DNI to acquire blighted land that was privately held (about fifty percent was already held by the city) the organization did not dismiss the fears. Instead, it responded with education, distributing a pamphlet called "Development without Displacement" and informing residents of the projects goals.

Development was guided by the concept of an Urban Village (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). An Urban Village is defined by John Barros, cited in Putnam & Feldstein as "a place where people are in a relationship with one another and everyone has a role in the community, including the elders who carry its history and much of its wisdom (p. 88-89). This put a special emphasis on culture. All DSNI materials were printed in English, Spanish and Cape Verdean. A

multicultural festival was started, which like the DSNI board, boasted proportional representation. As a community they strove for unity and diversity.

Combining participatory planning with community cultural development begins to provide the broader perspective necessary to analyze gentrification and possible solutions. When taken together, they suggest the possibility of a pivotal role for the arts in a community-based planning model that creates equitable neighborhood development without displacement. The arts have an obvious role in enhancing aesthetic justice because a community with more art will provide its residents with greater access to aesthetic experience. Also, both planning processes have a lot in common with arts-based community building and civic dialogue models. It is possible that engaging a community in a process of arts-based aesthetic revitalization will also strengthen community bonds and create social capital that will help protect the neighborhood from gentrification.

Despite the possibilities of participatory planning and community cultural development, unslumming neighborhoods may be particularly vulnerable to gentrification. Jacobs (2002) argues that an unslumming area becomes a “feasible place for ‘bringing back the middle class.’ Unlike a perpetual slum, it is ‘ripe for redevelopment’” (p. 287). One of the major reasons that an unslumming slum is so vulnerable is that nobody is getting rich off of it. She asserts that the two great urban moneymakers are unsuccessful perpetual slums and high-rent or high-cost areas. Perpetual slums are a boon to slumlords and illegal trade in vices, while high-rent areas provide premium land value.

She points out ways that what she calls cataclysmic capital can derail successful unslumming efforts (2002). There are three different kinds of capital that play an important role in Urban revitalization; the most important is private capital in the form of loans from financial

institutions, the second is government capital often in the form of tax incentives and federally guaranteed loans, the third is predatory money often coming from small lenders charging high interest rates. None of these resources are likely to be offered in the gradual way that Jacobs asserts is necessary for successful unslumming; instead they are used in a cataclysmic manner, flowing into the neighborhood (or being denied) in a concentrated form. The examples she offers include capital blacklisting by banks, the expedient influx of predatory lenders and slumlords who fill the void, and the use of substantial government funds for “Urban Renewal,” which often eliminates successful businesses and displaces residents.

While Jacobs’ (2002) work is too early to deal explicitly with gentrification, it is not difficult to see parallels between her concept of cataclysmic money and existing scholarship on gentrification. Capital is necessary to gentrify a neighborhood. Without money infrastructure cannot be improved, amenities for the creative class cannot be created, and rent will not go up. Certainly, building stronger communities has potential for breaking the gentrification paradigm. But, the issue of how capital is invested in the neighborhood, and in whose interest continues to be a difficult one to address.

Planning Cultural Districts

At the heart of the issue of gentrification as it relates to the arts is the creation of cultural districts. ArtistLink defines a cultural district “a well-recognized, labeled area of a city in which a high concentration of cultural facilities and programs serve as an anchor of attraction” (ArtistLink 2009b, paragraph 1). There are many different kinds of cultural districts, and many different ways of encouraging their development. In order to understand how arts and cultural development can lead to development it is important to investigate city planning specifically as it relates to cultural district creation.

Cultural districts exist on a spectrum of type based on the level of municipal involvement in their creation. Heavy municipal involvement often leads to large, self-contained districts anchored by major museums and performing arts councils; this is what Artistlink (2009c) calls “cultural compounds.” On the other extreme is what Stern and Seifert (2007) call “natural” cultural districts that sprout up independently with seemingly little municipal influence. Most cultural districts exist somewhere in between these two extremes and represent a complex interaction between government, for-profit companies, nonprofits and citizen groups.

Prominent examples of the “cultural compounds” are Lincoln Center in New York and the Dallas Arts District (Artistlink, 2009c; Auer 2008); these are the direct results of premeditated initiatives to create a cultural area of the city. The Metropolitan Opera at Lincoln Center and the \$338 million Center for the Performing arts in the Dallas Arts District are prime examples of the flagship organizations that are indicative of this model (Auer, 2008). Prominent architecture is a common component of these districts, when Dallas’ Center for the Performing arts is finished it will make Dallas the only city in the world with four buildings designed by Pritzker Prize-winning architects located on a contiguous block (Auer, 2008). All four of these buildings are located in the Dallas Arts District.

“Natural” cultural districts are not planned and do not involve large-scale municipal investments. Philadelphia’s Old City and Portland’s Alberta Arts District represent good examples of this kind of development. In the Old City, artists began moving to the neighborhood in the 1970s and 80s attracted by cheap rent and large spaces (Sterns & Seifert, 2007b). Often neighborhoods that grow into natural cultural districts begin as low-income or underdeveloped areas; this was the case of the Alberta Arts District, which encompasses two low-income

historically Black neighborhoods (Portland Office of Neighborhood Associations, 1990a; 1990b).

No two cultural districts are alike, but several broad characteristics are common among successful ones. These characteristics include a pleasant pedestrian experience (walkability, accessibility and safety are all important elements), distinctiveness, diversity of activities, and artist/arts organization tenure. A pleasant pedestrian experience is important to drawing patrons to the area; people will not come if they feel inconvenienced or unsafe (Paumeir, 2004). Distinctiveness is important to branding the area and gives people a reason to choose to patronize it instead of other potential options (Artistlink, 2009a). Diversity of activities gives people multiple reasons to come to the district and can promote a balance between day and night traffic (Paumeir, 2004). Artist/arts organization tenure is essential to keeping artists and artistic experiences in the area so that they can continue to enhance the districts creative milieu and appeal (Northeast Minneapolis Art Association, 2002).

Multiple actors interact at many levels to create the conditions for developing a successful cultural district. Actors may work with the pre-established goal of creating a cultural district, or their general actions may create a favorable environment for arts and culture without being intended to do so. These actors can be broken down into the public (government), private (for-profit business), nonprofit, and civic (private citizens and their associations) realms.

Government involvement in cultural district policy often comes at the municipal level and can be established through the planning department, the zoning department, the development department or the local arts council. State level involvement is less common but there are cases of the state arts council being heavily involved in cultural district creation. For example, Maryland runs a program through its state arts council (National Association of State Arts

Agencies, 2007), while in Louisiana, state involvement comes from the Office of Culture Recreation and Tourism (State of Louisiana, 2005). The most notable private actors are real estate developers who provide important resources (Jones, 1990). Local businesses and landowners can provide leadership, funds, and, often with help from local media, play an essential role in branding and marketing the area. Nonprofit arts organizations are important anchors and, in some cases, developers like Artistspace. At the civic level neighborhood associations and neighborhood leaders are important boosters; citizens provide the neighborhood's distinct flavor and may even be actively involved in planning.

Each of these actors is a part of the creation of cultural districts because they all possess a unique set of tools that allow them to influence the process in different ways. Taken together they make up the extremely complex policy infrastructure for cultural district creation in the United States. The degree of power and importance of each actor varies in any given circumstance depending on the local context.

There are a variety of tools that the various actors can utilize to encourage these characteristics and create a successful cultural district. Some tools are specific to certain kinds of actors while others may require collaboration between multiple actors. The primary tools include district designation, tax incentives, zoning, artist live/work space, branding, grants and loans, and events.

district designation.

Most cultural districts are designated as such in some form or another. Neighborhood associations and local businesses commonly bestow this designation and, in some cases, districts are officially designated at the municipal, or even state level. Designation is an important step in the creation of cultural district and can pave the way for other tools like tax incentives, branding

or zoning to be used more effectively. In Maryland there is an application process that allows districts to receive official designation by the state, this comes with special tax incentives for businesses and artists (National Association of State Arts Agencies, 2007). Government subsidies may not be available when the district is self-designated by area businesses or neighborhood associations like the Alberta Arts District in Portland, but the designation can still be a powerful tool for branding the district. The nonprofit organization Art on Alberta provides a comprehensive website for the district and effectively brands the area as a cohesive entity, despite the fact that it encompasses three distinct neighborhoods (Art on Alberta, 2009; Portland office of Neighborhood Involvement, 2005a; 2005b; 2005c).

tax incentives.

Municipal and State governments can encourage the creation of a cultural district through tax incentives. These may take the form of general incentives for economic development, or they may be targeted specifically towards artistic development. It is common for cities to offer tax-based financing options to encourage building. Tax policies geared directly towards encouraging cultural development are less common.

Property tax abatements and Tax Increment Financing are common tools used by cities and states to encourage development. The use of tax abatements will vary from city to city but in general they lessen the property tax burden on an entity – either a individual property owner or a commercial developer – trying to develop or renovate a piece of property. Abatements are based on the fact that development raises the value of a property. When a city issues a property tax abatement it agrees to forgo taxation on a certain percentage of the increase in the assessed value of the property over a specified period of time. This percentage may stay consistent over the allotted time frame, or it may decrease annually. Tax Increment Financing (TIF) is a specific

kind of tax abatement. TIF is commonly used to finance improvements of general infrastructure around a development like sidewalks and utilities. This method of financing works like a loan; the city issues the developer a certain amount of money to make infrastructural improvements and the loan is then paid off by the increase in tax revenue as the value of the property goes up.

While neither of these tax incentives is necessarily specific to creating cultural districts, they are common ways that municipalities spur development in blighted areas. For instance, in the case of Nebraska, Tax Increment Financing can only be used in areas considered substandard or blighted (State of Nebraska, 2009). Minnesota statute 469.1813 *Abatement Authority* includes the stipulation that tax abatements “help redevelop or renew blighted areas” (State of Minnesota, 2009). This connection between tax incentives and blighted areas is important because cultural districts often emerge in these kinds of neighborhoods and are often associated with revitalization (Phillips, 2004). Even if these incentives are not used to directly develop a cultural institution they may still play an important role in the development of a cultural district by financing further development within it.

Tax incentives designed specifically for cultural district creation also exist. In many cases these incentives are directed at individual artists or arts business owners operating within an area designated by the City or State. In *Utilizing Tax Incentives to Cultivate Creative Industries and Spur Arts-Related Development* the State of Louisiana identifies these as place-based incentives (State of Louisiana, 2005). General types of place-based incentives include income tax exemption for artists on the sale of their work if they live or work in a designated area, sales tax or admissions tax exemptions for galleries or theatres if they are located in a designated area, income tax exemptions or property tax abatements for artists if they live in and rehabilitate

industrial or historic buildings, and tax credits for developers for rehabbing industrial or historic buildings.

Rhode Island and Maryland are both identified by the State of Louisiana as leaders in these kinds of tax incentives (State of Louisiana, 2005). In 1998 the Rhode Island General Assembly passed tax exemptions for artists living/working in designated districts in nine different communities. Three kinds of incentives were created: 1) any work created within the district by an artists who lives and works in the district is exempt from sales tax, 2) any income the artist receives from the sale of a work created in the district is exempt from state sales tax, and 3) the sale of original artwork by gallery spaces located within the district are exempt from sales tax regardless of where the work was created. The city of Pawtucket has been particularly successful with this legislation, using it to create a 307-acre district encompassing twenty-three mills and sixty streets (Weiss, 2009). These tax incentives have been a tremendous boon to Pawtucket's effort to lure artists away from nearby Boston and New York by advertising the city's affordability and proximity to major arts markets. The website for Riverfront Lofts, an artist live/work space in an old mill in Pawtucket, advertises "state tax exempt status for working artists" on its homepage (Riverfront Lofts, 2009).

Maryland adopted senate bill 586 in 2001, which created statewide arts and cultural district incentives (National Association of State Arts Agencies, 2007; State of Louisiana 2005). The program administered through the Maryland State Arts Council allows for jurisdictions, neighborhoods, municipalities and counties to request state approval for a specific cultural district (National Association of State Arts Agencies, 2007). The incentives offered are very similar to those in Rhode Island; they include property tax credits for construction or renovation of buildings that create arts live/work space and/or arts/entertainment enterprises, income tax

subtraction modification for artistic work sold by qualified residing artists, and exemption from admission and amusement tax. These kinds of tax incentives help encourage artists and arts businesses to locate their operations in the area and helps keep them there.

Both states require application processes for districts, businesses, and artists to receive the benefits (State of Louisiana, 2005). In Rhode Island there is a specific process created for assessing the “one-of-a-kind” nature of a piece of artwork that makes it eligible for a sales tax exemption. Maryland has a distinct application process for each credit it offers.

zoning.

Zoning can have a considerable impact on the development of a cultural district. The effects of zoning can be indirect, like street level retail zoning designed to help bolster retail in general, or direct, like artist live/work overlays designed to allow for the creation of artist studios in industrial areas (ArtistLink, 2009b). Zoning sets the parameters for the built environment in U.S. neighborhoods and is one of the most important policy tools municipalities’ possess in influencing the creation of a cultural district.

Ground level retail is very important to the development of a cultural district. This kind of zoning has been credited with revitalizing downtowns by giving people a reason to be there at all times of day, not just during business hours (Kline & Schutz, 2001). It enhances the pedestrian experience and makes the storefront galleries, shops, restaurants and coffee shops that are staples of cultural districts around the country possible (Kline & Schutz, 2001). While ground level retail is not exclusive to cultural districts, it is an important aspect of any successful one. Without this kind of zoning it would be impossible to allow for the diversity of experiences and pedestrian focused environment that are staples of cultural districts.

Boston's Midtown Cultural District Zoning Code offers a strong example of a comprehensive approach to zoning for arts and culture, and provides the opportunity to look at specific elements of the code that can be used to encourage arts and culture. The Midtown Cultural District encompasses the area of downtown Boston that includes the Boston Common and the Public Gardens (City of Boston, 1989). It lists arts and culture, historic preservation and affordable housing as important components of its plan.

The code contains several regulations that are designed to maintain a pleasant pedestrian experience. These include protection of public space through building height regulations for any building within a certain distance of the Common or Public Gardens and regulations on the amount of shadow buildings are allowed to cast. Buildings within the district must be built to limit downdraft winds on pedestrians, this includes specific limitations on "Effective Gust Velocity" for a number of specific "Activity Areas" including "Major Walkways-Especially Principle" and "Open Plazas and Park Areas Walking, Strolling Activities" (p.19-20). All new developments are required to emphasize mass transit in their design, which leads to greater accessibility. It also contains a clause specifically titled "Enhancement of Pedestrian Environment" (p. 21), which emphasizes the creation of public art, and shopping and entertainment opportunities.

There are several allowances that are specifically geared towards creating cultural space. Special Floor Area Ratio (FAR) restriction exemptions exist for ground level theatres. This allows for the allowable amount of floor space on the ground floor to be increased if it is for "Substantially Rehabilitated Theatre" (p. 9). FAR is a number that regulates the amount of buildable square footage by establishing a limit to the amount of interior space a building can contain in relation to the size of the plot of land it sits on. The document also specifies

qualification standards a theatre has to meet in order to be eligible for the exemption. It includes regulations for the development of cultural facilities and theatres. These regulations encourage a mix of different kinds of facilities by requiring that they “contribute to the balance of cultural facilities responsive to the needs of the Midtown Cultural District, and they allow for administrative space. These regulations help make it easier for organizations to establish themselves in the area and serve as anchors for the district.

Ground level retail is also included in the code. The appendices list the approved ground level usages, which are limited to service and retail. It regulates the size and use of display windows, mandating that they be attractive to pedestrians and reserved for “display of goods and services available for purchase on the premises” and “for exhibits and announcements.” (p. 30). There is also Small Business Expansion Area, which limits the size of retail space to encourage usage by small businesses. This helps keep the area distinctive by emphasizing smaller local business instead of major chains.

artist live/work space.

Artist Live/Work space allowances are a common tool used to establish a cultural district or enhance the sustainability of an already existing one. Since artists have often priced out of cultural districts that they helped develop, live/workspace can be very important in keeping artists in the area (Deutsche & Ryan 1984). In Pawtucket, Rhode Island and Long Beach, California both recently established artist live/work space as part of a comprehensive plan for arts and culture based downtown revitalization. The Northeast Minneapolis Arts Action Plan recommended that steps be taken to insure the long-term affordability of live/work space already in the neighborhood. Creating live/work space is often the result of collaboration between the

city and developers; cities allow for it in their zoning codes and often provide incentives for its creation, while developers build and managed the spaces.

