EVALUATING IMPACT:

THE ALBERTA MAIN STREET PROGRAM'S EFFECT

ON PROSPERITY, VIBRANCY, AND EQUITY

IN PORTLAND, OREGON

by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Planning for equity is challenging without a clear vision of what it means to be equitable and a clear vision for evaluating change. The city of Portland in Oregon is balancing current economic and social needs with a complex past of institutionalized racism amidst rapid population growth. Areas east of the central city historically received less resources and are also the most diverse areas of the city. This has raised concerns about the equitable distribution of resources for historically marginalized communities.

In 2009, Portland adopted the Main Street Approach, a nationally renowned approach to downtown revitalization, for eight districts across the Portland metro area including areas in East Portland. The city cites the Main Street Program as one of few initiatives to resolve economic development and equity issues at the neighborhood scale (*Economic Development Strategy* 2009; *Neighborhood Economic Development Plan* 2011; *Portland Development Commission 2015-2020 Strategic Plan* 2015). The Main Street Program uses historic preservation as a strategy to restore economic activity in historic downtowns (Cook and Bentley 1986; Robertson 2004; Ozdil 2006), but it was not designed with equity in mind. The local, state, and national Main Street programs collect reinvestment statistics to show programmatic success, but these metrics fall short of evaluating for changes in vibrancy or equity. The city of Portland continues to utilize the Main Street program for economic development "in low-income or gentrifying neighborhoods" (*Portland Development Commission 2015-2020 Strategic Plan* 2015) based on these evaluation metrics.

This project seeks to better understand the effects of the Main Street Program in Portland. One project goal is to create metrics to evaluate the effects of the Main Street Program on a neighborhood's vibrancy and equity through a literature review. Another goal is to apply these vibrancy and equity evaluation metrics to the Alberta Main Street Program, an existing Main Street Program in Portland. The Alberta Main Street Program is one Portland's pilot Main Street affiliates. It is located in northeast Portland in the Albina District, a historically immigrant and African-American community, on NE Alberta St. The area experienced a boom in the 1940's and 50's followed by disinvestment in the 60's and 70's and urban renewal in the 80's and 90's.

This project compares changes in the built environment, demographics, and business owner perceptions of the Alberta neighborhood from 2010 to 2017. The project methods include field observations and GIS data analysis for changes in the built environment, Census data analysis to understand changes in the socioeconomics, and interviews with business owners to understand perceptions of change.

This research shows that the Alberta Main Street Program has created a more financially prosperous, vibrant neighborhood but is not equitably distributing resources. Key findings include:

1. The Alberta Main Street Program does not evaluate its impacts on vibrancy or equity.
2. NE Alberta is more vibrant in terms of increases in active uses of space, good physical maintenance, and a good presence of details.
3. Development in NE Alberta and the Alberta Main Street program has not had a positive effect on equity for two reasons:
    a. There has been large residential displacement of historically marginalized people concurrent with development of the Alberta Main Street Program.
    b. There has been inequitable access to resources for business owners, especially black business owners.

The findings suggest that the city has chosen the wrong tool or they need to amend the Main Street program to better accommodate for equity. Future research should improve the evaluation tool to address when and how people use space. Other additional research should also investigate how to better incorporate equity into the Main Street Approach.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Portland, Oregon is a fast-growing city in the Pacific Northwest attracting people for its reputation for sustainability and "being weird" (Sullivan and Shaw 2011). People envision Portland through the hit T.V. show *Portlandia*, but this vision represents only a small sliver of Portland largely representative of the central city. Portland is divided into five compass regions, north, northeast, northwest, southwest, and southeast, with the Willamette River dividing east and west Portland and the Columbia River dividing Portland from Vancouver, Washington. The Central City area encompasses a small part of all five regions, including parts of the Willamette River and the many iconic bridges that connect the east and west sides. This area is hailed as being livable, sustainable, active, and creative– but what about the rest of Portland?

Development in Portland has historically disproportionately advantaged white, higher-income populations over communities of color (Goodling et al 2015). Poverty is both racial and spatial in Portland: over one-third of the African American population in Portland lives below the poverty line and the most impoverished areas of Portland are located in east Portland (Goodling et al 2015). The current trend is to push communities of color within proximity to the central city out to east Portland where land values have not risen as quickly.

City of Portland planners help envision what the future city should look like, create goals and objectives to reach that vision, and then evaluate policy efficacy. The vision for Portland is clear– to become a city that is prosperous, vibrant and equitable. This vision is articulated in the 2009 *Economic Development Strategy* (City of Portland), the 2011 *Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy* (City of Portland) and the 2012 *Portland Plan* (Portland City Council). More specifically, the *Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy* (2011) articulates goals to support neighborhood business growth" and "growing vibrant commercial areas" (1). Furthermore, success should not be bounded by specific geographic areas, rather, this strategy "hold[s] high the needs of communities of color" (1).

The *Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy* utilizes the Portland Main Street Program as a major component and is seen in all three of its objectives. Objective I, Part A uses it to "build local capacity to achieve economic development outcomes" (14). Objective III, Part B includes the Main Street Program to "drive neighborhood business growth… [with] targeted outreach to communities of color" (16). Objective III, Part B utilizes it to "align and coordinate resources to support neighborhood economic development" (19).

The city evaluated the *Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy* in 2015 with metrics primarily in line with measuring prosperity but not vibrancy or equity. Objective I, Part A is evaluated by showing the dollar amount of private and philanthropic investment, volunteer hours, numbers of new businesses, and the number of new jobs created citywide. Objective II, Part B is evaluated by showing the number of businesses with improved storefronts, the dollar

amount for storefront improvement, and the number of businesses assisted. Objective III, Part B does not include any metrics in regard to the Main Street Program. These metrics provide a short-sighted vision of the effects of the Main Street Program.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Current evaluation methods for this program focus on quantitative, economic successes and do not evaluate effects on the physical and social environments. This project asks:

1. Is it possible to measure changes in not only prosperity, but also vibrancy and equity?
2. If so, how well is the Alberta Main Street Program performing?

The first question zooms out to the city level to understand if the Main Street Program could be used in general as an equity tool while the second question hones in on the Alberta Main Street Program in northeast Portland and its success.

There are two major components to this research project: creating an evaluation framework and applying the framework to the Alberta Main Street Program as a case study. The evaluation framework assumes that the Alberta Main Street Program adequately collects data about economic prosperity and focuses on defining vibrancy and equity and the methods to collect that type of data. The main method to create the evaluation framework was to examine literature related to vibrancy and equity in the context of planning.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The city of Portland is using the Main Street Approach as a planning policy tool to achieve prosperity, vibrancy, and equity in its neighborhoods. What does it mean to be prosperous, vibrant, or equitable? How is it possible to evaluate a neighborhood's prosperity, vibrancy, or equity? This literature review delves into these topics and also considers previous research on the Main Street Approach.

2.1. PROSPERITY

Until the 1970's, many economists, sociologists, and urban planners in America unequivocally associated prosperity with growth (Solow 1956; Appelbaum 1976; Lucas 1988; Chinitz 1990; Calavita and Caves 1994; Bergmann 2010). Growth, according to Chinitz (1990) is "the expansion of developed space" generated by "increases in population and economic prosperity" (3). Many sociologists and economists continue to believe that growth alone, as measured by increase in population, is beneficial because it leads to an enhanced economy (Carr, Bae and Lu, 2006; Fodor 2012). The underlying assumption is that a city grows in population because it is attracting residents and businesses through economic competition (Fodor 2012). Seeking growth is akin to seeking economic prosperity in the form of more jobs and better wages (Fodor 2012).

Most cities and metro areas in the United States continue to seek growth in the name of economic prosperity through "public policies, investments, tax incentives, and subsidies" (Fodor 2012, 220).