Zoning plays an important role in the creation of live/work space. Often special zoning used to legalize the existence of artist live/work space in industrial zones where they would normally be illegal (Artistlink, 2009b). They may be written into general industrial zoning codes or added as an overlay zone; overlays are special zoning regulations that modify the regulations of the base zone. Often they require some form of certification or permit process so that the city can monitor them (Artistlink, 2009b). One prominent example is in San Francisco, which, following a very ugly and very public 1983 eviction of artists from the historic Goodman Building enacted a live/work law that made legal situations where artists were already living in industrial zones (Girvan, 2005).

In Long Beach, California live/work space was included in a comprehensive plan to revitalize the downtown with arts and culture (Vossman, 2002). The city modified the building codes to accommodate the creation of these spaces. Incentives were offered through the Redevelopment Agency to encourage voluntary activity. They provided low-interest loans to property owners for up to 100% of the conversion costs for the creation of artist studios and they offered forgivable loans of up to \$5,000 for moderate-/low-income artists for improvements to units they own or lease. Thirty-three rental units, eight new loft condos, and seven artist loans were funded through the program. All units funded by this program are subject to 15-year rent caps by the United States office of Housing and Urban Development to keep them affordable for moderate-/low-income artists. According to Vossman's article, the program had limited success, but it provides a good example of how a municipality can incentivize artist live/work spaces.

The Northeast Minneapolis Arts Action Plan takes a particularly interesting approach to the creation of live/work space (Northeast Minneapolis Arts Association, 2002). Because of the success of the Northeast Minneapolis Arts District, the neighborhood is faced with the potential displacement of its resident artists due to rising rents. Instead of calling for Municipal incentives or subsidies like the ones in Long Beach, the plan calls for the creation of a nonprofit land trust called the “Arts Conservancy” that would purchase the development rights to industrial buildings that artists already have studios in. This kind of arrangement would allow for the maintenance of low-cost artist housing in perpetuity at a lower cost than purchasing the building outright while, at the same time, giving the property owner a quick influx of cash.

There are also nonprofit and for-profit developers who specialize in the creation of artist live/work space. Urban Smart Growth is a for-profit developer that has built these kinds of developments all over the country (Urban Smart Growth 2009). Currently they are leasing spaces in Hope Artiste Village, a mixed-use redevelopment of an abandoned mill. This development is part of Pawtucket’s larger plan to revitalize its downtown and rebrand itself as a hub of arts and culture (Weiss, 2009). ArtistSpace is a national nonprofit developer of artist live/work space, based in Minneapolis (ArtistSpace, 2009). They have buildings all over the country that offer affordable space to artists.

branding.

Successful cultural districts must be effectively branded and marketed. A positive image is essential to bringing visitors and new residents to the area (Paumier, 2004). Since no two cultural districts are the same, it is also important for any district to highlight its unique attributes (Artslink, 2009). The neighborhood, local businesses, a nonprofit association that represents the

district, or the city itself often accomplishes branding the district. In many cases, all of these groups work together to accomplish this goal.

Branding a cultural district must make the area distinctive and recognizable to visitors. A prime example of a cultural district clearly marking itself as a unique section of town is the Short North Arts District in Columbus, Ohio where brightly lit arches extend over High Street – the Short North’s main artery and Columbus’ central north/south road – throughout the district. The project is an example of collaboration between the city and the area businesses; \$2.4 million came from the city, while the remaining costs the Short North Special Improvement District – An association of High Street business owners - covered the remaining cost (Narciso, 2007). The arches are prominently displayed on the Short North Arts Districts website and grace the logo of the Short North Foundation. They have become an important way of identifying the area.

The Logan Park Neighborhood in Minneapolis included branding for arts and culture into its city funded neighborhood plan (Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program, 2004). The plan was completed as part of a citywide neighborhood planning initiative called the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program. Logan Park is particularly important because it contains some of the Northeast Minneapolis Arts District. The neighborhood plan includes recommendations to “Promote an arts identity for Logan Park and Northeast Minneapolis” (p.8) and matches its recommendations with specific dollar amounts. It recommends supporting and promoting events, street beautification and wayfinding signs to enhance the Arts District. Since neighborhood residents developed this plan, it is a prime example of ordinary citizens being directly involved in cultural district policy.

Branding is particularly important for neighborhoods that were previously considered dangerous. The brief arts boom that hippies brought to New York’s Lower East Side in the mid

60s is a prime example (Mele, 2002). Inhabited at the time by low-income Hispanics and Eastern European Immigrants, the Lower East Side was known throughout the city as a crime riddled slum. When hippies began moving in property owners and local media responded by anointing the area the East Village. This rebranding of the neighborhood brought an influx of White middle-class residents and tourists. The revitalization was short lived, but between 1964 and 1968 the change was dramatic. Without a significant change in the perceived character of the neighborhood, such a shift would have been unlikely. This process repeated itself in the 1980s when artists started to flood the area after being priced out of SoHo (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). Once again developers and local media were quick to replace the negative connotations of the “Lower East Side,” for the hipper “East Village.”

grants and loans.

Grants and loans are often used to encourage development. The Long Beach method of incentivising artist live/work space is a prime example of how municipalities can offer low interest or forgivable loans to promote the creation of cultural districts. Both of their incentives mentioned in the *Artist Live/Work* section were in the forms of loans from the Long Beach Redevelopment Agency from funds set aside for affordable housing (Vossman, 2002). The Northeast Minneapolis neighborhood of Logan Park included grants and loans for rehabilitating homes in the area (Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program, 2004). While these funds are not targeted towards arts, they do improve the over all aesthetic of the neighborhood, which improves the pedestrian experience.

events.

Many arts districts use events to raise their visibility and attract visitors. Regular “Art Walks” are a common way of encouraging patrons to visit the district and experience its

amenities. These are typically monthly events when galleries throughout the district stay open late. Galleries often time new shows at the events and may offer refreshments and even live performances. Columbus' Short North Arts District holds Gallery Hop on the first Saturday of every month, Portland's Pearl District holds its Art Walk on the first Thursday, while the Alberta Arts District in Northeast Portland enlivens the last Thursday with an Art Hop, In Eugene, Oregon, the Art Walk takes place on the first Friday. The Alberta Arts District's summer Art Hop blocks off the street and resembles an all out-street fair with numerous vendors and performers.

Annual events are also important to cultural districts. Art-a-Whirl is an annual event in the Northeast Minneapolis Arts District. It is similar to an Art Walk but encompasses three days instead of one evening (Northeast Minneapolis Arts Association, 2009). The event draws an estimated 15,000 people annually and is targeted in the Art Action Plan as an important asset to be built upon (Northeast Minneapolis Arts Association, 2002). In Miami the annual Art Basil Miami Beach has helped developers draw attention to downtown arts and cultural opportunities and allowed them to brand their projects as hip (Fernandez, 2005). Some developers have thrown lavish parties to capitalize on the event and recruit upper-class tenants.

Conclusions

The gentrification of neighborhoods is a complex process that involves the intersection of multiple actors. Planners, developers, municipal policy, artists, arts organizations, community organizations, business owners, property owners, and local media outlets all play important roles. Numerous scholars have addressed the issue, providing a number of theoretical explanations and proposed solutions. However, gentrification continues to happen in cities across the United States. It remains a concern of the arts and culture sector as its leaders try to find successful and

equitable ways to develop communities and enhance the economic viability of artists and arts organizations.

Chapter 3 | Case Study of N. Mississippi Ave., Portland, Oregon

The following section is a thorough case study of the gentrification process on N. Mississippi Ave. located in the Boise neighborhood of North Portland. It seeks to illuminate the complex role that arts and culture have played in the community's revitalization by positioning its current condition within the broader history of the Albina community in which it is located. A special emphasis will be given to how arts and culture have influenced and been influenced by the changes in the neighborhood. The primary study area is the five-block section of Mississippi Ave. between N. Skidmore St. and Fremont St. that constitutes its cultural district. But analysis will also encompass the Boise neighborhood where the district is located, as well as the rest of North/Inner-Northeast to provide the most complete picture of the situation possible. Unless otherwise cited, information in the following section was obtained through interviews with Barry Manning, Nicholas Starin and Debbie Bischoff of the Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability on March 15, 2010; Judith Mowry of the Restorative Listening Project on April 1, 2010; John Canda of the Restorative Listening Project on April 30, 2010; Kay Newell, owner of Sunlan Lighting on Mississippi Ave. on April 2, 2010, Eric Issacson, owner of Mississippi Records on April 19, 2010; Cathy Galbraith, Executive Director of Bosco-Milligan Foundation on May 6, 2010, And longtime area residents Ural Thompson and Gary Vollstedt on May 2, 2010.

History of Albina

Today Mississippi Ave. is the primary commercial artery of North Portland's Boise Neighborhood. Its tree-lined sidewalks are filled with a colorful mix of small businesses including fine restaurants, bars, boutiques selling clothing, kitsch, and other artifacts of material

culture, live music venues, a gigantic reuse hardware store, and, of course, Portland's iconic food carts. Branded as Historic Mississippi, the street is one of Portland's hottest emerging cultural districts, bustling with hipsters and the creative class. But this was not always so. Situated in the heart of Portland's Albina community, Mississippi Ave.'s, as well as the Boise Neighborhood's, fortunes have followed the dramatic trajectory of the community's history. The area became home to Portland's small African American community after the Second World War. Since then, the area has gone through a tumultuous era of redlining, disinvestment, and revitalization, resulting in the thriving cultural district present today.

The former City of Albina, which encompasses most of North and Inner-Northeast Portland, has its roots in the Donation Land Act of 1850 (Portland State University, 1990). This act granted free land to settlers who agreed to live on it and cultivate it for four consecutive years. It gave every male citizen over 21 years of age who settled in Oregon before December 1, 1850 320 acres; married couples received 640. Between then and 1855 the acreage offer was reduced to 160 and 320 respectively. Albina was originally plotted on a donation land claim owned by J.L. Lorin and Joseph Delay. The area was acquired in 1872 by Edwin Russell (Manager of the Portland branch of the Bank of British Columbia) and George H. Williams (Former senator, U.S. Attorney General and Future Portland Mayor). They did the original plat for the land and two of the area's primary arteries, Williams Ave. and Russell St., still bear their names. In 1874 James Montgomery and William Reid acquired the property and began developing residential sites. It became incorporated as the City of Albina in 1887.

Its short history as an independent city was that of a railroad company town (Portland State University, 1990). The Oregon Railroad and Navigation Co. (OR&N) owned the extensive Albina railroad yards. With the opening of the Morrison Bridge in 1887 and the expansion of the

street railways the area grew rapidly. Increased transport lead to the creation of middle class subdivisions, some of the oldest homes being in Boise, dating back to 1888. Around this time Portland's Westside powers identified Albina as a prime area for industrial development; banks, transit and utility companies – with the support of local government – pushed for it to be annexed into Portland (MacColl, 1988, as cited in Portland State University, 1990).

Albina and East Portland became consolidated into Portland in 1891 (Portland State University, 1990). This placed the significant resources of these areas under the political and financial leadership of the City of Portland and its powerful business interests. Wealthy landowners in downtown Portland on the west side of the Willamette already possessed significant property holdings in Albina, and significantly influenced consolidation. The vote for consolidation was met with overwhelming voter approval, 10,128 for consolidation and 1,714 against (MacColl, 1988 as cited in Portland State University, 1990.).

Albina's development was driven by transportation and industry (Portland State University, 1990). With the 1882 extension of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's line from the The Dalles to the Willamette River, Albina became the western terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad, which grew into the region's largest employer. Expansion of streetcar lines, which first crossed the Willamette with the construction of the Steel Bridge and the Willamette Bridge Railway, saw the expansion of Albina as a residential community. According to Cathy Galbraith, Mississippi became a successful business district based around a streetcar line. Kay Newell also attests to the vibrancy of the district prior to World War II; claiming that her building was Stewarts Variety store; next door was a meat market, then a hat shop. According to her account the area had a number of grocers, bars, and restaurants.

Automobile traffic became an important economic driver, as Union Ave (now Martin Luther King Blvd.) and Williams Ave, developed into important commercial centers based on their status as primary arteries (Portland State University, 1990). Interstate Ave. later replaced Union as the primary route to Vancouver, stealing much of the street's travel oriented business. However, the opening of I-5 in 1964 replaced Interstate Ave. as the predominant course across the Columbia River, once again changing the shape of transportation oriented business (Stout, 1974 as cited in Portland State University, 1990).

Historically, Albina is one of the most diverse areas in Portland and was once the home of much of the city's immigrant population (Portland State University, 1990). The construction of the rail shops in 1885 brought large numbers of Irish and German immigrants looking for semi-skilled railroad jobs. Cheap housing began to arise in response and Albina became a primarily working-class community (MacColl, 1976 as Cited in Portland State University, 1990). A significant community of German-Russians came in 1888 making up what was known as "Little Russia" between Union and 7th Ave. from Fremont to Shaver (Sheurerman and Trafzer, 1980 as cited in Portland State University, 1990). There was also a significant Scandinavian community in Albina.

The African American Community In Albina

Portland's African American community and Albina share a particularly important history. Portland State University's Comprehensive Planning Workshop on the history of the Albina Plan Area states, "the history of Albina's growth, decline, and its revitalization and the history of the black struggle for dignity and empowerment are intertwined to this day" (1990, p. 41). The early African American community in Portland was based in the Northwest near the railroad yards and the Portland Hotel (Portland State University, 1990). Most worked as waiters

and railway porters; there were several black owned businesses including the Golden West Hotel (Gibson, 2007; Portland State University, 1990).

Before World War II the African American population began to shift towards Albina. PSU's history of the Albina plan area (1990) cites McLaglen (1980) claiming this was due to "The Proximity of the railroad yards, a general shift in population to the east side and the proximity of black churches and social and business institutions" (p. 46). However, Gibson (2007) suggests that racism drove the shift, citing Watson (1976) claiming that around 1910 the black community was pushed out and forced to settle east of the Willamette. Extreme racial discrimination limited where African Americans could live at the time, forcing the creation of a largely self-contained social and economic system (Portland State University, 1990).

Gibson (2007) posits, "In 1919, the Portland Realty Board adopted a rule declaring it unethical for an agent to sell property to either Negro or Chinese people in a White neighborhood." (p. 6). Cathy Galbraith expands on this, clarifying that the rule pertained to "Negroes and Orientals," "in neighborhoods outside the Albina District." Ms. Galbraith also asserts that the board denied this rule, but a 1949 test case involving the "purchase of a house in SE Portland by an African American man (Tony Anthony) and his Native-American wife (Marie.)" confirmed its existence. By 1939 the majority of African Americans in Portland lived in Albina with the business community centered around Williams Ave. (Portland State University, 1990). The 1940 census data placed Portland's Black community at only 2000, with 959 of them living in only two census tracts in the inner-northeast. The city, real estate interests and landlords had restricted housing choice, forcing African Americans into a small area two miles long and one mile wide in the Eliot neighborhood, which is immediately south of Boise (Gibson, 2007).

The onset of World War II brought dramatic changes. Huge numbers of migrant workers came to Portland to work in the Kaiser shipyards, about 25 percent of which were Black (Portland State University, 1990). According to John Canda, many African Americans who came at that time were also trying to escape extreme racism in the South and the East. This dramatically increased Portland's African American community. Gibson (2007) claims that 23,000 African Americans came to Portland during the 1940's. In order to accommodate the influx of workers Kaiser built a massive housing project on the Columbia River called Vanport City in 1943 (Portland State University, 1990). Vanport became the largest wartime housing project in the country and Oregon's second largest city housing 40,000 individuals. Many of the incoming Black workers settled in Vanport, which, according to Portland State University (1990) was not explicitly segregated due to an anti-discrimination clause of the National Housing Authority. Gibson (2007) suggests that Vanport was, in fact, segregated and points out that African Americans also ended up in Guilds Lake, another wartime development, and Albina's Eliot and Boise neighborhoods.

After the War the Black population of Portland fell by more than half, and was only 9,529 by 1950, the smallest of any of the West Coast's largest cities (Gibson, 2007). In 1948 the Columbia flooded, almost completely wiping out the Vanport housing development. Many of the victims were directed to Albina, which contained much of the city's oldest housing stock and was the place where Blacks were traditionally steered (Portland State University, 1990). The majority of the Black community moved to the southern part of Albina, including Eliot, Irvington, and Lloyd (Gibson, 2007).

The real estate board decided to relegate sales to African Americans to an area between Oregon St. to the south, Russell St. to the north, Union Ave. to the east and the Willamette River

to the west, making southern Albina the only part of the city available to them (Hill, 1976, as cited In Gibson, 2007). The northern boundary was later expanded to Fremont and, as Cathy Galbraith asserts, continued to expand northward as the community grew and various urban renewal projects leveled homes and businesses in the southern neighborhoods of Lloyd and Eliot. She adds that Mississippi Ave. began to decline around this time due to “the designation of Interstate Ave. as a highway route and the removal of streetcar lines in the 1950s.” According to Kay Newell, while the buildings remain, all of the pre-war businesses have closed except for the Nu-Rite Market, which has had many different owners since. Several sources, as well as Galbraith and Ural Thompson, identify Williams Ave. – which runs north/south just a few blocks east of Mississippi – as the main commercial center of the Black community (Gibson, 2007; PSU, 1990; Showell, 2009). As they moved in, White’s left the area in droves. The Black population of Albina grew dramatically between 1940 and 1960 as the White population shrank; more than 21,000 headed for the suburbs and other parts of Portland, bringing the total population of Albina down.

In the early 50s Guilds Lake and Swan Island developments – the last remnants of wartime housing – closed, sending more African Americans to the Albina community (Gibson, 2007). Albina was completely reshaped in 1956 with the construction of the Memorial Coliseum in Eliot (Gibson, 2007, Portland State University, 1990). This caused the destruction of businesses and 476 homes, about half of which were Black. In 1957 the City Club released *The Negro in Portland: A Progress Report, 1945–1957*, which pointed out that 90% of realtors would not sell an African American a home in a White neighborhood (as cited in Gibson, 2007). Portland Realtors and the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) had two reasons for this, one, they claimed it was unethical because Blacks depress property values, and two, they felt their

businesses would suffer.

The Fair Housing Law was passed by the state legislature in 1959 forbidding discrimination in the sale, rental or lease of housing. Despite the legislation, a study of integrated neighborhoods in 1961 by the league of women voters showed a significant level of discrimination still existed (League of Women Voters, 1962 as cited in Gibson, 2007). Several other important milestones in the 1950s included the Federal Aide Highway act, which led to the construction of I-5 in the 1960s, and the 1957 Housing act, which gave cities the authority to declare blighted areas, a designation that was quickly bestowed on Albina.

During this time Albina became a hotbed for Jazz and Soul music. Williams Ave. was the heart of the area's music scene at that time. Ural Thompson and Gary Vollstedt recall the vibrancy of the area, which included prominent venues like the Cotton Club, the Texas, and Paul's Paradise. These venues hosted many great Portland groups like The Kingsman, The Invaders and The Dimes, as well as national acts like Etta James, Big Mama Thorton, and Sammy Davis Jr. Mr. Thompson does remember a few places on Mississippi, like the Bucket of Blood; however, the street was not nearly as significant as Williams Ave., which also boasted the House of Sound, an important music store. At that point in time the area was called Jumptown (Showell, 2009). In a 2009 guest column in the Oregonian, Showell responds to a recent plan to redevelop the area; looking back at what was he cites Robert Dietsche, from the book "Jumptown: The Golden Years of Portland Jazz 1942-1957," saying,

"Action central was Williams Avenue, an entertainment strip lined with hot spots where you could find jazz twenty-four hours a day. ... You could stand in the middle of the Avenue (where the Blazers play basketball today) and look up Williams past the chili parlors, past the barbecue joints, the beauty salons, all the way to Broadway, and see

hundreds of people dressed up as if they were going to a fashion show. It could be four in the morning. It didn't matter; this was one of those 'streets that never slept.'"

John Canda also acknowledges that the area was known for its music at one time. Even though the area was predominantly Black, it was not unwelcoming to Whites. Mr. Vollstedt, a White man, recalls going to see James Brown in his first appearance in Portland circa 1959 at a place near Jefferson High School (not near Williams and Russell, but still in Albina) and not being threatened. Everybody else there was black, he remembers, "and they were so friendly, they even let their girls dance with us." There was no discrimination he added, "there was fear on our part, but a lot of us had already been down in the Black neighborhoods, the Cotton Club."

Throughout the 1960s and 70s Urban Renewal drastically changed the Albina community. During the 1960s the effect of the Federal Aide Highway Act was strongly felt as several hundred houses were cleared to make way for the construction of I-5, which is also called the Minnesota freeway because it was built over the old Minnesota Ave. that ran through Albina (Gibson, 2007; Hyatt-Evenson & Griffith, 2002; Portland State University, 1990; Showell, 2009). The Albina Neighborhood Improvement Program, part of an Albina Urban Renewal Area active from 1964 to 1974, was a more positive experience for Portland's Black community (Gibson, 2007; Portland Development Commission, ND). Collaboration between active Albina residents and the PDC resulted in the rehabilitation of 585 structures, including over 300 homes, the construction of 56 affordable housing units, and the development of Unthank Park, named for prominent African American civic leader Dr. DeNorval Unthank (Portland Development Commission, ND; Provo, et al, ND; Gibson, 2007).

The 1970s brought the Emmanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Area, which had been in planning since 1963 (Provo, et al, ND; Hyatt-Evenson & Griffith, 2002). The Portland

Development Commission (PDC) and Emmanuel Hospital proposed to use federal funds under the Hill-Burton program to expand the hospital. According to the PDC “The plan was to remedy the substandard housing and poor environment in the area by expanding the hospital and constructing related facilities, parking, employee housing, offices and housing for the elderly.” (Provo, et al, ND p. 12). Businesses at the corner of Williams Ave. and Russell St. were razed to make way for the new development. Ural Thompson asserts that this event ended the area’s existence as an important musical hub; Showell (2009) corroborates this sentiment. Compensation was given to homeowners who were displaced by the project through the Federal Relocation Act of 1970. However, federal funds were cut in 1973 and the expansion was never built. This was a particularly bitter pill for Portland’s Black community, which saw 1,100 housing units lost and their central business district turned into an empty lot. The land was still an empty field when Gibson wrote her 2007 article “Bleeding Albina.” Today there is a fence around it with signs announcing the development of a children’s hospital. The Federal Model Cities Programs also funded many smaller neighborhood improvement projects in Albina during this time period, which focused mainly on improving housing and public infrastructure (Portland Development Commission, ND). Affected neighborhoods included Boise-Humboldt and Eliot.

During the 1980’s Albina bottomed out, becoming increasingly dilapidated (Gibson, 2007). The area was riddled with economic stagnation, population loss, crack-cocaine, and gang warfare. Crack hit Portland hard in the 1980’s. In 1987 Bloods and Crips migrated north from Los Angeles attracted by higher drug prices. Blacks who could afford to move out of the neighborhood left.

John Canda remembers an incident in 1986 as his first recollection of the neighborhood changing. While washing his car with a friend he heard gunshots ring out from what sounded

like Humboldt Elementary. He and his friend ran over to the school to find a Black kid lying on the ground after being shot in a drive-by shooting. Prior to the incident the playground had never been fenced-off, serving as an important gathering space for local youths, it included basketball courts Mr. Canda had played on as a kid. A fence was erected following the shooting and it still stands today. Mr. Canda sees this as an important change in the neighborhood culture because it abruptly forced youths to play elsewhere.

Deterioration was supported by capital starvation. Financial institutions in Portland had victimized Albina for decades by redlining the area. Gibson (2007) points to complaints among black homeowners regarding access to capital as far back as 1968. Many of my interviewees including Debbie Bischoff, Cathy Galbraith, Judith Mowry, and John Canda acknowledge these practices.

Redlining led to the deterioration of homes and reduced owner occupancy rates (Gibson, 2007). As a result many African Americans were forced to purchase homes from predatory lenders or on privately financed contracts. Many more rented from absentee landlords who offered cheap rent but often did little or no improvements. Kay Newell recollects a landowner named Matthew who had purchased a significant amount of properties at low cost, adding that he rented them at a low cost but never fixed anything. According to Ural Thompson many speculators were able to purchase homes cheaply, offering as little as \$2,000 cash for houses in some cases. The pamphlet *Slumlord*, which was given to me by a person in the neighborhood, claims that a man named Howard Willett purchased about 90 homes in North and Northeast Portland in the 80s for around \$10,000 a piece (herecomeslenny@yahoo.com, 2009). By 1989 only 44% of Albina homes were owner-occupied (Gibson, 2007). Levels of abandonment also rose; in 1988 the King and Boise neighborhoods contained 1 percent of Portland's land and 26%

of its abandoned housing units.

Public attention was drawn to the housing situation in Albina when the Oregonian ran a three-part series written by Lane and Myers in September of 1990. A three-month study, including reviews of bank records, anonymous inquiries about small mortgages, and interviews with bankers, real estate agents and residents, revealed startling findings about lending practices in the area (Lane, 1990). Banks used minimum mortgage amounts, typically ranging from \$25,000 to \$40,000, as a rationale for denying loans in Albina. Ability to pay did not seem to matter. The article cited an example of one person who could get a \$25,000 loan for a car but not a \$16,000 loan for a house. One couple that qualified for a \$100,000 loan in other parts of the city could not get a \$15,000 loan for a home in the Northeast.

Black neighborhoods were the hardest hit (Lane, 1990). During 1987 and 1988 banks did not make a single federally insured loan in the four census tracts with the largest black population, despite the fact that these loans carried minimal risk and were designed for low-income and first time homebuyers (these kinds of loans included Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Association loans that carried low interest rates and little to no down payment). Over the same amount of time, in the same four census tracts, only nineteen total loans were made. That is five loans per tract, per year, or one-tenth the metro average; if the figures were adjusted to exclude rental housing they totaled one-sixth the metro average.

Prelude to the Boom; 1990 to 2005

Albina was never 100 percent African American, Kay Newell and Debbie Bischoff both point out that it was always a mixed community. However, in Portland, which has a very small Black population – 6.4 percent according to the U.S. Census 2006-2008 community survey estimate – Albina did become an important hub of the African American community in the years

following Vanport. The Albina community, including the Boise neighborhood, began to change in the 1990s. Investment began to flow into the community again, brought on by the adoption of the Albina Community Plan and increased involvement in neighborhood revitalization by local residents, organizations, and business owners.

As the area began to improve its population started to shift. The Urban League's *State of Black Oregon* (2009) asserts that in 1990 51% of Oregon's Black population lived in North Portland, by 2000 this number had dwindled to 39%. Gibson (2007) gives more specific data on each neighborhood based on census numbers. According to her, Boise – whose Black Population peaked in 1970 at 84% – was 70% African American in 1990; by 2000 it was down to 50%. Humboldt neighborhood, bordering Boise to the North – which actually saw its Black population rise from 64% to 69% between 1970 and 1980 – was 69% Black in 1990 and 52% in 2000. This demographic shift brought concerns about gentrification by the end of the century.

In response to the perceived blighted conditions in Albina and a strong community-led advocacy effort, the City of Portland Bureau of Planning (Now called the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability) initiated the Albina community planning process in 1989 (Bureau of Planning, 1990). It was also intended to be part of the City of Portland's comprehensive planning process at the time. The final document was not adopted until 1993 (Bureau of Planning, 1993a). According to Debbie Bischoff, Barry Manning, and Nicholas Starin at the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, as well as Cathy Galbraith, the document was instrumental in promoting the revitalization of the area. Mr. Manning points to the light it shone on the area as an important place, which signals the revitalization opportunity to the larger community. Ms. Galbraith and Mr. Starin point to zoning changes as important instigators for development. As Mr. Starin

posits, zoning doesn't create market value but it does create the conditions necessary for development. The plan also created the Mississippi Conservation district.

Portland is famous for its public participation, as Cathy Galbraith points out and Putnam and Feldstein (2003) illustrate in *Better Together's* chapter on Portland where they assert that, while civic engagement across the country had been in decline since the 1970s, in Portland the practice had steadily risen. Indeed, the *Albina Community Plan Process* that was approved in May of 1990 paid significant attention to public participation. This document set the agenda for the planning process and outlined four phases for completion (Bureau of Planning, 1990). Public participation helped develop the document and it promised to conduct public forums, outreach, and disseminate information regarding important city hearings as part of all four phases. These Phases included Phase I: Information Collection and Analysis, Phase II: Discussion Draft Public Review, Phase III: Planning Commission Review of Bureau of Planning Proposed Plan, and Phase IV: City Council Review of Planning Commission Recommended Plan.

There does appear to have been a substantial amount of community involvement in the plan. A group of Albina Citizens organized in 1989 as the N/NE Economic Development Task Force over dissatisfaction with the level of citizen participation in neighborhood revitalization (Portland State University, 1990). They created their own report on policy areas and objectives for Albina, which became the basis for much of the Bureau of Planning's *Albina Community Plan Process* document, their report *Economic Development Action Plan* is cited in the document itself on page 2 (Portland State University, 1990; Bureau of Planning, 1990).

Nicholas Starin, who worked as an intern on the 2000 update of the plan's action charts, also acknowledges the assertive role community groups took in setting the agenda. He recalls the community's attachment to the plan, saying that in meetings for the action charts update people

would hold it up and say, “you said you were going to do this.” Cathy Galbraith credits the role of civic participation in the plan, but she also addresses important shortcomings. According to her account the overall length of the process, which took over three years, as well as the economic struggles of neighborhood residents, many of whom worked more than one job or may have been single parents, were significant barriers to sustained participation.

Certainly the *Albina Community Plan Process*, as well as the final approved plan itself, addresses many issues relevant to Albina’s long-time residents. The process document outlines objectives that were based on the action plan developed by the North/Northeast Economic Development Task Force (Bureau of Planning, 1990). According to the document the recommendations were based on “a community consensus building process that was well publicized and in which many citizens participated” (p. 15). Objectives fell under eleven topical areas including Planning, Land Use, Transportation, Business Growth & Development, Job and Employment, Housing, Education, Public Safety, Family Service, Urban Design, and Informational Study. Each area listed objectives, many of which were aimed specifically at the existing community at that time, with every objective listing the organization that had proposed it. Some highlights that were directly aimed at the historic residents included “Foster the formation of new businesses by *individuals residing in the area*” (p. 20, emphasis mine), “Establish Programs that encourage and support owner occupancy of housing, *particularly for those presently residing in the area*” (p. 22, emphasis mine), and “Provide funding for art and cultural activities that assure ethnic art, history and culture are part of Portland’s daily life” (p. 25). All three of these examples point to a desire to retain existing residents and empower them economically and culturally. Other objectives focused on addressing the social ills that had

permeated the neighborhood including drug use and violence, as well as utilizing land use tools to enhance the district's character and commercial potential.

The approved plan spells out ten policy areas that are similar, but not identical to the topical areas in the process document (Bureau of Planning, 1993a). Policy areas in the final plan include Land Use, Transportation, Business Growth and Development, Jobs and Employment, Housing, Education, Public Safety, Family Services, Community Image and Character, and Environmental Values. Each policy area has a list of objectives followed by action charts that detail specific projects, programs, and regulations, along with a broad timeline for implementation (categories include On-going, Adopt with Plan, Next 5 Years, and 6 to 20 years). Each action is followed by a list of implementers/advocates, these include governmental and private organizations that, according to Mr. Starin, at that point in time agreed to address that action.

There is a clear community focus in the Albina plan, its policy objectives aim to improve the community and benefit existing residents. In some cases it specifically addresses equity issues. One of its Business Growth and Development policy objectives include "Nurture and promote local entrepreneur ship (sic), micro-business growth, and business expansion particularly for emerging small businesses and enterprises owned by *women* and *minorities*." (Bureau of Planning, 1993a, p. 39, emphasis mine). It has several objectives that emphasize the creation of affordable housing, saying, "Seek to increase opportunities for affordable housing and reductions in displacement that might otherwise result from neighborhood stabilization and rising property values" (p. 54). Art and culture listed as a policy under Community Image and Character. The first arts and culture objective is "Celebrate the *ethnic diversity* of the Albina

Community through multicultural fairs, murals as community art, visual and performing arts, and other community-based cultural events and programs” (p. 79, emphasis mine.)

Boise was one of several neighborhoods in Albina that completed a neighborhood plan as part of the Albina plan (Bureau of Planning 1993b). Much of the Boise plan was based on a community workshop held in May of 1990. After this initial workshop most of the public comment on the Boise plan was integrated into sessions for the *Albina Community Plan*. The intent of the *Boise Neighborhood Plan* is to address issues specific to Boise within the direction of the broader community plan. It follows a similar format to the Albina plan including policy, objectives, and actions. Policy areas are similar to the *Albina Community Plan* but not identical, they include Public Safety, Housing, Neighborhood Maintenance and Image, Urban Design/Historic Preservation/Land Use, Parks Recreation and Open Space, Transportation, Business Growth and Development/Employment, and Education/Daycare/Youth.