American planners in the early 20th century did not question their definitions of prosperity, they simply understood prosperity to mean business and economic growth (Calavita and Caves 1994). The role of the early American urban planner was to accommodate growth but not to control it (Appelbaum 1976). Many urban planners assume that a city is prosperous when it experiences constant economic growth (Calavita and Caves 1994; Bergmann 2010), and Calavita and Caves (1994) go so far to say that "growth is an essential part of planning…from the beginning, planning has been associated with business and economic growth" (495).

2.1.1. QUESTIONING THE LINK BETWEEN PROSPERITY AND GROWTH

Research in the 1960's and 1970's scrutinized the assumptions that growth always leads to prosperity (Molotch 1976; Appelbaum 1976). Urban sociologist Richard Appelbaum conducted a literature review on the links between prosperity, growth, and the "optimum" city size in 1976. One common assumption linking prosperity and growth was that as a city gets larger the costs of services decrease due to economies of scale (Appelbaum 1976). His research goes as far back as England, 1910, which he asserts were the first empirical studies to seek links between the decreasing costs of municipal services and increasing city size. His research continues through the 1970's, including early regression analyses between rising costs of services and increasing city size for medium-sized cities. Appelbaum found conflicting research and stated "the relationship between city size and expenditures is by no means as clear-cut as earlier writers assumed" (148). His work did not completely repel the idea that growth and prosperity are intertwined, but it brought light to existing dissent.

Sociologist Harvey Molotch (1976) also critiqued the mindset that growth inexplicably leads to prosperity. He acknowledges that growth had been the dominant ideology throughout the United States, and even speculates "that the political and economic essence of virtually any locality in the present American context, is *growth*" (309-310). Molotch describes the city as "a growth machine" (310) as measured by increasing population seeking land as "market commodity to provide wealth and power" (309). To "enhance" the value of the land, or the "land-use potential" (311) is to intensify its use through transportation and proximity to other development. Molotch raises important questions about the growth machine: what are the benefits, if there are any? Who benefits from growth? He writes, "There is a growing suspicion that growth benefits only a small proportion of local residents" (318). Molotch's (1976) quintessential growth research compares population growth and unemployment rates from 1950-1960 and from 1960-1970 in the 25 metropolitan areas that grew fastest and the 25 slowest based on data from the U.S. Census. Molotch's central findings are that growth costs existing residents more money, it does not solve issues related to rising unemployment rates, and growth "brings increased air and water pollution, traffic congestion, and overtaxing of natural amenities" (318). Overall, Molotch finds

that growth is beneficial for the wealthy elite at the expense of the majority of the local residents and the environment.

Current research also shows that growth may not promote equity (Calavita and Caves 1994) and that full-employment economies may still have high levels of poverty (Bergmann 2010). Fodor (2012) showed that metro areas with lower growth rates had higher incomes and those with faster growth rates did not have lower unemployment rates. His study, based on Molotch (1976) and Gottlieb (2002), compares population growth, unemployment rates, per capita income, and the poverty rates in the 100 largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) from 2000 to 2009 using U.S. Census data and data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Fodor (2012) writes:

> *"Most cities in the U.S. have operated on the assumption that growth is inherently beneficial and that more and faster growth will benefit local residents economically. This examination of the 100 largest metro areas, representing 66% of the total U.S. population, shows those that have fared the best have had the lowest growth rates." (226)*

Furthermore, environmentalists believe that unmanaged growth contributes to climate change (Bergmann 2010) and reduced air quality, loss of wetlands, poor water quality, and pollution of lakes and oceans (Chinitz 1990). Yet, the debate rages on between those in favor of growth as an indicator of prosperity and those against it. Those in favor of growth believe that the benefits, such as improved regional economics, outweigh possible costs, such as traffic congestion and increased housing costs (Calavita and Caves 1994). A common argument, articulated by Bergmann (201) is that "a growing full-employment economy [can be] prosperous even if it has considerable amounts of poverty and inequality, because growth allows for a chance to improve the income of those at the bottom" (51). Planners have not reacted positively to research that growth may not bring about prosperity, reacting with caution or hostility (Calavita and Caves 1994). The discussion around limiting or ending growth "breeds such panic" (Bergmann 2010, 51).

2.1.2. PROSPERITY INDICES

Thus, researchers in planning literature continue to rely heavily on growth indicators to define prosperity. The most common indicator used to define growth is population growth by year (Molotch 1976; Lucas 1988; Calavita 1994; Fodor 2012). This indicator relies on the idea that more people attracted to a city or community means it is a desirable place to live and therefore a place that is increasing in prosperity.

Other prosperity indicators describe the growth of the labor force through the economic well-being of individuals and households. Common measurements for economic prosperity include median family income (Sands 2010; Reese 2011), per capita income (Lucas 1988; Levine 2001; Fodor 2012), and percentage of wage growth by family (Lucas 1988; Levine 2001; Carr, Bae,

and Lu, 2006). Others define prosperity by what it is not. Levine (2001) writes that the opposite of a prosperous city is one with "high unemployment rates, stagnant productivity, high inflation rates, and sluggish wage increases or declines" (183). Sands (2010) asserts that the percentage of households with government subsidized income should shrink in a prosperous society. Reese (2011) and Fodor (2012) seek decreases in the percent of families in poverty to exhibit increasing prosperity in their research (Reese 2011; Fodor 2012).

A final group of common prosperity indicators considers the labor force as a whole by looking at business statistics such as the unemployment rate (Calavita and Caves 1994; Levine 2001; Bergmann 2010; Sands 2010; Reese 2011). The general school of thought is that as growth occurs more jobs should become available and unemployment should drop or remain low. Carr, Bae, and Lu (2006) correlate an increasing number of businesses with growth and therefore prosperity. Reese (2011) equates increases in sales with prosperity. Finally, there are those who argue that a growing percentage of those with degrees in higher education indicate a growing technological economy (Bergmann 2010; Reese 2011).

Bergmann (2010) notes that "in many people's minds, growth and prosperity are virtually the same thing" (51). Ultimately, cities try to define prosperity with economic growth because it is "[seen as] the basis of the American Dream" (49), but she represents an emerging voice that contends it may be possible to have prosperity without growth. Current research redefines prosperity through measurements of non-economic factors of human well-being, such as "health, satisfaction with life, and happiness" (Fodor 2012, 221). Bergmann (2010) argues that a prosperous society is one in which basic needs are met for everyone. She defines basic needs as "medical care, decent affordable housing, low exposure to crime, good K-12 schools, higher education, good and affordable child care, handy and frequent public transportation, and cash incomes that would cover a modest list of other necessities" (54). She argues that maintaining prosperous conditions for the whole population may come at the expense of economic growth.

2.2. VIBRANCY

Defining vibrancy can be a nebulous task for planners, but the research shows that urban places become vibrant by the presence of many people (J. Jacobs 1961; Whyte 1988; A. Jacobs 1995; Paumier 2004; March et al. 2012; Newman and Burnett 2013). March et al. (2012) described urban vibrancy as "busyness and animation, people on the streets at different times, and human variety" (533). March points out two important things: how people use the space and who the people are. First, vibrant places have people who use the space to pass through (Paumier 2004; A. Jacobs 1995) and to stay (Whyte 1988). Second, the people who use the space should be diverse including those from all socioeconomic backgrounds (Paumier 2004, March et al. 2012).

2.2.1. USE OF SPACE

Researchers agree that people make places vibrant but they are undecided on which factors have the most influence to draw people in. One popular belief is that diverse land uses attract people and breed activity (J. Jacobs 1961; Paumier 2004; March et al. 2012; Newman and Burnett 2013). Different uses ranging from residential to commercial to entertainment attract different people with a variety of needs (A. Jacobs 1995). Newman and Burnett (2013) found that diverse business types are complementary because they draw in more people to the area. March et al. (2012) similarly argues that a mix of uses can support a range of economic activity. Businesses, housing, and other uses draw people in and consequently as people walk to and from different uses they enliven the space as pedestrians (Paumier 2004). Most importantly, when there is a diverse mix of use there is a higher chance that diverse mix of people will use the space (Paumier 2004; March et al. 2012; Newman and Burnett 2013).