Like the Albina plan, the Boise plan does much to address the needs of the historical residents. It aims to make the neighborhood safer and it addresses issues of housing for current residents; encouraging homeownership for low to moderate-income families and guarding against displacement of the elderly, and emphasizes the creation of jobs for community residents. To help families, it recommends improvements in day care accessibility and better education. One piece of the plan that ended up having considerable impact on the future of the area was the establishment of the Mississippi Historic District. The area designated for this was actually relatively small, on Mississippi itself it extends only from Blandena to the north and five blocks south to Failing. Cathy Galbraith claims that this was instituted to give local residents some control over the aesthetic of new building projects in the area in exchange for higher density zoning that allowed for multifamily housing.

These plans included numerous promises to benefit the exiting community. A comprehensive analysis of the *Albina Community Plan* and its impact is beyond the limitations of this study. However, it is important to note that 17 years later many of my interviewees feel, or acknowledge that others feel, that many of its promises to long time Albina residents were not kept. Cathy Galbraith in particular comments that some promises remain undelivered. Nicholas Starin singles out job creation as one of the less successful outcomes of the plan, pointing out that fewer jobs have been created than was hoped and that many large low-income housing projects were constructed in areas intended for employment-intensive commercial development.

Some of its shortcomings may be attributed to the way the action charts were written and a lack of management of the plan after its adoption. Nicholas Starin expresses dissatisfaction with the action charts, saying that they are not very strategic. He likens them to a laundry list of concerns; a way of getting everyone's pet issue into the plan. Some of the actions, he adds, were obviously not going to happen. Also, in this case, the community was left with the responsibility of pushing to get things done. Barry Manning points out that land use changes were generally adopted with the Albina plan, but some of the other actions in the plan possibly lacked follow through because the plan did not have specific staff assigned to follow up on the plan's many action items – which span a broad spectrum of topic areas. The plan has been successful in attracting reinvestment to the area and did set the table for many follow up actions such as urban renewal areas, and provided direction for follow up planning for Interstate Ave.

Barry Manning notes that in a more recent effort, the *East Portland Action Plan*, money was allocated to hire a full-time professional organizer to work with the community and follow up with the various institutions and organizations who had signed on to action items. According to Mr. Manning that organizer has been very successful at getting results. However, Mr.

Manning cautions against comparing the two plans without recognizing the differences. He clarifies that “The Albina plan was part of a series of plans designed to update Portland’s Comprehensive Plan, and it focused considerably on land use, development, economic/neighborhood revitalization, and design issues... The *East Portland Action Plan* is a different type of plan – not an update of the Comprehensive Plan – and suggests actions in a variety of issue areas to address community livability, with less of a focus on land use and development issues.” While a dedicated professional staff person may have been helpful in the Albina plan’s implementation, it is not clear how successful such a person would have been stewarding the adoption of the plan’s strong emphasis on land use and development.

While the *Albina Community Plan* and the *Boise Neighborhood Plan* were a significant piece of the revitalization, the community contributed significantly to the change on its own. Kay Newell considers herself to be an important catalyst for change, she has been an active participant in the neighborhood for two decades. She adds, “It took a lot of people to make the changes. Some did a little, others were as active or more active, some gave both time and money. It took the community at large to affect the change.” According to her recollection, when she moved into the neighborhood in 1989 and opened Sunlan Lighting at the corner of Mississippi and Failing the neighborhood was extremely dangerous. She recalls that all the businesses on Mississippi were boarded-up; the building she purchased for Sunlan had been vacant for 30 years.

Neighborhood kids broke her windows when she removed the boards, so in response she re-boarded them and painted bright murals to make them look nicer. A picture of the building with the murals can be seen on Sunlan’s website at www.sunlanlighting.com/Introduction.html. At the same time that she was fixing up the Sunlan building a man named Terrell Garnet bought

the property on the other end of the block on the opposite side and started fixing up as well. The improvements proved to be contagious “People started to see that we were fixing up, so they started fixing up” she recalls.

Not only did people start fixing up their properties, they began calling in crime as well. Kay began calling in drug activity that she witnessed on the streets. After a while neighbors started helping her. Eventually a large and very diverse group of neighborhood residents were participating in effort to improve the neighborhood. Ms. Newell particularly credits an African American friend of hers named Ruth Glass and a nonprofit started by a group of African American women called Housing our Families for being instrumental in the effort to rid the street of criminals. She asserts that these were good, well-meaning people and many of them were low income, some working two jobs. The socio-economic class of neighborhood residents created an obstacle to success that she helped overcome, she claims, “A lot of them didn’t have the knowledge of how to stop this type of activity, they didn’t have the information. And a lot of them were, quite frankly, afraid. I’m dumb enough not to be scared.” Over time, the contributions of Ms. Newell and many other active citizens in the neighborhood began to create meaningful change.

Increased neighborhood involvement eventually led to a Mississippi Historic District Target Area. This was initiated in 1999 according to the *Mississippi Historic District target Area Economic Development Strategy*, prepared by E.D. Hovee & Company in 2002. Kay credits Housing Our Families with being the instigators, recalling “They came to me with the city of Portland and said ‘we want to start the Target Area.’” According to Kay, the organization wanted safe and affordable housing for low-income families in the area. One program of the Target Area that she highlights is an initiative to help seniors and people with disabilities fix up their homes.

They offered up to \$5,000 per home to do home repair, while using community residents as a labor force. “We were giving people living work skills, at the same time we were providing maintenance for seniors and disability.” She remembers. Unfortunately, due to limited time and resources, it is beyond the limitations of this study to further investigate the contributions of organizations like Housing our Families, however, Ms. Newell’s statements suggest that they, as well as other neighborhood groups, were essential to the neighborhood’s revitalization.

Many of the initiatives lead by the Target Area appear to have been instrumental in encouraging the revitalization of the area. Ms. Newell credits it with the creation of the Business Association and the Street Fair – a summer event featuring live music, art, vendors, and various community activities – both of which began to foster an environment of collaboration among local businesses. The Target Area also had small amounts of money for storefront improvement and business planning. Pistils, a locally owned nursery on Mississippi, apparently made good use of these kinds of incentives. These days Ms. Newell admits she never thought a nursery would have worked on the street, but the owners were committed and received important help from the PDC with grants, planning, and building.

The PDC offers Development Opportunity Loans (DOS) in the area. These loans are designed “to assist property owners (and, in some cases, tenants) with seed money and in evaluating development project feasibility by providing real estate development expertise and technical assistance.” (Portland Development Commission, 2010a, paragraph 1). DOS loans are currently available in the area as part of Interstate Urban Renewal. This form of financing is a matching grant (up to 50% match as of 2006, 75% according to most recent information) covers projects of up to \$20,000 and is also still available through the Interstate Urban Renewal Area (Portland Development Commission, 2006; Portland Development Commission, 2010c). A 2006

PDC information sheet shows that it is available for the entire length of Mississippi's commercial strip.

Kay Newell names property owner Brian Wanamaker as another important catalyst in the neighborhood's revitalization. He bought a considerable amount of properties, mostly from Failing to Shaver, and restored them to the original conditions. Because of his work, she says, the block looks like it would have in 1910. She also commends him for carefully selecting the businesses that went into them, businesses that fit a small community and offered variety.

As the 90s progressed Mississippi and the rest of Albina saw a lot of changes. The *Albina Community Plan* had reopened the area for investment and local residents had taken it upon themselves to improve their community. However, signs of gentrification were already starting to appear. Cathy Galbraith recalls being invited by a community group in 1997 to present on the history of the Mississippi neighborhood. Some members of the crowd, which according to her recollection was very mixed with a slight African American majority, were already expressing concerns about rising property values in the area. Property taxes had become a significant burden for some residents as the assessed values of some homes had tripled in the last few years. Ms. Galbraith credits this change to a citywide shift placing greater value on urban homes. This shift hit low-income Albina neighborhoods particularly hard, she asserts, because their property values had been so low previously. All of a sudden the area's historic homes and proximity to downtown became assets.

Different Interviewees give slightly different timelines for the beginning of the change; John Canda recalls noticing the demographic shift as early as 1989, while Ural Thompson puts the change at around 1995. But, whatever the exact dates, the end of the 1980's and early 1990's appear to have been the turning point as Whites from other parts of Portland and from outside of

Portland began to move into the area. According to Kay Newell, Debbie Bischoff, and Cathy Galbraith many of the people who began to move into the area were young. As Mr. Galbraith suggests, younger people liked the area's funky character and often feel less threatened by areas with a reputation for being more dangerous.

Many of the people moving in may have been artists of varying types, although it is impossible to know if artists were the primary early newcomers like New York's East Village in the 1980s. Eric Isaacson recalls that in the early-90s the space that now houses his record shop was a squat where musicians practiced. He remembers having gone there around 1994 and specifically singles out Portland experimental music group Jackie-O Motherfucker as having used the space. According to Eric the neighborhood was home to a strong DIY (Do It Yourself) scene at the time. There were a lot of house shows in the area, as well as what Mr. Isaacson considers to have been beautiful graffiti. He confirms that much of this probably laid the groundwork for more middle class residents; looking back he says,

“The sequence is always people like myself, we start out what we intend to be these small businesses. But we're White and we create a safety... air of safety that allows for people to see us thriving and a developer can look at that and be like ‘well shoot I can get in here and build a huge loft building and get rich people who feel like they're slightly bohemian to move in here and have their bohemian neighbors.’ Definitely, we lay a path, absolutely.”

Real estate interests also aided the turnover. Ural Thompson and some of his friends recall that signs began to appear saying “We Buy Houses.” Many land speculators continued practices common in the 70s and 80s, offering relatively small sums of cash up-front to purchase homes. Often homes were purchased after the homeowner died from the person's children who

did not want it anymore, not realizing how little they were getting in return. Mr. Thompson reflects on the situation saying, “I begged a lot of those people, I said man, don’t sell your mom’s house. Do you know what they went through to get that for you?” when I asked him if people felt as though they had been had he responded saying, “They didn’t have to feel it, they had been. Wasn’t nothin’ they could do about it. It was their fault too because they didn’t pay attention.”

Kay Newell argues that it was not only malicious housing speculation that drove people out, according to her there were a variety of reasons that African Americans left the neighborhood. She recalls that some left because of opportunities, some because their landlord raised the rent, some because they died, and some because they had the chance to buy elsewhere. For instance, Ms. Newel offers the story of a Black friend of hers who told her, “I’m leaving.” She remembers the conversation as follows, “I said ‘I’m sorry,’ because she was a nice lady. She said ‘Don’t be sorry,’ she says ‘I can go to Gresham and get an apartment with two baths, a bedroom for each of my kids, for less than my rent is here. And I can get my kids out of this gang neighborhood.’”

She also asserts that some African American residents did not do what it took to keep their homes, even when afforded the opportunity. For example, when the landlord Matthew, who was mentioned earlier, passed away around 2000, his wife needed to support herself so she began to sell the homes he owned. Houses that he bought for \$5,000 or \$10,000 had increased in value to \$100,000 in the lousy condition they were in. First, she told the realtor, “give the people who live there a chance to buy.” The realtor went to every home and not a single person even filled out the paperwork for assistance to buy the house, so she had to put them on the open market. Ms. Newell remembers that the realtor was young black woman who felt guilty about the

whole thing. Since the tenants would not take the initiative she had to tell them that they would have 30 days after the house is sold to leave.

Cathy Galbraith adds another reason for the turnover. As the population age's long-tenured residents have to go into nursing homes. Upon that person's death the Medicaid bills are sent to the resident's family resulting in a lien on the deceased's property to cover the debt. If the family cannot pay the balance, as is often the case in low-income neighborhoods, the house is sold to pay for the care.

Community concern drove the update of the *Albina Community Plan's* action charts, much like it had the original document, according to Nicholas Starin. The North/Northeast Economic Development Alliance (NEDA) had done a lot of the preliminary outreach and developed its own list of recommendations. When they went to the city with their list and asked the city to adopt them, the city said it could not do that but it would use them as a starting place for an update. Two public workshops co-sponsored by the bureau of planning were held in the fall of 1999 (Bureau of Planning, 2000). These workshops led to the creation of a discussion draft that formed the basis for two Bureau of Planning public workshops in May and June of 2000. Mr. Starin recalls that NEDA did most of the facilitation of the meetings.

A summary of salient issues in the final document identifies "Concerns about gentrification and involuntary displacement of existing Albina residents and businesses," as a primary concern of the revisions (p. 2). It also identifies two specific actions that were created to address the issue. The first one it mentions is H28, which reads "Develop and Implement a strategy to assure that affordable housing opportunities remain available for exiting Albina community residents. Develop policies and programs to mitigate the impacts of gentrification and reduce the involuntary displacement of existing Albina residents" (p. 19). Second is BG39,

saying “Develop and foster innovative ways to ensure that existing business owners and Albina residents benefit from new development and growth. Examples include condominium business arrangements and community ownership”(p. 14).

Mr. Starin confirms that much of the updates were designed to address the concerns of the long-standing African American Residents, asserting “‘Existing residents’ means, kind of, ‘long-term people of color residents.’ It talks a lot about that in the action chart updates.” He also claims that at this time the residents requested a single person at the Bureau of Planning that they could contact regarding the Albina Plan, recalling that the action charts say something about the “Keeper of the Albina Plan.” However, the city was reluctant to sign on to this request. Debbie’s position as the District Planner for Inner North and Central Northeast Portland may have partially been a response to this request. It is important to clarify though, that her position is not “Keeper of the Albina Plan,” and according to her it would take “Three Debbies” to fulfill such a role.

Around this time cultural conflict over the way the neighborhood was changing was already beginning to surface. While interning for the action chart updates Nicholas Starin recalls first hearing African Americans complain about the bicycle lanes, a complaint he has continued to hear since. He remembers a Black participant saying, “We don’t really use the bicycle lanes, those are the white lines coming into our neighborhood.” Mr. Starin stresses that it is easy to think of bike lanes as being for everyone, and they are for everyone; but at least some African Americans do not perceive them as a universal fit. Debbie Bischoff confirms that she still hears this concern today. The Mayor is supporting significant investment in bicycle facilities and some people complain, “what about sidewalks, what about jobs.” She points to the high unemployment

numbers, particularly among African Americans, saying its really hard for them to see city expenditures going to bike lanes they do not use, while they struggle to find work.

The creation of the Interstate Urban Renewal Area, which was adopted in 2000, brought up more gentrification concerns. Cathy Galbraith recalls the contentious nature of the adoption process. According to her account the City's party line was "we do not see evidence of gentrification." It even went so far as to hire a gentrification expert from Minneapolis to corroborate its stance; when, as Ms. Galbraith suggests, all one had to do was go and look at the neighborhood to see signs of the change. Furthermore many African American's may have not been heard at city meetings because they waited patiently for their turn, which according to Ms. Galbraith, is not how these meetings work. "You have to speak up," she says. Ms. Galbraith also noted that "Condemnation, which was an important public power in every previous Urban Renewal District, was specifically removed from the Interstate URA, as a condition for securing the local activist-community's support of the new district; the district's formation and designation was necessary to secure the local funding match for construction of the Interstate Light Rail line." Community members were concerned bout the power, which grants the city the right to condemn privately owned buildings to make way for projects. She asserts that Interstate was not the first choice for the Max Line (Portland's light rail system), however more favorable options would have required the use of condemnation to move housing.

A thorough examination of the impact of the Interstate Urban Renewal Area, which will continue to be in effect until 2021, is beyond the limitations of this study. However, both Debbie Bischoff, who attends the urban renewal meetings, and Cathy Galbraith, who serves on the Advisory Committee with Kay Newell, reference to its significance in influencing development in the area. They also suggest that the *Albina Community Plan* heavily influenced Interstate

urban renewal policy, a fact that is confirmed by the approved urban renewal document (Portland Development Commission, 2001). Interestingly, the approved plan includes prominent attention to guarding against displacement of existing residents. Current objectives are listed on the PDC's website as follows,

- Spur mixed-use development along the light rail corridor and station areas while distributing public investment fairly and evenly among other impacted areas within the district.
- Create new jobs and housing opportunities for a range of incomes as well as for existing residents.
- Develop new housing that is transit supportive, compatible with the existing neighborhood, maximizes infrastructure improvements, reuses vacant and underutilized property, and strikes a balance between homeownership, rental, and displacement of existing residents.
- Create wealth through expansion of existing businesses, fostering a healthy business environment, and generate family wage jobs.
- Improve transportation corridors to encourage the use of alternative modes of travel, maintain and improve access, create a pedestrian-friendly environment, and mitigate traffic impacts associated with new growth.
- Promote community livability through strategic improvements to parks, open space, trails, historic and cultural resources, and community facilities. (Portland Development Commission, 2010b, Objectives; What do we want to accomplish)

This list, as well as supporting documents, suggests the intention to ensure that long-term residents benefit from the new development. But, many questions exist regarding the PDC's

commitment to this intention.