There is also an understanding that certain types of uses do a better job at attracting people. Food and beverage establishments tend to offer higher-level activities, or draw more people in, (J. Jacobs 1961; March et al. 2012) while convenience and retail offer lower-level activities (March et al. 2012). Nearby residential uses are also important. The famous author Jane Jacobs wrote in her seminal piece *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) that streets with people who live nearby will have more people in them. There are other uses that can repel people and create "dead spaces" such as parking lots, junk yards and used-car lots (J. Jacobs 1961; A. Jacobs 1995; Newman and Burnett 2013). Parking lots seem notorious for engendering dead space because, as Paumier (2004) argues, they "reduce pedestrian and economic synergy" (18). The worst use of space is no use at all, and vacant storefronts can repel people (Paumier 2004).

There is also an argument linking business density and compactness with vibrancy. Researchers argue that more businesses located closer together equate to more activity (Gehl 1980; Whyte 1988; A. Jacobs 1995). Compactness, or the concentration of businesses, keeps pedestrians interested in moving through the space and generates more pedestrian activity (Paumier 2004). Locating high-level activity businesses too far apart creates dead space (Paumier 2004).

Diverse use typically refers to building uses, but there is a line of research that considers the diverse use of space outside of the buildings. Spaces between buildings tend to be vacant lots or parking lots that can kill activity (J. Jacobs 1961; A. Jacobs 1995; Newman and Burnett 2013), but Newman and Burnett (2013) found that street food can fill those otherwise dead spaces by attracting tourists. Street food can also bring diversity through the food served and the entrepreneurs themselves (Newman and Burnett 2013). Gehl (1983) argues that all public space can attract people simply by creating places to stay. For example, a vacant lot can serve as a place to stay by adding tables (Gehl 1983). The sidewalk should be for pedestrian traffic, but it can also become a place to stay with well-placed benches (Gehl 1983).

2.2.2. PHYSICAL FORM AND PLACE ATTACHMENT

An entirely different school of thought focuses on the role that the built environment plays on place vibrancy. Kevin Lynch best describes the link between physical form and vibrancy in his 1960 book *The Image of the City*. He was one of the first urban scholars to study "imageability," that is, the "quality of a physical object to evoke a strong image" (9-10). The physical object that Lynch (1960) refers to is the city and its components are paths, edges, landmarks, and nodes. While Jacobs investigates urban space from the street scale, Lynch considers it from the city scale. He argues that when people can identify a space within a city, whether it is a landmark like the Eifel Tower or a node like Times Square, they come to the space more often.

Allan Jacob's *Great Streets* (1995) investigates similarities in the built environment of "great streets" all over the world. Again, the assumption is that each street he investigates is "great" because it is vibrant– it attracts people (6). A. Jacobs seeks patterns in the built environment to see what the designable characteristics are of the "great" streets. He finds that people come back to places when they are easier to recall, and they are easier to recall when they have a certain set of physical elements including diverse building facades, well-maintained sidewalks, continuous buildings, trees, and details (A. Jacobs 1995).

Scholars have long spent time defining which physical elements contribute to positive imageability resulting in broad rules of thumb. There are two categories of physical form that contribute to imageability of a street: buildings and the spaces between them. The first category, buildings, largely considers the facades of buildings. First and foremost, a single large street frontage composed of a single building of a single architectural design kills activity (Gehl 1980; J. Jacobs 1961). Building facades should be human scale with diversity; Jacob's recommends a specific height (three stories) for a human scale space and specific horizontal and vertical dimensions with respect to the street. Although facades should be diverse, there should also be a recognizable rhythm from building to building (Lynch 1960). One way to create diversity is to have interesting shop windows or entrance lobbies (Paumier 2004), another is to have incremental building development that results in a variety of building ages (J. Jacobs 1961). The general rule of thumb is to create continuity along the street (J. Jacobs 1961; Whyte 1988; A. Jacobs 1995; Paumier 2004). More buildings are better because there is less chance for a break in facades and higher chance for visual interest (A. Jacobs 1995).

There are also guidelines for the design of the physical spaces between buildings that help create positive imageability links. Building elements and street elements work together to create a spatial enclosure along the pedestrian corridor (Paumier 2004; Arnold 1993). Spatial enclosure refers to the sidewalk space adjacent to buildings that can start to become an outside room. Architectural features such as awnings or balconies create cover for pedestrians from the elements while street features such as trees or streetlamps act as a buffer to vehicle traffic (A.

Jacobs 1995). The idea of spatial enclosure speaks to the physical needs of protection from the weather (A. Jacobs, 1995; Arnold 1993) as well as psychological needs like feeling safe.

Street elements play a strong role in imageability by fulfilling similar physical and psychological needs while also describing the place character. When sidewalks are clean and in good repair they facilitate movement, a physical need, but also create the feeling of safety (A. Jacobs 1995). Streetlamps provide light at night, fulfilling both physical and psychological needs, but when designed with ornamentation they can also provide details that describe the place character (A. Jacobs 1995). They do not need to be spaced at very close intervals to be effective (Jacobs 1994, 299). Other details similarly contribute to imageability when designed to reflect the place, such as painted benches or colorful paving (A. Jacobs 1995). Trees provide light, oxygen and shade to promote physical needs (A. Jacobs 1995) but they also add strong aesthetic qualities to a place (Arnold 1993). For example, Arnold (1993) found that rows of trees on both sides of the street improve the scale of pedestrian zones by creating a continuous canopy that provides visual unity. Jacobs (1995) argues that "to be effective, trees need to be reasonably close together" (294). He suggests spacing trees15' to 25' apart and 40' away from corners (294).

There is something more to the idea of place vibrancy that goes beyond the use and physical form of space. Both Lynch (1960) and A. Jacobs (1995) touch upon the emotional attachment to space that acts as an attraction agent. It is possible that use is the necessary agent that initially draws people to a space, but emotional attachment is what draws people back to the space. A. Jacobs (1995) writes, “When you can recall an image of a place it is easier to anticipate the pleasant feeling of walking along it” (2). The image that A. Jacobs and Lynch refer to is the memory imprint of the physical environment that also recalls emotion or a feeling of comfort and security. People come back to a place when they equate their positive emotions with a visually appealing image in their memory (Paumier 2004).

2.2.3. STUDYING VIBRANCY

Urban researchers typically conduct case studies to understand links between the built environment and vibrancy (Lynch 1960; J. Jacobs 1961, Gehl 1983; Whyte 1988; Arnold 1993; A. Jacobs 1995; March 2012; Paumier 2004; Newmann and Burnett 2013). Researchers conduct case studies in a variety of scales ranging from a single street corner to the entire cities. For example, Whyte (1988) and Newmann and Burnett (2013) compare city plazas and street corners within one city while A. Jacobs (1995) and Paumier (2004) compare streets in large urban cities worldwide. On the other hand, Lynch (1960) compares three metropolitan cities, each as a self-contained entity.

Many researchers conduct observations as the primary methodology for their case studies (Lynch 1960; J. Jacobs 1961, Gehl 1983; Whyte 1988; A. Jacobs 1995; March 2012; Paumier 2004; Newmann and Burnett 2013). Researchers observe and map elements of the built environment such as width of sidewalks (Arnold 1993), locations of different uses (A. Jacobs 1995; March

2012), and density of businesses (A. Jacobs 1995). A. Jacobs (1995) maps the physical maintenance of sidewalks and buildings as well as the presence of details such as trees and street lamps. Some researchers observe how people use space in conjunction with observations of the built environment. For example, Gehl (1983) and A. Jacobs (1995) count pedestrian volumes and map where people cluster and how they move from space to space. Gehl (1983) used cameras to capture this movement and studied the time lapse videos while A. Jacobs (1995) conducted in-person observations.