In 2002 The Mississippi Historic District Target Area commissioned a study to assess potential opportunities for economic development in the area. Kay Newell recalls the study was successful in identifying what kinds of businesses would work on the street. The study conducted a survey of property owners on Mississippi Ave. to better understand the streets building uses, rents, and the property owner's plans, needs and resources. It determined that rents were relatively low compared to other parts of Portland and would have to rise to attract for-profit development. Property owners, it claimed, were split about evenly into three categories for their future plans, "those with plans to improve existing structures for the current use/user, those who have no plans or are undecided and those who plan to improve existing structures and/or build new space" (p. 8). The four things that property owners identified as needing most were financial assistance in terms of grants and loans, predevelopment assistance in terms of design and market analysis, advocacy with government agencies, and help with property valuation.

The study also identified sites that were ideal for redevelopment and made recommendations on the volume and types of businesses that could be successful on the street while serving the immediate area. Ten sites were identified for redevelopment based on their location, size, value (must be low enough to be worth the cost of development), and ownership. It also determined that the population within a five mile radius could support 43 businesses on the street including one clothing store, one sporting goods/hobby/bookstore, three miscellaneous store retailers, four full service restaurants, and four limited service restaurants. These numbers are particularly interesting because they represent the businesses types with the highest level of current representation on the street. Of the other categories there were only three that, according to the study, the population within the half-mile radius could support more than two of. Those

business types include real estate sales with six, lawyers with three, and physicians with three. It is unclear to what extent this study drove the selection of businesses that occupy the street today.

Early in the decade there were only a few businesses on Mississippi and, according to Kay Newell and Eric Isaacson, the street looked very different than it does today. Mr. Isaacson opened Mississippi Records in 2003. The building's owner recruited him while he was peeking in the window one day, despite the fact that he told her "no" when she asked him if he was interested in the space. Portland's job market was horrible at the time, Mr. Isaacson remembers, and she offered him good terms. So, having given no previous thought to opening a business, he decided it was worth trying. He recollects that at the time the street had Bike Works (owned by a friend of Mr. Isaacson's), the Fresh Pot (a coffee shop), the Rebuilding Center (a gigantic re-use hardware store), Mississippi Pizza, Grandfathers Ribs, a T-shirt shop, Scrap (a re-use art supply store), and Sunlan Lighting. Of those businesses Mississippi Pizza, the Rebuilding Center, Sunlan, the Fresh Pot and Bike Works remain on the street. Mr. Isaacson recalls that many in the neighborhood knew it was only a matter of time before it experienced a significant boom.

2005-2010: The Boom and the Mississippi Today



Historic Mississippi Street Sign Marker at Mississippi Ave. and Skidmore St.

Both Mr. Isaacson and Ms. Newell confirm that the street took off around 2005. Ms. Newell remembers that in 2005 the street had – other than the ones cited by Mr. Isaacson – Nu-Rite Market, Purple Parlor (now called Muddy’s under new ownership), Albina Youth Opportunity School (AYOS), and Pistils Nursery. Other than those businesses, everything else on the street is new. That is an alarming amount of growth since 2005. Current businesses on the street according to my observations include,

Retail

- Animal Traffic: vintage clothing
- Salty’s Dog and Cat Shop: pet supplies
- Porch Light: used house wares and estate sales
- Bella Norte: furniture and kitsch

- Gipsy Chic: clothing boutique
- Black Wagon: kids boutique
- Phlox: clothing boutique
- Flutter: furniture and kitsch
- Jet: clothing boutique
- Bridge City Comics: comic book store
- Pin Me Apparel: clothing boutique
- CD and Game Exchange: used music and video games
- She Bop: sex toys
- Gumbo: gifts
- Video Verite: movie rental
- Pasta Works: groceries
- The Meadow: chocolate and wine
- Good Gallery: art Gallery
- Land Gallery: art Gallery
- Bridgetown Beerhouse: bottle shop
- Mississippi Treehouse: kids toy's and gifts

Restaurants/Bars

- Mississippi Station: bistro
- Casa Naranja: tapas
- Por Que No?: taqueria
- Laughing Planet: burrito's/takeout
- Gravy: breakfast

- Prost!: German pub
- Crow Bar: neighborhood bar
- Amnesia Brewing Company: brewery
- Lorenzo's: Italian
- Blue Gardenia: coffee and bakery
- Food Cart Colony at Mississippi and Skidmore containing 10 carts

Other

- Black Rose Collective: bookstore, freecycling
- Q Center: LGBTQ community organization (Includes businesses in rental spaces)
- Cooper Designbuilders: design and construction
- NW Dance Project: dance Studio
- Belle Époque Salon: hair salon
- Blue Sky Wellness Clinic: acupuncture, ect...
- Vintage Real Estate: real estate
- Mississippi Studios: live music venue

That is 38 new businesses (counting all the food carts together) in a five-block stretch of Mississippi Ave. from Skidmore to Fremont in five years (39 including Good Gallery, which is just north of Skidmore). There are also a few more businesses just a few blocks north on Albina, which turns into Mississippi a block north of Skidmore. And, while that list is pretty comprehensive, it is likely that I missed a few, so it probably does not include every business currently active on the street.

Along with new businesses came new developments. There are several on Mississippi including Chateau Mississippi, Mississippi Ave. Lofts, and the gigantic Tupelo Ally. Mississippi

Ave. Lofts and Tupelo Ally in particular have a decidedly modern look making them incongruous with the areas historic branding. Kay Newell laments the size of Tupelo Ally a reasonable criticism considering it stands two stories higher than any other building on the street. Eric Isaacson recalls how the development of Mississippi Lofts united him with old enemies. He relates that before this wave of building he and many of the streets property owners, like the people who owned the Palmer House, were on poor terms. Contrary to Mr. Isaacson they wanted a larger police presence and to get rid of the payphone in front of low-income housing because it attracted drug dealers, “Well, that’s peoples’ phone” he says. But once those big developments started going up everyone was suddenly on the same side. “Now suddenly they’re like ‘whoa, what are you building next to me?’ and that’s what I’m saying too, like ‘Wow that’s hideous and its all out of scale now.’” Many of these people had money and had been attracted to the area because of its historic flavor. Some of them were really effective in fighting the developments. Mr. Isaacson claims that Mississippi Lofts had a difficult time with the zoning because all of the neighbors and property owners thought it was a horrible design. People with money and lawyers were going to City Hall and fighting that building, so it got downscaled.

Cathy Galbraith reveals that citizens had less success scaling down Tupelo Ally. According to her the development sits outside of the Historic Design Zone established in the Boise Plan. The map in the plan confirms that the zone does not extend south of Failing St. on Mississippi, freeing Tupelo Ally – which sits on the block south of Failing extending to Beech St. – from its constraints. Even though community members did complain, they could not effectively fight the development.

Another interesting thing about those developments is they all have street level retail spaces that remain vacant. According to my count Mississippi Ave. Lofts has one, Chateau

Mississippi has two, and Tupelo Ally has five. Mr. Isaacson hypothesizes that the new developments will end up like the OHSU Village on the south waterfront. He points out that nobody is moving into that development and they started auctioning its units for next to nothing. “Around here you’ll see this hilarious thing where you’ll see all this really cool art and bohemian shit and poor people doing their thing in these spaces that were built for really rich people.”



The back of Tupelo Ally facing Boise homes

Despite the new developments, the area maintains a decidedly funky yet historic sensibility, with bright colors and a lot of retail. Most of the businesses appear to be small and independently run. It is dominated by boutiques, many of which offer expensive products. Clothing, kitsch, and gifts are particularly common. Pistils, one of the street’s older businesses, offers one of its more unusual shopping experiences as chickens roam freely in its outdoor sales area. Kay Newel credits the “flavor” of the area for catalyzing its boom, calling it one of the hottest neighborhoods in Portland. Although she is not really sure what the flavor is, she mentions that the Rebuilding Center is one of the area’s bigger draws, but she adds that many of its costumers do not come north – the store being on the southern most end of the commercial

strip. Her shop, Sunlan, is a neighborhood institution; it sells a wide variety of light bulbs and is known for its distinctive window displays. Someone participating in a talk-back session after the matinee of *Radio Golf* at the Portland Playhouse recalled running on Mississippi Ave. and feeling like he was in the Pearl District, a trendy and up-scale cultural district in Northwest Portland.

Unlike the Alberta Arts District, Mississippi Ave. does not explicitly brand itself as an arts district; instead its public image is “Historic Mississippi.” However, the arts permeate the whole area. Ms. Newell claims “the arts, actually, is part of the draw for this community.” The street lacks a true flagship organization but Kay Newell points to Mississippi Studios, a prominent music venue that also features an art gallery, as an important draw. There are two other performing arts establishments including, Mississippi Pizza, which has live music on a regular basis and art for sale on its walls, and NW Dance Project, which hosts a variety of dance classes. Mississippi Ave. hosts at least two traditional art galleries Land Gallery, which doubles as an art gallery and storefront for Buy Olympia, and the Good Gallery, which is located in a small (about the size of a tool shed) building that faces Mississippi Ave. but is located in the back of its owner’s home. There also appears to be an appointment only gallery called Studio 3636, but I am not sure if it is operational or not. The street also includes an interesting mix of retail in artistic products. Mississippi Records and CD and Game Exchange are the area’s two music stores. There is a comic book store called Bridge City Comics. The Black Rose Collective is a coop book store and, according to one of Mr. Thompson’s musician friends, hosts musical performances on occasion. Video Verite is a locally owned movie rental establishment.

Many of the street’s boutiques and cafés also sell interesting creative content. Several, like Flutter and Belle Norte, carry various pieces of material culture, furniture, paintings and

photographs, and books. Others, like Gypsy Chic, Phlox, and Pin Me Apparel specialize in designer clothing. Coffee shops like the Fresh Pot and the Albina Press (which is on Albina right before it turns into Mississippi, just a few blocks north of the main commercial corridor) have local art for sale on the walls. The Rebuilding Center offers its own line of designer furniture made in-house by local designers called ReFind Furniture. All of its pieces are made from reused household items.

Eric Isaacson in many ways dislikes the way the area has developed into a boutique haven and is certainly aware of the way his shop has contributed. He says of the big developments “I know how part of their selling speech when they sell to investors and also when they sell to people who want to move in is, ‘there’s a cute little record store down the street’... I’m not a backdrop to your nightmare...I guess I am.” But he also says that he does not feel irresponsible for opening his shop in the area, “I don’t feel guilty about that because I feel like what I’ve done, it really is from my heart and a lot of people in this contributed to it and added to it in their own ways.”

Outside, the street itself has an artsy milieu. Many of the buildings are painted bright colors, while the front of the Rebuilding Center is designed to look like a big, red, enchanted forest. The trashcans have mosaics on them done by local school children (a product of the Target Area) helping make the area more welcoming, while the Albina Press has huge murals on its north side, one fenced-in trailer-filled lot has a big painting of a purple elephant hanging from the chain-link, and a garage door facing the street has “No Parking” spay-painted on it in deftly executed graffiti style. Kay Newell’s windows are a staple of the neighborhood, featuring many colorful lights and trinkets. “From the day I started this business, I’ve thrown art back into the neighborhood,” she says, “These windows are a big draw.” Later she added, “There’s probably

\$1000 worth of stuff in the windows out there. And I change ‘em once a month...the kids love ‘em.” Ms. Newell also credits the street musicians for adding to the flavor of the area, remarking that a man had been out front of her store playing his banjo the previous Saturday. Ural Thompson asserts that many musicians live in the area and that band practices can regularly be heard from the streets. He says, “you can walk right down Michigan, I bet you before you get to Shaver, if they’re playin’, you’ll spot about eight, ten bands; they all playin’ in their houses and stuff.” Gay Vollstedt confirms, “there’s a band on every block”



Sunlan’s famous windows

I was able to find some anecdotal evidence suggesting that the creative class was instrumental in the gentrification of North and Inner-Northeast Portland. Judith Mowry made some interesting observations, recalling a conversation she had with a prominent Black business owner in Northeast Portland who was also formally a commissioner for the PDC. She remembers

him explaining, “Do you all understand what is one of the biggest industries in Portland? It’s what they call the creative class.” He added that the Pearl District was designed as the creative class hub for the city, Wyden + Kennedy moved there and the area began to gentrify rapidly, creating a very high-end cultural district. As members of the creative class began to settle in and have families they began to pour into the Northeast where they could find houses. Many of them were willing to live in funky areas and they wanted to stay close to downtown, so Northeast became an attractive option. I have heard others point out that Mississippi was just the next logical spot after nearby NE Alberta St. had been heavily gentrified. Ms. Mowry does not claim to know this for certain, but she adds that it is an interesting question. She also feels that, “Portland as a whole has an artistic sensibility that is way broader than a lot of places.” It is beyond the limitations of this study to do a comprehensive analysis of the creative class and its impact on Portland’s economy and gentrification but the conversation exists.

Much of the success of the neighborhood seems to be driven by people who have moved into the area recently or come from other parts of the city to shop. Kay Newell and Cathy Galbraith both site an influx of younger residents for spurring much of the neighborhood change. Debbie Bischoff has observed that people who came from outside of the neighborhood started a number of businesses. While Eric Isaacson suggests that most of the businesses on the street are geared towards attracting people from outside the neighborhood.

Based on my observations, Mississippi Ave. does appear to be frequented mostly by Whites between the ages of 25 to 35. However, it is difficult to attach real numbers to the demographics of Mississippi Ave.’s patrons without an extensive quantitative survey that is beyond the limitations of this study. There is data that confirms the area’s White population increased from 1990 and 2000, Gibson (2007) asserts that Boise gained somewhere between 300

and 400 White residents over the course of the 1990's. Not an insignificant shift for a neighborhood that had 3,119 residents in 2000, according to City of Portland Bureau of Planning's *NE District Profile* (2004), which cites US census data.

U.S census data confirms that in 2000 the largest age group in the 97227 zip code that includes Boise was 25-34 at 19.1 percent, with 35-44 being second and accounting for 15.5 percent of the population. That pales in comparison, however, to zip codes in other parts of Portland, like 97209 in the Northwest, which boasts a 32.3 percent 25-34 age group. It is possible that the street has become younger since 2000. But Eric Isaacson suggests that the demographic was younger in 2003 when he moved in than it is now. It is impossible to know just how significant the age demographic shift has been until the 2010 census data is released.

It is also clear that the street boasts more retail stores, particularly clothing stores and miscellaneous store retailers, than the 2002 *Mississippi Historic District Target Area Economic Development Strategy* believed it could sustain based on the population within a half-mile radius. According to the study, the street could sustain one clothing store; by my count it currently has four. Regarding "Miscellaneous Store Retailers" – which includes office supply, stationary, gift/novelty combination – the study suggests three could be sustained. This category is a little vague, but regardless of how each store is classified the abundance of retail on the street suggests that there are at least eight stores that fit this classification, probably more. The study says that its numbers do not include "added business potential from local employees or customers living elsewhere in the Portland metro area" (p. 17). It is likely that customers from outside the area make these businesses possible.

It has already been established that the area lost a significant amount of its African American population during the 1990's. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this trend has

continued. Numbers already cited above placed the area's Black population at about 50 percent in 2000. Both Cathy Galbraith and Debbie Bischoff speculate that this percentage is much lower now, with Ms. Bischoff estimating that it could be as low as 20%, 25%, or 30%. But this cannot be confirmed until the 2010 census data is released.

Anecdotal evidence provides insights into the destinations of displaced residents, but to my knowledge no exhaustive quantitative study exists. Nicholas Starin and Debbie Bischoff speculate that much of the population that has left appears to have gone to East Portland past 82nd Ave. or the suburbs. A speaker at the April 2010 Restorative Listening Project Session corroborated this view, as did the Slumlord Pamphlet I picked up. Both of these sources assert that the locals call East Portland past 82nd "The Numbers." Further study is necessary to give a true quantitative assessment of where Albina's displaced population resettled.

The changes on Mississippi and in the surrounding neighborhood have created a stark demographic difference between the cultural district on Mississippi Ave. and the residential areas just a block or two off of the street. Walking along Mississippi there is little evidence that the area is one of Portland's historically Black neighborhoods. African Americans are rarely seen on the street, except at bus stops, and they are almost never seen frequenting the businesses. The business that I found to be most frequented by African Americans was the Rebuilding Center.