A. Jacobs (1995) conducted 18 case studies in his work *Great Streets*. While he acknowledges that the social environment plays a large role in vibrancy, he seeks out the "physical/designable" attributes (6). He has five criteria for great streets: activities that bring people together (community), comfort and safety, active participants, impressionable, and representative. He acknowledges that these criteria seem subjective (9), but he is in search of objectivity with the commonalities between physical elements present in streets that are active with people. He analyzes each case study with a narrative-style juxtaposed with images and quantifiable observations of the built environment and pedestrian volumes. In the end, he argues that it is possible only to diminish, and never eliminate, the "arbitrariness" (10) of many urban studies through surveys, literature reviews, and field visits.

2.3. EQUITY

There are many definitions of equity and what it means to create equity in planning. Brand (2015) offers this definition, "Equity is a moral and political commitment to fairness and to ameliorating the conditions of an increasingly unequal urban sphere" (250). Sarmiento and Sims (2015) offer another definition, "Equity planning is based on an activist, interventionist, and redistributive paradigm" (323). Planners who believe equity is a moral obligation hope to produce better cities through conscious efforts to consider all citizens (Fainsten 2005). Paul Davidoff supported the idea that planners should be advocates for those who lack political power, also known as advocacy planning. Advocacy planning and equity planning emerged in the 1960's during the political climate of the 1960's civil rights movement. Advocacy planning, like equity planning, requires planners to consider "who gets what, when, where, why, and how" when allocating public resources (Davidoff 1965, 292).

Norman Krumholz' work in Cleveland in the 1960's and 1970's provides the baseline for many planners seeking equity (Brand 2015; Sarmiento and Sims, 2015). Sarmiento and Sims (2015) believe that Krumholz' 1975 document the *Cleveland Policy Planning* Report established equity planning in the United States. Brand (2015) finds that Krumholz' Cleveland work "empowers planners to analyze the potential outcomes of urban development policies…to question who benefits…to advocate" (250). On his work in Cleveland, Krumholz (1982) asserts that equity planning refers to shifting government priorities to provide a wider range of choices for those "who have few, if any choices" (163), such as low- and moderate income people. Krumholz

(1982) advocated for equity planning because of local politics inability to address "the inherent unfairness and exploitative nature of our urban development process" (163). Like Brand, he felt that there is an ethical obligation for the planning profession to address equity issues.

2.3.1. DIVERGING FROM THE RATIONAL MODEL

Considering values as part of a planners' role runs contrary to the rational model, a prevalent planning theory (Dalton 1986). The rational model has deep roots, and despite arguments against the theories (Dalton 1986; Baum 1996), they prevail. Dalton (1986) argues that the "rational" city planner in the 19th century sought "scientific efficiency, civic beauty, and social equity" (148) all in the name of maintaining government control over transforming rural towns. Fainstein, (2005) argues that early American planners focused on the city as object, as she describes, "The impetus for the development of planning lay in a critique of the industrial city and a desire to re-create cities according to enlightened design principles" (122). Influential planning movements in the late 19th century such as the "City Beautiful" or the "Garden City" considered the spatial planning while disregarding the social and historical factors for city development (Fainstein 2005). These movements did not question the planning process because they assumed planners are experts who work for the general interest and use rational processes to create ordered cities (Fainstein 2005; Dalton 1983).

Banfield (1959) best describes the rational process in planning, commonly referred to as the rational model, as the process to choose a "course of actions (a set of means) for the attainment of [ends]…It is by the process of rational choice that the best adaptation of means to ends is likely to be achieved" (139). The process includes listing all available options for action and the consequences followed by the selection of the best option (Banfield, 1959). One issue Banfield identified with the rational model is that it does not reflect reality. Later, Dalton (1986) articulates another issue, that the model ignores individual and social behaviors. Planners who focus on making "rational" or purely "spatial" choices fail to see how social behaviors shape geography (Harvey 2009).

Planners in the 1960's and 1970's became more aware of their biases and began to reject the idea of the "expert divorced from bias" (Davidoff 1965) in light of the Civil Rights movement (Brand 2015; Sarmiento and Sims 2015). Davidoff (1965) believed that the inclusion of values in planning would help provide social equality for those without support. He wrote, "Appropriate planning action cannot be prescribed from a position of value neutrality, for prescriptions are based on desired objectives" (Davidoff 1965, 278-79). The model rational planner abstracts problems and removes social context, resulting in unintended consequences (Baum 1996).

Davidoff (1965) rejected not only the idea of the unbiased planner, but also the idea of the physical planner. Planning for the physical environment historically avoided thinking about the actual users (Davidoff 1965) at high costs. Davidoff considered physical planning "myopic" (291) because it put form at the forefront while often forgetting who the form is for. He describes

how transportation planning and economic development historically considered physical form without considering people's needs. For example, planners remove "physical blight" in the name of urban renewal while ignoring the existing social and economic fabric (Davidoff 1965). Brand writes, "The negative images [the residents] feel are projected on their communities support revitalization and gentrification…or abandonment…but never redevelopment that meets the needs of minority residents" (259).

2.3.2. GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification is a current topic in equity planning (Fainstein 2005; Brand 2015; Sarmiento and Sims 2015). Scholars argue about whether to define gentrification in terms of its causes, outcomes, or process, but they tend to agree that gentrification is "an influx of capital and resultant social, economic, cultural, and physical transformation and displacement" (Brown-Saracino 2010, 13). Smith (1982) defines gentrification as "working class residential neighborhoods [that] are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, landlords, and professional developers" (139). The term 'gentrification' was coined in the 1960's but hints of gentrification emerged in the 19th century via Hausmann and Engles (Smith 2010). Smith (2010) argues that the ubiquity of gentrification today is different from these early, discrete experiences, and furthermore claims that gentrification is "systematically integrated into the wider urban and global processes" (34).

Gentrification is an equity issue because it often occurs in the name of "revitalization" (Goodling et al 2015; Brand 2015; Sarmiento and Sims 2015) or even "social good" (Brand 2015, 261). Economic development uses public subsidies to stimulate private interest to create new jobs for local residents (Krumholz 1999), but development is uneven in both speed and geography (Smith 1982). Krumholz (1999) critiques the legitimacy of government policies in economic development because of the uneven nature of distributing benefits and costs. He argues that downtown development in the 1980's saw "success" in terms of profits for developers, land owners, and politicians but it did not create jobs or lower poverty (Krumholz 1999). In fact, the "big-bang projects displace[d] lower-income residents of older but still fashionable neighborhoods" (Krumholz 1999, 85). As Smith (1982) points out, gentrification can actually "de-vitalize" (139) a once thriving working-class community through displacement, or "involuntary resettlement" (De Wet 2001, 4637). Involuntary resettlement is a socio-spatial change that decreases the well-being for those forced to leave their neighborhoods as economic tides shift (De Wet 2001, 4637).

2.3.3. EQUITY PLANNING IN PRACTICE

There is no single answer on how to practice equity in planning. Davidoff (1965) argues for increased citizen participation and multiple plans in his advocacy planning model, but there are those who feel that is short-sighted. Community involvement alone is not sufficient to achieve equity in planning (Sarmiento and Sims 2015; Fainstein 2005) due to tokenism and barriers to

access for low-income communities. Brand (2015) points out that democratic inclusion "fails to deal with root causes of systemic forces of inequity" (250). She argues that while democratic inclusion plays a role, it is also important is to identify the under- and over-represented voices because "privileged democratic voices can support inequitable development agendas" (261). Additionally, she asserts that planners must become more versed in place attachment theories to understand the impacts of place on people and vice versa. This requires planners to learn about the "historical impacts of unequal development" (Brand 2015, 261) to provide localized recommendations that put marginalized voices at the forefront (Sarmiento and Sims 2015). The unfortunate byproduct of planners' ignorance of systemic racism is the dismantling of marginalized communities through gentrification "often in the name of social good" or "place-based development" (Brand 2015, 261).