Strolling into the surrounding neighborhood yields a completely different experience. The area still contains one of the larger Black communities in Portland, a reality that is easily observable from the Boise sidewalks. African Americans are commonly seen walking around the neighborhood and driving in their cars. On one afternoon I witnessed a baseball game and a basketball game at Unthank Park, both of which were almost exclusively African American.

Likewise, Self Enhancement Inc., a nonprofit located on the west end of the park, has its front door and parking lot dominated by African American traffic.



Beautiful Unthank Park in the heart of Boise

When I discussed this phenomenon with my interviewees I got a variety of different explanations, however everyone I asked acknowledged it as the present state of affairs in the neighborhood. Interestingly enough, a woman who attended the April session of the restorative listening project made the same observation without any prompting. John Canda, an African American community leader who grew up in neighboring Humboldt, not far from Mississippi Ave., says its hard to say definitively; while he adds that “People tend to go to places where they feel like, perhaps, it’s a reflection of them.” He points out that people do still go there, recalling that people have recommended some of Mississippi’s restaurants to him, “I go anywhere in the city I want to go,” he says. However, the street’s feel is different than it used to be. Mr. Canda

likens the vibe to the trendy, upscale Northwest, claiming that “I think, Mississippi, their style has quickly become the Northwest 23rd style.” And, while that does not stop him from occasionally patronizing the businesses there, it does others; he acknowledges that others would say “I don’t see anybody who looks like me there, so I’m not going there.”

Judith Mowry, Mr. Canda’s partner in the Restorative Listening Project asserts that shop owners on the street treat African Americans differently. She says it’s the same way on Alberta St., adding, “I have completely different experiences when I go into stores on Alberta or Mississippi with my African American friends than if I’m not with them. It freaks me out.” She went on to describe how store staff will ignore her while hovering over her Black friend, and recalled an incident in a restaurant when her friend was treated with disdain for pointing out that the order was wrong.

Eric Isaacson attributes this phenomenon to the stores being set up to attract people from outside the neighborhood rather than fulfill the immediate community’s needs. He feels that the commercial district is geared toward attracting boutique shoppers, people from across town that want to buy something fancy or eat at fancy restaurants. “People with money built these stores for people with money.” He argues, “and a lot of people on either side of this street don’t have that kind of money to spend on boutiquey shops.” At the same time, Mr. Isaacson does not condemn the business owners for this fact, pointing out that he knows most of them, calling them good people who are very passionate about what they do and are very community minded. He makes it very clear that none of the businesses on the street in and of themselves are bad.

Kay Newell claims her experience has been that African Americans do not support local businesses, not even Black-owned ones. She gave two examples from the area to buttress her argument. A friend of hers, a Black man named Robert, had purchased a grocery store in the area

that had originally been an Albertsons; the company had closed the location due to high theft. She remembers him telling her, “Black people will support me; they won’t do this to me.” But, according to Ms. Newell, African Americans did not shop there. She says that she did her shopping there because he was a good man, but at times the store was empty of anyone other than her and the staff. Robert was angry about the whole thing and ended up selling it to a Black church that proposed to use it to teach youth how to run a business. Even then, she recalls, Black people would not shop there; she added that the store was very poorly run and that the shelves got barer and barer. Her second example was that of a friend of hers, a Black woman, who opened a boutique on MLK that specialized in Black art and clothing. Ms. Newell’s advice to the woman was to reach out to a broader audience because the Black community would not support her. She claims to have been right, the business struggled and most of its costumers were white.

Whatever the reason it does seem to be clear that the African American community has less and less representation in Boise and in the surrounding area as Albina has changed. John Canda speaks vividly of two important community centers that have been transformed over time. The first one that he shines a light on is the McMenamins Chapel Pub on Killingsworth in the Humboldt neighborhood. Today it is a member of the McMenamins chain of microbrewery restaurants that are common in Portland and across much of Oregon. During Mr. Canda’s childhood, however, it was the Little Chapel of Chimes funeral home and crematorium. He recalls riding by it on his bike and seeing the white smoke lofting from its crematory. It was a neighborhood institution, he points out that many community members remember it as the place they last saw a loved one. The people who are still in the community, he says, look at that place and say, “Huh, I guess people don’t respect what was.” “It’s like, wow, how do you go from last memories to people celebrating? If you look at the crowd, if you’re just looking at what you see,

you see a pub and lots of people who now live in the community, but they look starkly different from the people who once occupied the area.”

The other example Mr. Canda uses is the Grace Collins Memorial Center, which is now a concert venue called the Wonder Ballroom. Grace Collins was a German immigrant; she and her daughter Evelyn ran a daycare center there that took in poor children, many of which were African American. Sometime she charged people; sometimes she offered the service for free because she knew people could not afford it. John Canda recalls that during the 1960s Ms. Collins took a lot of grief from the White community for her service to the African Americans in the area. But, he recollects, she did it out of the love of her heart, and lived just off the property. It is not gone, but it has changed, he adds that “those are the types of things when they change in the community, people that I know, African American folks, really said wow, the neighborhood is truly changing. The sense of community, while it may remain for some, it’s gone for others.”

Judith Mowry posits that change has not been without conflict, asserting that some of the incoming business owners and residents have not been sensitive to the original community. She recalls a bar on Killingsworth, just across from Chapel Pub, with the brand Team Evil. They would write things on their sign like “Go Team Evil,” and “Do Evil Always.” It just so happens that the bar is also across from Jefferson High School. According to Judith, many Black community members were uncomfortable with this message being broadcast across from the high school; noting the barriers many African Americans see to their young peoples’ success. An African American woman named Nancy from the neighborhood association went to speak with the owners about it and ended up feeling like they gave her the brush-off.

After the encounter the sign read, “Keep it Moist Nancy.” The owners claimed that Nancy was an employee, but it was taken by the woman and others in the community to be a

direct response to her request. Several members of the Black community organized a protest in response. Ms. Mowry attended, not to participate but to observe, and recalls that about fifteen to twenty people participated, including some elders (fifty years old or more). It was about 11 am and a number of the bar's patrons went out to confront the protesters. The exchange became heated and during the confrontation a man, whom Ms. Mowry believes had probably been drinking, yelled at an older Black woman "You killed your own community, you're the ones who need to leave." She added that she thinks, while people will not say it out loud, many hold the tacit belief that this is the case; people feel as though "we know how to make this community work' with no understanding of the history."

Sometimes these conflicts are simple cultural misunderstandings; Judith Mowry remembers cultural perceptions of dogs being an interesting source of conflict in the neighborhood. She remembers an African American man saying "You say you want to build community with me but if I'm going to the corner coffee shop to have a cup of coffee I see a bunch of White men with big dogs." According to Ms. Mowry many of the young people did not get the reference, while she recalled civil rights era images of dogs attacking protesters in Selma. She was approached about facilitating a dialogue around the cultural perceptions of dogs. This discussion revealed that many African Americans felt "You want to move into the neighborhood but you need your dog to protect you," while many White people insisted that protection was not their reason for owning dogs. She remembers realizing at one point, "White people have alarm systems, they don't get dogs for protection."

Conflict in the neighborhood between new and old residents is the reason that Judith Mowry and John Canda formed the Restorative Listening Project. A few years ago – a little more than two and a half – they were both working in the King Facility at NE Shaver and 7th Ave., not

far from Boise. At the time Mr. Canda was the Executive Director of the Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods and Ms. Mowry was the Director of Mediation Services for Resolutions Northwest, which had been contracted by the city to run its neighborhood mediation. Their offices were right next to each other causing them to meet in the hall regularly, overtime developing a friendship. John Canda recalls seeing Ms. Mowry at many of the neighborhood association meetings that they attended. As they talked more about their work they began to realize that they were consistently running into the same problems.

Ms. Mowry remembers getting more and more calls for mediation from White residents who were new to the neighborhood. Often the callers would say, “‘I love this neighborhood, I’m not a racist, I love diversity, just if we could...’ and then what would follow would kinda be... ‘do it my way.’” She recalls that every predominantly Black church in the neighborhood was in some kind of dispute resolution with its neighbors. Mr. Canda says that conflict was brewing in the neighborhood at the time, things like barking dogs, the way peoples visitors parked, people who did not take care of their yard. Judith Mowry remembers a woman who circulated a petition to put pressure on another woman whom she suspected of running a drug house because of the frequent visitors. The petitioner called for mediation when the neighbor she was targeting confronted her about the petition. John Canda points out that not all the disputes were between Black residents and White residents, but he and Ms. Mowry focused on the question of, who were the new neighbors and who had the resource to develop their homes? Increasingly that was not the African American neighbors.

The situation made Judith Mowry dissatisfied with her traditional role as a neutral mediator. She relates that normal mediation emphasizes the now and moving into the future, it leaves a big gap in dealing with historical harm. It tends to imply that everyone has been a

participant in the problem, everyone has a piece of the problem and everyone has a piece of the solution. But, she argues, this is a dangerous place to go when you are talking about patterns of racism. She remembers managing the Restorative Justice Victim Offender Mediation Program for the Juvenile Youth Offender Program and Restorative Justice, in her words, “Blew my mind.” As a result, the Restorative Listening Project begins with the fact that harm has been done.

According to John Canda what they needed was to create a safe space for people to talk about the issue of gentrification. He remembers that the first meeting had over 100 people at the First AME Zion Church, the church that he attends. It included speakers from the community who told their stories. They began the meeting by telling the audience that some of the stories they will hear will be difficult and there will be some emotion, but emotion is okay. Speakers told the audience about their experiences in the East and the South and their transition to Oregon. They talked about how they were received and how they survived, how they did not go insane from the overtly racist things they encountered. The audience was spellbound, Mr. Canda said, he does not think a person left. Afterwards, people met and had conversations about what they had heard. He and Ms. Mowry have been trying to duplicate that ever since.

Meetings that I attended always began with Mr. Canda and Ms. Mowry, explaining what the Restorative Listening Project was about, explaining that it is based on the fact that harm has been done, and that it is okay to show emotion. The pamphlet I received at both sessions I attended includes a section on “Cultural Humility: A Way of Being in the World,” which involves

- Recognizing that different, even conflicting, cultural perspectives can be equally legitimate

- Suspending judgment
- Questioning the primacy of our own perspective
- Assuming that we may not know what is really going on
- Clarifying what is expected
- Allowing others to direct us in appropriate behavior
- Accepting the creative tension of holding two or more different perspectives
- Seeking the “third culture” common ground for effective interactions

(Guskin, 1991, as cited in Canda & Mowry 2010ab)

After Mr. Canda and Ms. Mowry set the ground rules everyone in the room gives an introduction and says a little about why they are attending, then the speaker is introduced. The speaker or speakers will tell their story and then the floor will be opened for comments, questions, and discussions.

The first session I attended addressed the issue of police violence following the recent slaying of Aaron Campbell, an African American man, by a Portland police officer. There was a large crowd – it is hard to estimate how many because of the considerable size of the room – and two members of the media, including a reporter for the Portland Mercury – a popular weekly. The audience was split relatively evenly between Blacks and Whites. African Americans spoke candidly and passionately about their opinions of the situation and their personal experiences. Although nobody denied that the officer was in the wrong, some were harsher in their criticisms than others. Several audience members were militant in their responses, likening it to genocide, others were more temperate with their choice of words but still critical, while some spoke of personal experiences with the police, others wondered why the officer had to aim for the man’s back instead of his leg or another non-lethal option, some simply expressed their condolences for

the family. The emotion in the room was palpable and I cannot imagine that anyone left the room unmoved.

Later on I attended another session that dealt with housing foreclosure. This meeting was much smaller and not nearly as emotional. The majority of the attendees were White, some who lived in the neighborhood, some who came from other parts of Portland. That night's speaker talked a lot about loss of community in North Portland. He mentioned that many are living next-door to people of other races and do not even know their names. People say they are about community, but they insist on putting up their fence, he said. According to the speaker a lot of the problem could be fixed simply by saying "Hi." One of the most striking points that he made was that he does not fault the young people moving in for taking advantage of an opportunity, however, they need to be good neighbors.

Being a good neighbor is something that came up often in my research. John Canda acknowledges that the neighborhood has never been more aesthetically pleasing, but the trendy paint on someone's home – many homes in the area have been painted bright colors – does not equate to neighbors getting to know one another, "I don't know who's in there and they don't know who I am." He remembers that when he was growing up people knew the other people in the neighborhood, "to me, it was truly a community then." Many of the African American residents at the time had come from the South and the East seeking expanded opportunities, many attempting to escape what was the extremely racist South at the time, "all we had was each other" Mr. Canda recalls. His "Front Porch Theory" helps illuminate the way the neighborhood used to be. The house he grew up in – which his parents still own – had a big front porch where he and his family would sit out and greet people. All the houses on the block were visible from

that porch and the family knew where all the young people in the neighborhood lived. It was a hub for the neighborhood.

Two initiatives have developed to help mitigate this loss of community, Hello Neighbor and Boise Voices. Hello Neighbor is the more prominent of the two projects; it is run by an artist who lives in North Portland named Julie Keefe and is based out of the nonprofit arts education organization Caldera. The project has received support from several prominent Oregon funders and the National Endowment for the Arts (Caldera, 2008). Julie Keefe's statement that can be found on the Hello Neighbor Website and in Caldera's 2008 annual report eloquently sums up the purpose for the project.

"What happens to neighborhoods when your neighbors aren't your neighbors any more? When interviewed about the gentrification of his north Portland community, my neighbor, Charles Ford said he didn't mind the streets being safer, the businesses returning, or the houses being fixed up. What he did mind was that people didn't say hello anymore. When I moved into Mr. Ford's neighborhood in 1991, with my husband and six month old daughter, I was that new neighbor, and as an artist, I wanted to find a way to publicly address the changes I was part of. My idea was to work with children to seek out neighbors of all ages and begin a dialogue about community from their point of view. The resulting public artwork would be displayed throughout the children's neighborhoods. Mural size black and white photographs with text would introduce the neighborhood to its children and their neighbors to each other" (as cited in Caldera, 2008, p. 8).

The resulting pieces were 7 x 5 foot banners, which were hung around the communities of the children who helped make them.

Many of Hello Neighbor's banners were hung on Mississippi, although they are not there anymore (Hello Neighbor, ND). Some of the Mississippi Ave. locations included the Fresh Pot, the Rebuilding Center, Pistils Nursery, Albina Youth Opportunity School, and Mississippi Lofts as the site was being constructed. Its reach was much larger than just North Portland though, encompassing other parts of the city, as well as other Oregon municipalities including Bend, Redmond, Madras, and Terrebonne.

Boise Voices is more limited in its scope. It is a neighborhood Oral History project involving fifteen students from Boise-Eliot Elementary and Albina Youth Opportunity School (Boise Voices, 2010a). Students work with Neighborhood resident Apricot Irving and Erin Yanke of the KBOO (a Portland community radio station) Youth Collective to conduct 45-minute interviews with neighborhood elders. The interviews are then edited down and excerpts are available on their website. Each elder receives a CD of the entire interview, and a copy is donated to the Oregon Historical Society. Their website currently hold excerpts from ten elders, who tell stories about the neighborhood's history touching on many different topics including the Scandinavian and Polish Immigrants who were there prior to WWII, Vanport, redlining, the Cotton Club, and how the neighborhood has changed. Boise Voices claims that "By enabling students to hear stories about WWII, Vanport, redlining and dance halls—as described by those who experienced them—we hope to connect young people with their history in a way that is both vivid and memorable" (Boise Voices, 2010a, para. 5).

Hello Neighbor and Boise Voices were recently invited to do a collaborative exhibit at city hall. The exhibit opened on April 22, 2010 and included work by both projects in City Hall's first floor atrium, and in the offices of Mayor Sam Adams, City Commissioner Nick Fish and City Commissioner Dan Saltzman (Boise Voices, 2010b). I had the opportunity to attend the

event, it was absolutely packed with people and included a wide spectrum of ages; both African Americans and Whites were strongly represented. Hello Neighbor's works included their standard 5 x 7 panels with black and white photos and text. Boise Voices interpreted their interviews by creating displays from three old doors connected together to form a triangular pillar. Each door's window had an informational panel that included a specific person's story or information about a certain topic, like redlining. Excerpts from the interviews played when someone rang the doorbell.



A Boise Voices exhibit in the City Hall atrium

The event had the feeling of a block party, with neighborhood residents packing the atrium. Many of the interviewees were present. Some of the interviewees, Julie Keefe, and Apricot Irving spoke about their work. One of the elders in particular related how he used to come down to city hall in the 1980s protesting the fact that there were drug dealers in front of his

business on Mississippi and the police would not do anything. The Mayor ignored him for a long time. But now he is featured in an art exhibit in City Hall. He and another neighborhood resident received a declaration from the Mayor, which honored the work of the two organizations and declared the day a day for the community. At the end of the program students sang two songs. The last of which talked about different people in the Neighborhood, an entire verse was dedicated to Kay Newell.