2.3.4. EVALUATING EQUITY

Many scholars measure the equitable, or inequitable, outcomes of planning policies through comparing changes in prosperity indicators with changes in demographics. Krumholz (1999) challenged local economic development successes in asking who the successes benefited and how they were achieved. His research compared local economic development outcomes with the financial costs of public subsidies and changes in demographics. The economic development "successes" included increases in public-private partnerships, new developments, and redevelopments (i.e. new hotels, new office buildings, new stadiums, adapting and restoring an old train station into a mall etc). But, redevelopment came at the cost of $21 million per year in property tax abatements at the expense of the Cleveland school district (Krumholz 1999, 84).

Krumholz argues that despite quantifiable successes in redevelopment, the concurrent demographic change was troubling. To illustrate his point, Krumholz (1999) uses U.S. Census data over a ten-year period to show a decrease in population size, high unemployment rates, low income, high percent of households receiving public assistance, high unemployment rates for African-Americans, high percent of families living under the poverty line, and a low percent of those with high school diplomas or higher (all indices compared nationally). This demonstrates, according to Krumholz (1999), that "local economic successes have failed to improve the quality of life for many Cleveland residents" (86) by failing to leverage downtown investments to benefit the residents.

In a more recent study, Brand (2015) used similar demographic information in conjunction with interviews to investigate how race and inequality play a role in experiencing post-Katrina redevelopment. She chose three neighborhoods in New Orleans, Lakeview, Lower Ninth Ward, and Treme, based on their racial demographics and the severity of flooding caused by Hurricane Katrina (254). Prior to Hurricane Katrina, Lower Ninth Ward and Treme residents were predominately black and low-income (in Treme they were also middle-upper income) while Lakeview residents were predominately white and middle-upper income. Both the Lower Ninth Ward and Lakeview experienced severe flooding, while Treme experienced less severe flooding.

Brand used U.S. Census data from 2000 and 2010 to compare changes in total population and the percent change of racial and ethnic diversity (in white, black, and Hispanic populations) in each study area and the city as a whole (253). She also conducted 70-100 hours per study area of observations and interviews including 40+ hours of informal interviews from August 2009 to October 2012 (253). She analyzed transcriptions and notes of the observations and interviews using grounded theory and qualitative content analysis (254).

Brand (2015, 253) found that all three areas experienced a more severe drop in population compared to the city on average, but the Lower Ninth Ward, the predominately low-income black neighborhood, experienced the worst drop in population (nearly double that of Lakeview, the upper-middle income white neighborhood). The Lower Ninth Ward saw a decline in white, black, and Hispanic populations, while Lakeview experienced a decrease in only the white population. Despite a dropping population, Treme experienced a large white population surge with an equal and opposite effect in the black population. In comparing the demographic information with the interviews, Brand (2015) finds that equity is "not a static concept" (249), rather, different social groups develop their own ideas of what equity means. She found that the white community tended to ignore the "racialized historical conditions and how the private market amplifies privilege" (255), while the predominately or historically black communities emphasize the links between race, space, and the systemic racism that shapes city development.

The intersection of prosperity, vibrancy, and equity in planning is a complex web in which prosperity and vibrancy may come at the cost of equity. Brand (2015) urges a renewal to equity planning in which the field continues to reevaluate tools and decisions "to understand not only the historical and systemic roots of inequity and how they shape the present but also how our development policies either impede or support the continuous work of building more equitable cities" (261). Part of creating equitable cities requires evaluating the impact planning policies have, intentional or not, on the built environment, financial institutions, and on the people who live in cities.

2.4. THE MAIN STREET APPROACH

The Main Street Approach is a nationally recognized framework initially created for small towns to revitalize and preserve historic downtown areas (Cook and Bentley 1986; Olson 1997; Robertson 2004; Smith 2008). The National Trust for Historic Preservation developed this approach in 1977 for cities with a population of 5,000-50,000 but expanded to include larger cities across the country in the 1980 with the creation of the National Main Street Center (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 408; Robertson 2004, 57). The National Main Street Center is a nonprofit subsidiary of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States and acts as a network for state-level coordinating programs that work directly with local programs (Smith 2008). The center launched a new program brand for the network of Main Street programs called 'Main Street America' in 2015 (Main Street America *Who We Are*, 2018).

The approach developed as a response to massive suburban development with simultaneous disinvestment in downtown areas that occurred post World War II and through the 1960's (Olson 1997; Wiles and Hoffman 2000). Smith (2008) contributes the massive move to the suburbs to a "perfect storm" (86) of Euclidean zoning, accelerated depreciation, interstate highways, the GI bill, and air conditioning that led to creating the first enclosed shopping mall in 1956 (86-87). The first Main Street pilot project launched in 1977 in three small Midwestern downtowns in Galesburg, Illinois; Hot Springs, South Dakota; and Madison, Indiana (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 408; Robertson 2004, 57). The purpose of the pilot project was to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each downtown district and to recommend changes to stimulate economic revitalization (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 408). Key concepts from the pilot project include "the necessity of a full-time manager and strong private-public partnership…strong organization, effective promotions, a commitment to quality design, and economic diversification…to accompany historic preservation" (Robertson 2004, 57). The pilot project revealed that organizations working on downtown revitalization were too narrow in their approaches and focused only on physical appearance (Smith 2008, 88). The results of the pilot proved a need to integrate promotion, public-private partnerships, and incremental change (Smith, 2008, 88). These initial concepts provide the backbone for the Main Street Approach, also known as the "Four-Point Approach" to downtown revitalization.

The "Four-Point Approach" includes:

1) **Design**: The Design component includes rehabilitation and improvement of physical characteristics in the public realm such as buildings and the streetscape (Cook and Bentley 1986; Smith 2008) to create an "inviting space" (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 409). Part of the design element is to preserve the "historic built environment of downtown overall distinctness" (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 409). Cook and Bentley (1986) list four ways to design through restoration, major rehabilitation, conservation rehabilitation, and/or renovation (6). Restoration is a method of reproducing a buildings' appearance in a fixed period of time, whereas rehabilitation is the alteration of buildings to maximize "attractive" features" (6). Exterior renovations include buildings and the general public area including the right of way. The focus is on "cleaning, limiting signage, add[ing] awnings, us[ing] color guidelines and certain sidewalk widths, eliminate[ing] surplus traffic lanes, and transferring parking from on-street to off-street lots" (6). Rows of trees and street furniture (i.e. benches, planters, trash cans, street lamps) are encouraged to create an "attractively" designed public realm (6). Some consider design to be "the most crucial element of revitalization" (Cook and Bentley 1986, 3).
2) **Organization**: Organization refers to a systematic approach to collaborating with public- and private-sector investors, agencies and constituents (Smith 2008, 89) to fundraise, recruit members, and build cooperation amongst businesses (Robertson 2004, 57). This requires the local Main Street program to have full-time

management and volunteer-based committees operating together on an agreed upon work scope (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 409). An organized group can accomplish more and be more effective working together rather than separately (Cook and Bentley 1986, 3).

3) **Promotion**: There is a need to "sell" or "restructure" the image of downtown as a center of community life (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 409). Promotion involves all aspects of rebuilding or enhancing the image of the downtown through marketing and hosting events or festivals for residents, visitors, investors and others (Smith 2008, 89). Promotion brings the public to the downtown area (Robertson 2004, 57). It also includes promoting the services and resources available for businesses located in or wishing to locate in the Main Street district area (Cook and Bentley 1986).
4) **Economic Restructuring** (recently rebranded to 'Economic Vitality'): Finally, economic restructuring (or vitality) refers to economic development strategies to strengthen and expand the economic base (Smith 2008, 89; Robertson 2004, 57). Wiles and Hoffman (2000) write that economic restructuring is "rethink[ing] the purpose and function of downtown to respond to changing markets" (409).

All Main Street Program affiliates use the same framework but apply it as best fits each community. The key to this program is for each community to embrace historical and current attributes as selling points rather than emulating other cities (Robertson 2004, 58). After the success of the initial pilot, the program expanded to thirty cities across six states in 1980 and Canada in 1981 (D'Aoust 2016). The Main Street Approach is now in used in over 1,000 communities in the United States and Puerto Rico (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 408; Smith 2008; 90).

Individuals, programs, communities, or cities can become members of the Main Street America network in one of three membership capacities: general, designated, or allied (Main Street America *Get Involved*, 2018). Individuals or any organization can pay a fee to become part of the Main Street America Network and to access members-only resources. Designated membership is for accredited and affiliate Main Street America programs and requires participation with a local program. Allied membership is for consultants and companies who provide services or products that relate to downtown revitalization. There are currently 828 accredited programs, 256 affiliated programs, and 42 coordinating programs nationwide including 391 members (Main Street America 2018).

2.4.1. NATIONAL EVALUATION STATISTICS

The Main Street America network has collected statistics for all designated Main Street America communities nationwide from 1980 through 2016 (Main Street America 2018, 8). States keep statistics on their local programs and report them annually to the national committee (Olson 1997). Their most recently released cumulative national statistics (from 1980-2016) include:

- The total dollars reinvested in physical improvements from public and private sources ($70.25 billion);
- The number of buildings rehabilitated (268,053);
- The net gain in jobs and businesses (132,092);
- And the reinvestment ratio[i] (32.56: $1).

2.4.2. THE OREGON MAIN STREET PROGRAM

The Oregon Main Street began in 1984 as part of a statewide approach to revitalize downtowns (Pfefferle 2015) and the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office administers the program. The Main Street Program in Portland, Oregon launched in 2009 as part of a new Economic Development Strategy. Programs can participate at three levels of varying intensity starting with communities at "Exploring Downtown" to "Transforming Downtown" to "Performing Main Street" (Oregon Main Street Program 2010, 4). Only "Performing Main Street" programs are those who follow the Main Street Approach at an accredited level, the other two levels are for communities interested in revitalization or in need of assistance before starting the approach (4).

2.4.3. OREGON EVALUATION STATISTICS

The Oregon Main Street organization requires every "Performing Main Street" program to submit a quarterly manager report. Each manager self-reports the following information for the quarterly report (see Appendix 8.1, Figure 13):

- The number, names, and types of new/acquired/relocated/expanded/closed businesses;
- The number of new/lost employees at each aforementioned business;
- The dollar amount of invested funds on interior or exterior renovations;
- The source of funds for said renovations (private, urban renewal, other grant);
- The dollar amount of property changes (best estimate);
- Dollars invested in public improvements (i.e. streetscapes);
- The number and type of new housing units;
- The total volunteer hours per quarter (and per year for the 4th quarter);
- The dollar amount spent on promotion;
- Open comments on outreach, organization, promotion, design, economic restructuring, program commentary, and outlook for the future.

The Oregon Main Street Program releases a yearly report describing the cumulative, statewide reinvestment statistics (Oregon Main Street 2010). This report includes the following information for each year and cumulative stats (3):

- The dollar amount of private and public reinvestment;
- The number of net new businesses and jobs;
- The number of building renovations;

- The number of volunteer hours and the dollar value of that time.

2.4.4. THE PORTLAND MAIN STREET PROGRAM

The city of Portland accepted applications from several districts and selected eight districts to form their Main Street Network as part of their Neighborhood Prosperity Initiative (NPI) (City of Portland 2011). The NPI is a key component of the city's Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy (City of Portland 2011) described as a "citywide initiative to foster economic opportunity and neighborhood vitality throughout Portland neighborhoods, with a focus on low-income and communities of color" (11). The Main Street Program is one of only two policy tools available to local stakeholders to "drive neighborhood business growth," through, "expanding the storefront program to Main Street districts" (*Neighborhood Economic Development* 2011). The other tool is the Alliance for Portland Neighborhood Business Associations.

The city of Portland uses metrics similar to the state and national Main Street organizations in their *Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy: Year 4 Accomplishments* report (2015) to describe their Main Street success. They use the following cumulative metrics to describe Portland Main Street success from 2011-2015:

- Total dollar investment, public and private ($1.7 million);
- Total number of volunteer hours (90,000);
- Total number of new businesses established (116) and jobs created (427);
- The number of businesses who improved their storefront (171) and the associated dollar amount ($3.2 million);
- And the number of property/business owners assisted on predevelopment work (67) and the associated dollar amount ($630,000).

2.4.5. ALBERTA MAIN STREET PROGRAM

The Alberta Main Street Program (AMSP) is a 501c3 nonprofit organization formed in 2009 as one of the first programs in the Portland's Main Street Network and the NPI. A grassroots business association emerged in Alberta in the late 1990's as a product of the growth in arts businesses as well as active involvement of community leader and entrepreneur, Roslyn Hill (Rizzari 2005, 36). This business association folded into the AMSP in 2010 (Guardino 2017, interview). The neighborhood relies on the AMSP because there are no other existing neighborhood business associations in the area.

Approximately 100 people "with a stake in the Alberta Street business district" met in November 2010 to discuss their long-term community vision (Alberta Main Street 2010). The meeting notes form the basis for AMSP's three missions, which are to:

(1) Create the most sustainable business district,
(2) Foster the district's burgeoning identity as an arts/creative district, and

(3) Support only local, non-corporate, small businesses.

The first mission is to "create the most sustainable business district" through meeting a myriad of social, economic, and environmental goals. Notable goals include the desire to retain and expand diversity, in the socioeconomic sense, to support a mix of businesses and nonprofits for all income levels, and to create walkable neighborhoods that are both clean and "green" (Alberta Main Street 2010). The second mission primarily speaks to the types of businesses they hope to retain and attract (arts and crafts) and events that would promote their identity as an arts district. The third mission utilizes zoning, partnerships with public safety officials, and cross-promotions to facilitate a non-corporate small business base.

There is a board of directors and four committees correlating with the "Four-Point Approach" (design, promotion, organization, economic restructuring or business development). The board of directors consists of ten members who live and work in the East Portland area. Sara Wittenberg is, and has been the only, Executive Director.

2.4.6. ALBERTA MAIN STREET PROGRAM METRICS

The AMSP publishes their yearly accomplishments on their website *albertamainst.org*. Each Portland Main Street Program requires managers to collect and report certain metrics (listed in the previous section) and programs can also elicit outside consultants for additional information. The information included in the 'yearly accomplishments' page varies from year to year but typically includes state reporting information and narrative information about specific achievements by committee (design, promotion, organization, business development). For example, in 2012-2013 the design committee awarded 13 small matching grants for the public right of way ($19,673 public investment $31,824 private investment) and installed Portland first privately owned public EV charging station in the right of way. There is no available information on who gathers the statistics or the data collection method.