Judith Mowry offers a story about an individual artist who moved into the area years ago and made a personal effort to connect himself to the neighborhood. He moved to Portland with one of Ms. Mowry's best friend's cousins and got a studio across from the Rebuilding Center. Upon arriving in the neighborhood he began offering art classes to area residents for very low prices, she recalls that it was \$70 for six weeks and that included supplies. He was an extremely talented portrait painter and began going around asking people in the neighborhood if he could paint their portrait. "I loved his intention on moving in," Ms. Mowry says, "and when he moved in he really sought to develop relationships with the people who were already there. He used his art to tell their stories."

Theatre has presented another interesting way for the arts to engage with the gentrification of North Portland. Portland Playhouse presented August Wilson's *Radio Golf* in May, 2010; their theater is located not far from Mississippi Ave. at the corner of NE 6th Ave and NE Prescott St. in the King neighborhood, which borders Boise to the east. *Radio Golf* tells the story of Harmond Wilks, a successful real estate developer who wants to be Pittsburgh's first Black mayor. As Harmond prepares to break ground on a new development in the disinvested Hill district, he is confronted by Old Joe, former owner of one of the old homes – an important cultural landmark – that Harmond's plan would tear down. Harmond finds himself torn between

his ideals and his ambitions as he confronts the neighborhood history and his future dreams for himself and Pittsburgh. The play directly confronted issues at the heart of gentrification, including the conflict between real estate as economic space and community space, the dilemma of who gets a seat at the table when decisions are made, and the cost of “getting yours.” One character even laments the loss of the front porch culture just like John Canda does. It also sheds light on conflicts within the Black community surrounding the issue.

After the Sunday Matinees Portland Playhouse held talkback sessions with the cast. I attended one that also involved local leaders, including Judith Mowry. This particular session began with the question, “What is the difference between revitalization and gentrification?” One person commented that Urban Renewal is too focused on “bricks and sticks” and not enough on people, a comment that echo’s some of Nicholas Starin’s concerns about what he called one of the meta issues in planning “We tend to plan for places, not so much for people.” The moderator proposed that revitalization is about planning with people and not for people, while gentrification is the inverse process. As the conversation progressed it delved deeper into some of Portland’s racial issues. A cast member who had been in a recent Portland Center Stage production recalls feeling treated differently in Pearl District shops because of his skin color, he recalled that the other African American members of the cast felt the same way when they patronized the Pearl’s businesses and were surprised by the awkward treatment. The woman sitting a few seats down from me asked, “How do we understand Black people?” soliciting confused facial expressions from the all African American cast as they searched for an appropriate way to answer it. Other surfacing themes included the importance of building relationships between African American and White Portlanders and of starting with the acknowledgement of what happened.

Some signs point to the fact that things may be improving. John Canda feels as though the Restorative Listening Project has helped promote positive change. He says that friendships have come together as a result; people have come together who may not have otherwise. According to Mr. Canda, White participants have come to the meetings feeling one way and, after hearing the stories and having the discussion, they left feeling completely differently. Ural Thompson thinks that relations between Blacks and Whites in the neighborhood have improved, he relates that,

“Most of the people are getting friendlier, but when they first came here they was horrible to the black people... I think when people first move into a new location they’re self protective, especially if they’ve been told, ‘Man, this is a tough area.’ They say, ‘man you see all these white folks movin’ in here?’ And the White folks say ‘the colored people, are they really rough around here? ... So people are starting to find out that people are people. And I think its happening in the Mississippi area because people are tired of the same old bullshit.”

The Boise Voices and Hello Neighbor art show in City Hall was certainly a positive event and showed that this issue is receiving recognition and organizations dealing with it are being supported.

Significant challenges do still exist. John Canda talks about how difficult it is for African Americans to accept the fact that the neighborhood has changed in a way that does not reflect the long-standing community they had built there. When looking at the booming business on Alberta and Mississippi he says, “You shake your head with disgust and distain because you remember what it was and then you internalize that and ask yourself the question again, ‘okay, what’s wrong with me? What’s wrong with us? That people didn’t believe that we could evolve to make

things like this happen?” That creates a real feeling of rejection. He latter added that if he or his parents were to walk around Mississippi, Alberta, or Hawthorne they would be looked at because they would be the minority in those areas, “As if you’re the visitor, and that’s hard to swallow when you know that this is where your roots are.” That leads to some of the ill feelings he things, wondering, “why do I feel like a stranger in my own place?”



The popular bar Prost! nestled between Portland’s quintessential bike racks and food carts

Judith Mowry blames much of the problems in the community on White supremacy, but not the kind of White supremacy associated with hate-groups. “I don’t mean White supremacy like the Klu Klux Klan, I mean the idea that...the White arrogance that the way we do it is right.” She adds that this is embedded in peoples belief, tacit or not, that the African American community did this to themselves, “it’s this groovy because we’re groovier, that’s white supremacy.” Ms. Mowry recalls addressing a symposium on community development and stressing that, “You have to recognize that anywhere you decide you are place-making it is already somebody else’s place, and you have to get into dialogue with what that space is.”

White, liberal, progressive Portland, she asserts, tends to replicate itself all over the city, often with little understanding of other cultures that may have been in the area previously.

Some people do believe that the gentrification of North Portland was planned. Neither John Canda nor Judith Mowry asserts this is the case, but both point to the fact that many hold the sentiment. Ms. Mowry suggests that, “a lot of people posit, and I think they have a very persuasive set of evidence to say that the area was blighted almost on purpose.” One of the speakers at a Restorative Listening Project commented that it hurt him because it felt like the whole thing was set up. It is important to understand that these are just feelings and speculation. No one I encountered claimed to believe such allegations for certain, much less be able to prove them. But the existence of this interpretation is important to acknowledge.

Chapter 4 | Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Study

Situating Arts and Culture within the Changes on Mississippi

Arts and culture have a complex relationship with the changes on Mississippi. In the process of improving the neighborhood's quality of life the addition of amenities like boutiques, restaurants, galleries, venues, and coffee shops, as well as the culture they represent, have helped create a neighborhood that is safe and thriving, yet divided and wounded. Cultural participation and representation through a variety of different forms and media has been important in creating and maintaining both the positive and negative effects of this change, as well as addressing the resulting conflict. This is not surprising. Neighborhoods are cultural space and their institutions, their history, and the relationships they support have cultural meaning.

While there is some evidence to suggest that artists were important pioneers of the area, it does not appear to have been a full-fledged artist invasion like the in Manhattan's East Village. Eric Isaacson remembers the vibrancy North Portland's DIY art scene in the 1990s with its house shows and its squatting musicians, and he does believe that people like him made the area safe for new residents and safe for investors. In her artist statement for Hello Neighbor, Julie Keefe confirms moving to North Portland in 1991, and I have heard stories about other artists coming to the area as well. However, It is impossible to quantify the size or impact of an early immigration of artists. Their effect must be considered within the larger context of other important factors in the revitalization, including proximity to downtown, historic homes that could be purchased at low rates, and organized neighborhood efforts to make the area safer and more attractive to businesses and residents.

The arts probably did play a role in Mississippi Ave.'s 2005 boom, and continue to be important in maintaining the area's appeal. Mississippi Ave. today is certainly a cultural district. Going back to ArtistLink's definition of "a well-recognized, labeled area of a city in which a high concentration of cultural facilities and programs serve as an anchor of attraction" (2009b, paragraph 1), it is easy to see how. The area has been successfully branded as a historic district, with distinct markers like street signs, trees lining the street, and mosaic trash cans. The business association runs a website and produces a walking map to help brand the area and advertise businesses and events. While its trade in "high art" is limited, the street's many boutiques and stores specializing in kitsch, fashion, and popular artistic media like rock records and comic books, create a vibrant and attractive scene. Live music, food, and special events like Street Fair offer opportunities for artistic patronage and participation, while serving as important cultural anchors for the neighborhood.

Furthermore, the look and feel of the street has something intangible about it, what Kay Newell calls the flavor; the arts are certainly a part of that. From the street musicians, to the brightly painted buildings, to the telephone poles plastered with concert posters, the arts permeate the street. Eric Isaacson's lament over the role his store plays in reinforcing a vibe that helps developers sell the area to businesses and tenants reinforces the powerful draw of the amenities the neighborhood now has, which the arts helped create.

It is also important to note that some of the artists and arts businesses that did move in, like Julie Keefe, Eric Isaacson and the artist Judith Mowry discussed, have been active participants in neighborhood life; building and maintaining relationships with long-standing residents in the neighborhood. Neighborhoods change and saddling blame for the negative aspects of the change on new residents, artists or otherwise, who realize their intentions to be

good neighbors is unfair, misguided, and unconstructive. Furthermore, while Eric Isaacson argues that some of the business owners on Mississippi Ave. do not cater to the immediate community, he also points out that they are not bad people. They took advantage of an opportunity and there is no crime in that. Expanding opportunities for young entrepreneurs is a good thing and Mississippi Ave.'s development has done that.

That being said, many of the people and businesses who moved in, well meaning or not, have not been particularly good neighbors. John Canda's comments about feeling like a stranger in his own neighborhood and the way he eloquently describes wondering why his community was not good enough to lead the renaissance show how these changes, and the disconnect they have created, have fundamentally altered the neighborhood as cultural space. This alteration, while a boon for some, is painful for others. His stories about disappearing institutions, Judith Mowry's recollections of conflicts she has mediated, and testimony from participants in the Restorative Listening Project show that real harm has been done. As the neighborhood changes, much of what once made it a vibrant Black community has been replaced, in a way, erasing what was. One of Mr. Canda's biggest fears is that the history will be lost. That is a painful fact for many African Americans in North Portland and it causes resentment. As a Restorative Listening Project speaker said, there are a lot of Black people who feel as though White people took their neighborhood. This shows how important Boise and other North/Inner Northeast Portland neighborhoods are Portland's African Americans, just as Le Texier's (2007) Barrio Logan in San Diego is to the Mexican community.

Mississippi Ave.'s demographic contrast with the rest of the neighborhood brings a stark example to the division that exists. It is impossible to define clearly what is "Black art," and the idea that the artwork that can be purchased on the street or the music that can be heard in its

venues are somehow inherently incompatible with African American aesthetics is ridiculous. Such a claim would ignore the diversity that is Black culture and be analogous to saying all White people like John Denver. What can be said though, is that the absence of African Americans in the street's businesses, despite their presence in the neighborhood, combined with comments from interviewees, suggests that many Black residents of the area either feel that the offerings on the street do not represent their needs or they simply do not feel comfortable there. Different individuals have different explanations for this reality; the division could be due to African Americans lacking interest in the products available on the street (including the arts), not having the money to spend on what are often expensive luxury items, feeling treated differently by storekeepers, bitterness over "progress" they do not perceive to have benefited them, or even not seeing more people like themselves on the street.

Defining and quantifying the elements of this disconnect and its root causes, including the role of the arts, is impossible. But, it is a cultural problem for the neighborhood, and one that may be preventing it from reaching its full potential as a community. John Canda's likening the area to other cultural districts in Portland, Eric Isaacson's criticism of the shops as artificial tourist attractions, and Judith Mowry's observation that White, liberal, progressive Portland tends to replicate itself, suggests that Mississippi Ave.'s inability to better reflect the neighborhood's African American community put the area in danger of becoming just another Portland hipster hangout. Despite the current vibrancy of the street, it may be missing an opportunity to be truly distinctive, while at the same time alienating a large portion of its community. Without more bridges between the community conflict will continue or, even worse, the African American community will be completely washed out by Portland's White, progressive hegemony.

Important cases of arts-based and non arts-based projects to address the division in the community are active and appear to be having a positive effect. John Canda feels that the Restorative Listening Project is creating a constructive dialogue, while Boise Voices and Hello Neighbor are bringing creating opportunities for young people in the community to engage with the neighborhoods history and its residents. Although I did not have the opportunity to speak with people from Hello Neighbor or Boise Voices due to the time constraints of the study, the simple fact that their work is in City Hall suggests that they are having an impact. Also, my own experience tells me that people who have participated in any of these projects have found that participation to be positive. But, the scope of these projects is still limited and the kind of change they are trying to steward is a slow kind. As Putnam and Feldstein (2003) point out, social capital building is the “slow boring of hard boards” (p. 286), and social capital is essentially what all of these projects are trying to create. Although they have different methods, all three are fundamentally using stories to build bridges between communities in times of significant change and, in some cases, great harm.

Portland Playhouse’s *Radio Golf* was a particularly interesting case because, unlike the three aforementioned initiatives, it is not a long-term project targeted at addressing the problem. It did, however, engage the issue of gentrification as it was relevant to North/Inner Northeast Portland; providing an opportunity for empathy and understanding, as well as a discursive space for people to share their feelings on the issue. The talkback I attended was a constructive one. Participants could, and did, share their feelings openly, and panelists addressed each comment and question with respect. While comments like “tell us how to understand black people.” demonstrate just how little understanding there is in some cases, they also show a genuine

interest in solving the problem. Radio Golf was certainly successful in providing a space for such comments to become public and, as a result, addressable.

Examining a Role for Arts and Culture in Revitalization Without Gentrification

Because arts and culture are embedded in multiple of the changes on Mississippi and in the surrounding neighborhood they have an important role maintaining the success of the area, as well as mitigating the negative consequences. But, it is important to remember that there are many other forces at work and arts and culture represent only a piece of them. Instead it is necessary to look at the greater whole and analyze the multiple actors that brought the neighborhood to where it is today and will continue to influence its development in the future. The arts are not a magic bullet. In order to influence meaningful change artists, arts organizations, arts administrators and other cultural policy actors must understand how to position themselves within the broader system of urban development and interact with the diverse group of players.

The Boise neighborhood, and much of Albina, was the target of deliberate disinvestment from the end of World War II to the early 1990's. Redlining, land speculation, absentee landlordism, failed urban renewal, drugs, violence, and racism were all instrumental in setting the stage for gentrification. These factors created a low-income population living in homes that had been drastically devalued by disinvestment. In many cases people did not own their homes, those who did own their homes were highly susceptible to property tax increases when home values rose because of the significant devaluation. This created a situation in the 1990's where real estate interests could buy-in cheaply and so could middle class people who were looking for a good deal. No amount of pretty paint will cover that history. Art can build bridges, but historical harm must be addressed through comprehensive equitable development.

Arts and cultural action points are present in the Albina Community Plan under the Community Image and Character policy area, but that is one of only ten policy areas included in the plan. Certainly, it can be argued that arts and culture are also relevant to things like Business Growth and Development, Education, and Environmental Values, but all of those policy areas have a variety of other concerns. Business Growth and Development, as well as Jobs and Employment are extremely important issues in revitalizing neighborhoods. The Portland Development Commission is a significant driver of these areas, they issue the grants and incentives that help found businesses and attract employers. Maybe the arts make the area attractive, but they do not offer storefront improvement grants, the PDC does that. Housing is also extremely important in revitalizing neighborhoods, especially considering the long history of housing discrimination that plagued Albina. The arts do not build low-income housing. They may help beautify low-income housing, but nonprofit and for-profit developers build it.

Many people I spoke to blamed the Portland Development Commission for not delivering on the promises of the Albina Community. Some lamented that funding was not given to potential small business owners who already lived in the community, Eric Isaacson, in particular criticized them for helping to fund Tupelo Ally, the gigantic housing and ground level retail development. One speaker at the Restorative Listening Project said that enough low-income housing had not been built.

There is plenty of blame to go around for how things turned out. The land speculators that purchased houses for small sums of cash, as well as the people – often African Americans – who sold to them share some of the blame for gentrification. Other things cannot be blamed on any particular person or entity, property tax laws that priced residents out of their own paid-off

homes, for example, probably were not designed to displace large numbers of people, but that is what happened.

That is not to say that many positive things have not been done. Kay Newell is proud of the work the Mississippi Historic District did to keep seniors in their homes, while fixing up the properties and providing skills training to local residents. And she should be. She cites several low-income housing initiatives, saying that there are 37 or so homes, apartments and complexes (not individual units) that will always be low-income. Housing Our Families and the Maya Angelou center provide low-income housing. Ms. Newell also points to three low-income houses that exist at the end of her block. Debbie Bischoff acknowledges an initiative on Martin Luther King Blvd. that is putting in historic markers. But these measures have not been enough considering the level of resentment that still exists.