The AMSP released a two-page summary of their cumulative market analysis data in 2017 (see Appendix 8.1, Figure 14, Figure 15). A consultant completed part of the work via surveys, but the AMSP would not release further information about their metrics or collection methods. According to the report, the AMSP and potentially consultants conducted surveys of "approximately 600 neighborhood residents and 72 existing business owners." Metrics in this report include:

- The percent of businesses leasing their space (82%);
- The average annual rental price per square foot ($21.50);
- The average size of a business space (1600 square feet);
- The fine-grain mix of businesses (35% restaurants, 13% specialty; 11% clothing, etc.);

- Customer information such as the percent from the immediate area (24%) the percent from Greater Portland (31%), customer ages (93% are between 26-40), annual household income (45% make between $25,000 and $75,000)
- The population of the market area within a five-minute drive from Alberta St (43,000 people in 17,400 households) and the rate of homeownership (66.4%);

2.5. INDEPENDENT EVALUATION OF THE MAIN STREET APPROACH

Many claims that the Main Street approach is an effective tool come from "in-house data-gathering projects (Robertson 2004, 56) and there is a dearth of independent empirical research. As Robertson (2004) writes, these in-house evaluations "Provid[e] useful information, [but] do not constitute independent and objective research" (56). Furthermore, national, state, and local proprietary Main Street programs only evaluate success in terms of dollars reinvested, buildings rehabilitated, net gain in jobs, net gain in businesses, and volunteer hours (Oregon Main Street Program 2010-16). Like the definitions of prosperity, these measures tend to focus only on growth indicators while ignoring the possible impacts on equity and vibrancy.

Cook and Bentley (1986) conducted early independent research on the Main Street Program and compared it to four other methods of downtown revitalization. The research briefly describes each of the five methods with an emphasis on the National Main Street Center because it is "the most active group in U.S. publication and participation in downtown revitalization" (3). They find that the National Main Street Center is "the most prominent and often the first accomplished" method of downtown revitalization. Although conducted independently of the Main Street Program, they primarily relied on proprietary reinvestment data from the National Main Street Center (6-8).

Other researchers also rely on proprietary data from the National Main Street Center (Olson 1997, 48) or state Main Street agencies (Ozdil 2006, 60), while others rely on perceptions of state and local Main Street managers (Olson 1997, 48; Robertson 2004, 59; Ozdil 1997, 57; Pferffle 2015, 29-30). For example, Olson (1997) compares the efficacy of the Rural Main Street Program in Iowa and with the rest of the Iowa Main Street Program. He created a survey for Rural and non-Rural Iowa Main Street managers to investigate two main themes: sustainability and volunteerism (7). He had 24 survey respondents who provided self-reports about their programs including information such as the number of new partnerships, the number of full time staff, the longevity of the program, the number of volunteers and volunteer hours per program (54-68). He compared this data with state and national Main Street reinvestment statistics in order to show the differences in economic impact, such as the number of jobs, and historic preservation, such as the percent of national register listings (70-72). His overall finding is that the Rural Main Street Program in Iowa is actually more successful than the rest of the Iowa Main Street program because they have more volunteers and higher economic impact.

Robertson (2004) also relied on self-reported data from Main Street managers, but his research compared programs nationally (59). He used a survey as the primary method but supplemented it with four in-depth case studies from 4 out of 40 programs who responded to the survey (59). He sent the survey to Main Street programs in 15 states located in cities with populations less than 75,000. The goal of this research project was to understand how and why different programs utilized the four-point approach in their programs and if their distance from a larger city (those with a population over 75,000) was a factor (56-57). The survey asks both objective characteristic questions (i.e. what year did the program begin) and subjective questions. Subjective questions require managers to rate the effectiveness of each of the four Main Street Approach strategies on a five-point Likert scale (i.e. "how effective are promotions strategies such as special events, newsletters, etc."). Robertson conducted the case studies by conducting site visits and interviewing "key informants" such as Main Street managers, committee members, city officials, and the local press (59). The interviews provided supplementary data on each community's unique design-related strategies and more specifics on how each community uses the four elements of the Main Street Approach.

Overall, Robertson found that most programs utilize all four elements of the Main Street Approach relatively equally with but promotion was the most heavily utilized component by 28 out of 40 programs (Robertson 2004, 60). Many programs considered promotion to be the most effective element because it is the easiest to recruit volunteers (63). The second highest utilized component was design but only by 8 out of 40 programs (61). He finds that façade improvement grants and loans are the most effective design strategies (66) and the greatest design challenge is uncooperative or out-of-town property owners and uncooperative business owners (65). Organization is used more heavily than newer programs and promotion is used more in cities closest to "large" cities.

Ozdil (2006) used similar methods to study the connection between the design component of the Main Street Approach and economic factors or revitalization in Texas Main Street Programs. He used a survey questionnaire to gather data from Main Street Managers regarding specific changes to all four aspects of the Main Street approach (57). He collected surveys from 78 active Main Street districts in Texas regarding changes from 1997 to 2005; Robertson's research covered multiple Main Street programs across the United States, whereas Ozdil's research focused in one state.

Ozdil's survey focused on the design aspect of the Main Street Approach and asked managers to identify the amount and quality of changes to the built environment and the public realm. For example, the survey asked respondents to rate the level of increase on a 5-point Likert scale in the quality of renovated or improved storefronts and upper facades (102). Other positive changes in design indicators included an increase in and improved quality of: major streetscape design elements (defined as lighting, sidewalks, and more), the presence of street trees, the number of public open spaces (defined as plazas, market areas, and play areas), maintenance, improved

pedestrian access. Vibrancy related questions ask managers to identify if they think there was an increase in people visiting downtown and a decline in the level of crime (104). He contrasted his survey data with city population and growth from the U.S. Census and did not perform a regression analysis (56). His overall definition of a successful town is in line with prosperity and vibrancy indicators.

Other studies survey those who use the districts rather than the managers to understand their perceptions of and satisfaction with change related to the Main Street Program (Wiles and Hoffman 2000; Pfefferle 2015). While many researchers cast a broad net, Wiles and Hoffman (2000) surveyed shoppers in a single town: Cape Girardeau, Missouri. Twenty-one student interviewers conducted 310 surveys/interviews of shoppers who had been to downtown at least once in the last year (411). Interviews occurred in three locations in Cape Girardeau including in the downtown area, in a major strip center, and at a major regional mall (411). The survey focused on identifying the major strengths of the downtown area (based on a drop-down menu), the importance of historic preservation on a four-point Likert scale, and their satisfaction with the downtown area based on a five-point Likert scale. The survey also asked demographic information including age, gender, income, and presence of families. Wiles and Hoffman (2000) used a Chi-square test to see any significant relationship between demographics and historic preservation. Their primary finding is that maintaining the shopping atmosphere downtown through cleanliness and attractive window displays was a driver for customers to go downtown (413). Secondary findings show that the variety of stores, parking convenience, the quality of products and services, and up-to-date merchandise had higher satisfaction outside of the downtown area (413). Most importantly, the researchers found that downtown "is an experience to be consumed" so downtown should "focus on uniqueness rather than replicating the mall experience" (413).

D'Aoust (2016) compares planning principles in two communities in Canada: one that participates in the Main Street Approach (Perth) and one that does not (Carleton). She uses case study methodology to describe each site including site observations and photographic evidence. Her overall goal is to determine how towns "ensure the vitality and vibrancy of their downtowns" (2) through analyzing planning policies (13-14). Observations included the presence of street furniture, signage and window displays (14). Her policy analysis included municipal, county, and provincial policies including advertising materials, brochures, and websites. She finds that both cities adequately address downtown revitalization in policy statements but via different means (74). She also finds that design, or physical improvements, are the most important and first aspects of the Main Street Approach to affect communities (74).

Overall, there is a lot of available data about the Main Street Program but a shortage of independent data not conducted by the organization itself. The available independent research tends to include thesis and dissertation projects (Olson 1997; Ozdil 2006; Pfefferle 2015; D'Aoust 2016). Furthermore, the research rarely considers demographics, and if they are

considered at all they only include population size, gender, and age (Pfefferle 2015). Finally, even independent research relies on self-reported data from Main Street managers (Olson 1997; Ozdil 2006). Ozdil (2006) writes about this concern for his dissertation research, he states that getting information from Main Street managers is a big source of bias "due to their positions and strong ties to the Main Street program" (75). The reliability of the data given by Main Street managers is questionable (80) because it was unclear how managers calculated the reinvestment statistics.