It is clear that the Albina plan addressed the multiple actors that drive revitalization, including arts and culture, and it is also clear that the community was involved in the plan's design. How much involvement happened, and how much should have happened is up for debate. But, as Nicholas Starin pointed out, the community was attached to this plan – which was completed prior to the neighborhood experiencing significant changes – so it probably addressed the interests of the long tenured residents, at least to certain extent.

The problem appears to be in the implementation, more so than the planning process. Further study is needed to address the gaps that exist between planning and implementation; one that conducts a thorough analysis of the Albina Plan and how it has influence City policy, particularly the PDC, as well as the actions of smaller policy actors like community nonprofits. The Albina plan does not have the force of law and the fact that many of its promises remain

unfulfilled suggests that either its implementation was poorly handled or many of its recommendations were not viable to begin with, or both.

Unfortunately, one of the primary weaknesses of this study was its inability to engage directly with the Portland Development Commission and for-profit developers in the area. Both of these entities had considerable impact on how the plan's recommendations were manifest. Planners do the planning, property owners do the fixing, and small business owners and artists create the milieu, but capital and major building projects come from PDC and developers. Without a more robust engagement of PDC policy and for-profit development a considerable gap will remain. It is not my intent, nor is it constructive, to villainize developers or the PDC, they provide essential services that cannot be ignored. Developers in particular have their own economic interests that they must adhere to in order to remain viable commercial entities. Those interests may not always be in line with community needs or desires, but that does not make developers inherently evil and there may or may not have been ways to work with them more effectively. Further study is needed to assess the role that developers and the PDC played in the revitalization of Mississippi Ave. to illuminate the positive and negative outcomes of their involvement, while, hopefully, determining more productive ways of collaborating with them for more positive development processes.

There are two more issues within a comprehensive analysis of the Albina Plan implementation that I believe warrant a closer look. The first issue was the lack of a single person or organization responsible for ensuring that the promises of the Albina Plan guided development. As Nicholas Starin pointed out, the action charts were not terribly strategic and no formal means for following-up on institutional commitments to implement the actions was created. He also acknowledged that during the action charts update the Albina residents asked for

someone at the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability who's job was to steward the plan, and provide a consistent contact point for people in neighborhood. Barry Manning felt that hiring a professional organizer to advocate for implementation has been effective in East Portland. Something like that may have been helpful in Albina, but it is hard to know for sure, considering the differences between the plan's and the 16 year gap in their implementation – the East Portland Action Plan was adopted in February of 2009 (Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, 2009).

Second, is a thorough look at asset mapping and how it could have helped build economic capacity in the neighborhood while strengthening cultural representation is needed. Part of the reason that grants and incentives did not go to as many long term residents of the area as they possibly should may have been a lack of capacity on the part of potential entrepreneurs. Starting a business requires startup capital, business acumen, and a sound plan. Because of the level of disinvestment the area had experienced many of the long-term residents of the area may not have known how to access the PDC's incentives or, if they did, they may not have had the skills or resources to compete for them. Tom Borrup (2006) suggests that an asset-based approach can build cultural and economic capacity at the same time, by treating cultural practices as important community assets that can become important economic drivers that create jobs, stimulate cultural tourism and diversify local economies. Stephenson (2005), while not specifically talking about asset mapping, demonstrates how leadership training and skill development among cultural workers in a community can build economic capacity and improve community self image. A ground-up approach to integrating arts and culture into revitalization may have allowed for better economic conditions for existing residents, as well as a cultural district that was more welcoming to them.

Moving Forward

When considering all the changes that have occurred on Mississippi Ave. and across Albina – the good, the bad, the failures, the successes, and all the players involved – perhaps the most difficult question to answer is how much would have been enough? Neighborhoods change and there is no perfect answer for how much change should be allowed. Even if such a question could be answered, who gets to answer it? And who is responsible for making that change happen in an acceptable way? While the area was never a completely African American community, the fact that they were forced to live there and denied resources because of the color of their skin must be recognized when considering these questions. Certainly, enough resentment exists about the way development has proceeded in Albina in the last two decades to assert that real harm has been done. But, who is to blame? What could have been done better? What can be done now? And, what would a more equitable and effective approach have been? These are difficult, maybe impossible, questions to answer.

The reality is that things have changed on Mississippi and all across Albina, and what was done cannot be undone. Any attempt to restore the Albina of the 1950s, 60s or 70s would be artificial and ineffective. Initiatives like Boise Voices, Hello Neighbor, and the Restorative Listening Project are helping the neighborhood move forward, which is all that can be done. Expanding the capacity of these kinds of initiatives and finding ways to encourage the development of new ones from within the community may help to build bridges in what has become a community divided by historical harm. The most important thing that must come of the change in Albina is bridge-building. Much of White, progressive Portland does appear to have real lack of understanding of the city's African American community and Albina's history is an opportunity to address that.

Vacancies on Mississippi may also provide opportunities for African American cultural representation and economic development. The considerable amount of empty storefronts in Mississippi's new developments may mean that low cost commercial space becomes available in the future. Developers hate vacancies; they ruin the pedestrian experience and have a significant physiological effect. If a community organization had a sound proposal for a community center or a business incubator, or whatever else that organization felt would be truly beneficial to the community, the developers might be inclined to listen. Adding community based institutions that serve the African American community to Mississippi Ave. has the potential to be good for everyone on the street by filling empty storefronts, providing greater economic strength and cultural representation to the neighborhoods Black residents, and encouraging more interaction between the two communities on the street in a way that helps the area take advantage of its diversity as an asset.

There will always be the concern about incoming residents from a higher income bracket. This is unavoidable to a certain extent and not necessarily a bad thing. Neighborhoods do change. When new residents move in and become good neighbors, build bridges with previous residents and actively participating in civic life in a manner that is respectful of the past as well as the present and the future, than they are just being good neighbors, regardless of how much money they make. If good enough work is done implementing the redevelopment from the ground up with economic development that benefits long-time residents and strong housing tenure, than maybe the neighborhood could withstand the influx of new neighbors. But that assumes that the influx happens at a slow enough pace for the neighborhood to stabilize before property values start to go up. Either way, hopefully the new residents will be good neighbors.

Recommendations for Future Study

Some of my recommendations I have already addressed. A comprehensive study of the Albina plan and its implementation is key and could have tremendous policy impact in the future. Researching the history of the North/Northeast Economic Development Alliance would be a helpful component of such a study since that group appears to have been instrumental in the planning process, but little documentation of it is readily available. A comprehensive case study of communities that have been major recipients of displaced Albina residents like Gresham and East Portland is necessary to assess the full impact of the neighborhood change. Gresham in particular is the current target of the University of Oregon's Sustainable Cities initiative and a study of the African American migration from Albina could have a unique opportunity to influence policy there. In order to look at how to expand the capacity of initiatives that are building bridges in the neighborhood like Boise Voices, Hello Neighbor, Restorative Listening Project I recommend an in-depth case study of each individual one. A thorough cultural inventory of the area would help identify possible assets for future development, while at the same time helping to preserve valuable cultural practices that could be lost as the neighborhood continues to change. Using neighborhood residents to conduct such a study could also be an empowering experience for participants. Working with a community organization to identify sites and create a proposal for a cultural/community center, or some other institution that citizens value, could help an that organization take advantage of the potential opportunities provided by the vacant storefronts.

Final Thoughts

When I think of how to tie up this opus of a paper I cannot help but repeat one thing that Judith Mowry told me, "you have to recognize that anywhere you decide you are place-making it

is already somebody else's place, and you have to get into dialogue with what that space is." She originally made that statement while addressing a symposium of what, I assume, were perfectly well-meaning people. And I think it gets to the heart of the issue. As artists and arts leaders we have to remember that just because the arts are good and we have good intentions, does not mean that our actions are without negative consequences. In the case of gentrifying neighborhoods we may or may not have the ability to stop the process and we may or may not bear some responsibility for it, but, one thing we must always do is make sure we are genuine dialogue with that cultural space and be respectful of what was. We do not have to change who we are or what we do, we just have to say "hello" and be willing to listen. It is not going to solve all the world's problems, but it is an important first step. Hopefully, this research has done an adequate job of explaining why that is so important.

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Appendix A | Human Subjects Email

TO: Milo Petruziello
Arts and Administration

FROM: Office for Protection of Human Subjects

Your protocol entitled “ Gentrification and the Arts: Building Vibrant Communities Without Displacement ” was approved February 23, 2010 and will expire February 22, 2011 . You will receive a copy of your approval paperwork within the next couple of weeks via email as a pdf attachment. You are approved to begin research activities involving human subjects effective immediately.

Your protocol number to reference on all correspondence to our office regarding your protocol is: E322-10 . As a reminder your IRB Program Analyst is Shannon Roth and may be reached by phone at (541) 346-3131 or by email at sroth@orc.uoregon.edu .

Thank you,

Caitlin Shinn, IRB Coordinator
Office for Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon
PH: 541-346-1964
FAX: 541-346-6224
cshinn@orc.uoregon.edu

Appendix B | Sample Recruitment Letter

Date

Milo Petruziello
532 Lincoln St. Apt B.
Eugene OR, 97401

Dear <POTENTIAL INTERVIEWEE>:

You are invited to participate in a research project titled *Gentrification and the Arts: Building Vibrant Communities without Displacement*, conducted by Milo Petruziello from the University of Oregon's Arts and Administration Program. The purpose of this study is to explore the process of gentrification.

Gentrification is a complex process of urban development that often leads to the creation of vibrant arts districts. While this often has a positive effect on the established arts community it also causes the displacement of the district's original residents. This research will profile the Mississippi Ave. arts district in North Portland in an attempt to explain how the arts fit into this process and make recommendations on how the arts can play a role in community revitalization without gentrification.

You were selected to participate in this study because of your role as a developer in Portland, particularly North Portland. If you decide to take part in this research project, you will be asked to provide relevant organizational materials and participate in an in-person interview, lasting approximately one hour, during winter or early spring of 2010. If you wish, interview questions will be provided beforehand for your consideration. Interviews will be scheduled for a location and time that is convenient for you. In addition to taking handwritten notes, with your permission, I will use an audio tape recorder for documentation. You may also be asked to provide follow-up information through phone calls or email.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (614) 506-8075 or petruzie@uoregon.edu or Dr. Doug Blandy at (541) 346-3631. Any questions regarding your rights as a research participant should be directed to the Office for the Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510.

Thank you in advance for your interest and consideration. I will contact you shortly to speak about your potential involvement in this study.

Sincerely,

Milo Petruziello

Appendix C | Sample Consent Form

Gentrification and the Arts:

Building Vibrant Communities without Displacement

Milo Petruziello, Principal Investigator
University of Oregon Arts and Administration Program

You are invited to participate in a research project titled *Gentrification and the Arts: Building Vibrant Communities without Displacement*, conducted by Milo Petruziello from the University of Oregon's Arts and Administration Program. The purpose of this study is to explore how the arts contribute gentrification and make recommendations for a more equitable revitalization process.

Gentrification is a complex process of urban development that often leads to the creation of vibrant arts districts. While this often has a positive effect on the established arts community it also causes the displacement of the district's original residents. This research will profile the Mississippi Ave. arts district in North Portland in an attempt to explain how the arts fit into this process and make recommendations on how the arts can play a role in community revitalization without gentrification.

You were selected to participate in this study because of your relationship with Mississippi Ave. and the Boise neighborhood. If you decide to take part in this research project, you will be asked to provide relevant organizational materials and participate in an in-person interview, lasting approximately one hour, during winter or early spring of 2010. If you wish, interview questions will be provided beforehand for your consideration. Interviews will be scheduled for a location and time that is convenient for you. In addition to taking handwritten notes, with your permission, I will use an audio tape recorder for documentation. You may also be asked to provide follow-up information through phone calls or email.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will be carefully and securely maintained. Your consent to participate in this interview, as indicated below, demonstrates your willingness to have your name used in any resulting documents and publications and to relinquish confidentiality. It may be advisable to obtain permission to participate in this interview to avoid potential social or economic risks related to speaking as a representative of your institution. Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

I anticipate that the results of this research project will be of value to the city of Portland as a whole as it grapples with the effects of rapid change. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (614) 506-8075 or petruzie@uoregon.edu or Dr. Doug Blandy at (541) 346-3631. Any questions regarding your rights as a research participant should be directed to the Office for the Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510.

Please read and initial the following statements to note your agreement:

_____ I consent to my identification as a participant in this study.

_____ I consent to the use of audiotapes and note taking during my interview.

_____ I consent to the potential use of quotations from the interview.

_____ I consent to the use of information I provide regarding the organization with which I am associated.

_____ I wish to have the opportunity to review and possibly revise my comments and the information that I provide prior to these data appearing in the final version of any publications that may result from this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies. You have been given a copy of this letter to keep.

Print Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank you for your interest and participation in this study.

Sincerely,

Milo Petruziello
614-506-8075
petruzie@uoregon.edu
532 Lincoln St. Apt B.
Eugene OR, 97401

Appendix D | Sample Interview Protocols

Residents

- 1) How long have you lived in the Mississippi Ave. area?
 - a. Why did you move here?
 - b. If you moved away, why?
- 2) What do/did you like about the neighborhood?
- 3) What do/did you dislike?
- 4) How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who has never been here?
- 5) Can you describe how the neighborhood has changed in your time here?
 - a. The look and feel
 - b. Relationships with neighbors
 - c. Cost of living
- 6) How do you feel about the changes you have witnessed?
- 7) To what do you attribute these changes?
- 8) Where do you see this neighborhood 10 years down the road?
 - a. How does that make you feel?

Artists

- 1) How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
- 2) Did your artistic career influence your move in anyway?
 - a. If so, how?
- 3) Do you know other artists in the neighborhood?
 - a. Do they influence your work at all?
 - b. What advantages/disadvantages do you see to being clustered with other artists?
- 4) What do you like about the neighborhood?
- 5) What do you dislike?
- 6) How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who has never been here?
- 7) Can you describe how the neighborhood has changed in your time here?
 - a. The look and feel
 - b. Relationships with neighbors
 - c. Cost of living
- 8) How do you feel about the changes you have witnessed?
- 9) To what do you attribute these changes?
- 10) Do you feel like you are part of this community?
- 11) Where do you see this neighborhood 10 years down the road?
 - a. How does that make you feel?

Businesses

- 1) How long have you been in the neighborhood?
 - a. Why did you choose this location?
- 2) What do you like about the neighborhood?
- 3) What do you dislike?
- 4) How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who has never been here?
- 5) How does your business contribute to the neighborhood fabric?
- 6) What about the other businesses, how do they contribute?
 - a. What is your relationship with other businesses in the area?
- 7) What makes this neighborhood unique?
- 8) Can you describe how the neighborhood has changed in your time here?
 - a. The look and feel
 - b. Relationships with neighbors
 - c. Cost of living
- 9) How do you feel about the changes you have witnessed?
 - a. Have they been good for business? Why or why not?
- 10) To what do you attribute these changes?
- 11) Where do you see this neighborhood 10 years down the road?
 - a. How does that make you feel?

Leaders/Activists

- 1) How long have you worked/lived in North Portland?
- 2) What organizations are you affiliated with?
- 3) Can you describe the situation in North Portland/Mississippi Ave?
- 4) Can you describe how the neighborhood has changed in your time here? Be specific.
 - a. The look and feel
 - b. Relationships with neighbors
 - c. Cost of living
- 5) How do you feel about the changes you have witnessed?
- 6) To what do you attribute these changes?
- 7) In your opinion who has benefited from these changes?
- 8) Has anybody been disadvantaged by these changes? If so how?
- 9) Can you describe any efforts that you are involved in influencing changes?
- 10) Can you elaborate on the results of these efforts?
- 11) Are these efforts based on any models from other cities/neighborhoods?
- 12) What is going well? What could be done better?
- 13) Where do you see this neighborhood 10 years down the road

Planners

- 1) Can you describe the history of North Portland/Mississippi Ave. from a planning perspective?
- 2) How did planning influence its current revitalization?
- 3) What mechanisms/incentives are in place at the municipal level to encourage revitalization?
- 4) Can you describe how these mechanisms work?
- 5) How do developers in Portland interact with the city and neighborhoods to get projects done?
- 6) How would you describe Portland's approach to development?
- 7) In your opinion who has benefited from the development of Mississippi?
- 8) Has anybody been disadvantaged by these changes? If so how?
- 9) Can you describe any efforts that you are involved in to make these changes?
 - a. Programs/initiatives
- 10) Can you elaborate on the results of these efforts?
- 11) What are some prominent examples of other cities dealing with rapid development of a low-income area?