2.6. SUMMARY

The city of Portland, Oregon continues to use the Main Street Program as a policy tool to create prosperous, equitable, and vibrant neighborhoods. The *2015-2020 Strategic Plan* (City of Portland, 2015) uses the Main Street Program to "solve unique economic development problems in low-income or gentrifying communities" (20). Yet, the only metrics available at the local, city, state, or national level are prosperity indices such as the number of new jobs created or the dollar amount of public and private investment spent on storefront improvement.

The literature shows that in order to evaluate for vibrancy it is important to measure the built environment and to show how people use this environment. For example, A. Jacobs (1995) shows that it is possible to measure the "greatness" of a street by mapping specific qualities such as the physical maintenance of sidewalks, the number and location of trees and street lamps, and the compactness and mix of businesses. There are no such metrics available regarding the AMSP before and after intervention.

Similarly, the literature shows that in order to evaluate for equity it is necessary to consider prosperity indices with demographic information pre- and post-intervention (Krumholz 1999). There is an abundance of prosperity indices but there is minimal attempt to compare these indices with demographic information. Krumholz (1999) compares economic prosperity "wins," such as building a new stadium, with the unemployment rates for African Americans, the percent of families living under the poverty line, and the percent of those with high school diplomas. His data shows that while there were many benefits to local businesses, those benefits did not transfer to the residents. Brand (2015) uses demographic information to show shifts in populations by looking just at the population numbers within a certain area and the changes in ethnicity over a ten-year period. She compares this information with informal interviews of residents in areas that are either predominately black or white. Her research shows that it is important to evaluate the quality of changes by comparing responses from white and black residents and delving into the racialized, historic past. The AMSP does not acknowledge the racialized, historic past of the area and does not have cross-reference positive gains in prosperity with changes in demographics such as ethnicity or income.

Cities traditionally use the Main Street Approach to revitalize downtown areas with strict economic development and historic preservation goals. The literature reveals that the Main Street

program is considered a successful economic development tool (Wiles and Hoffman 2000, 408; Smith 2008, 92), but it is not a policy tool with specific intentions to mediate equity issues. This is apparent in the typical methods for evaluating the Main Street Approach in which researchers rely on prosperity indicators, such as the dollar amounts invested or the number of new jobs, to evaluate programmatic success. The research does not measure who benefits or how it impacts specific communities.

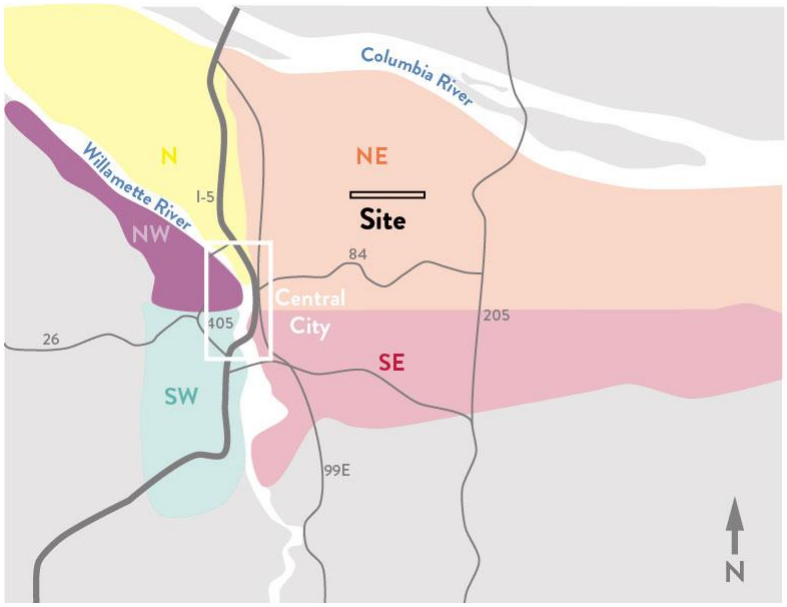
There is an existing body of research that examines how different policy tools affect prosperity and equity by comparing socioeconomic data before and after the tools are enacted. Similarly, there is a large body of research investigating how to create vibrant cities and neighborhoods. There is a lack of research that connects prosperity, vibrancy, and equity impacts of planning policy tools. In terms of the Main Street Approach, previous research analyzed cities across the country or throughout one state with a focus on the prosperity indicators. This study will perform an in-depth analysis of one Portland Main Street Program, the Alberta Main Street Program, to better understand the connections between prosperity, vibrancy, and equity.

3. CASE STUDY: ALBERTA MAIN STREET PROGRAM

3.1. LOCATION

Oregon is located in the northwest region of the United States between Washington and California. Portland is the largest city in Oregon with a population of 620,589 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate). The Willamette River divides the city into East and West Portland, while the Columbia River separates Portland from Vancouver, Washington. The city divides in to northwest and southwest Portland on the west side of the Willamette, while on the east side divides into three regions: north, northeast, and southeast (Figure 1). The central city falls in the center of all five regions and is the economic hub for the city.

Figure 1: Diagrammatic map of Portland.



Source: Alexandra Lau

The study area is NE Alberta St from 10th St. to 31st St., a mile-long commercial corridor in a largely residential neighborhood in the Albina region of Northeast Portland (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Map of study area and surrounding buildings.

Source: Alexandra Lau

NE Alberta St. is a commercial corridor zoned primarily 'General Commercial' or ‘Storefront Commercial' with a few blocks zoned for 'Central Employment'. These zoning categories promote development in older commercial areas that are compatible with adjacent residential areas. The zoning allows limited industrial development because the character of the area is not predominately industrial. Development should be both pedestrian-oriented and also auto-accommodating. There are a few pockets of areas zoned 'Residential 1000' (R1) directly on NE Alberta St but residential zoning typically begins with buildings off the main drag. The R1 zoning allows for medium-density, multi-dwelling housing such as duplexes, townhouses, or row houses that are one to four stories tall. Most of the zoning in the surrounding area is 'Residential 2,500' (R2.5) or 'Residential 5,000' (R5), or low-density, single-dwelling zones (see Appendix 8.2, Figure 16).

The next section explores the socioeconomic history of the area post-colonization. As the literature review revealed, understanding the socioeconomic history of an area is important for equity considerations.

3.2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Albina region was the home for some of the first waves of European immigrants in Portland (The Oregonian/Oregon Live 2014) in the late 19th century. Land on either side of the Willamette existed independently until the Steel Bridge was erected and electricity brought streetcars across the river from downtown (Rizzari 2005, 25). The Alberta area saw a rise in its population in the late 1800’s due to installation of a streetcar line, providing early foundations to be a commercial street (Rizzari 2005, 25).

It is important to understand the history of racial discrimination in Oregon and its presence in Portland. Oregon has an embedded history of racial discrimination and heavy involvement with the Ku Klux Klan (Gibson 2007, 6). During the early stages of development in Portland before the 1900’s, most African Americans lived near the Union Station on the east side of the river because many worked for the railroad, although a small community existed in northwest Portland (6). Although the overall population boomed after the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850, the African American population remained incredibly small due to an exclusion clause in the state

constitution. This clause made it illegal for African Americans to be in the state of Oregon and was not removed until 1926 (6).

The NE Alberta St region was a flourishing commercial corridor in the early 1900's with a neighborhood feel that attracted early German and Russian immigrants. This area became very popular because of the easy access between east and west Portland on the streetcar, the presence of commercial life, and available housing (Gibson 2007, 27). The Nob Hill area in the northwest region reinforced its status as an "elite neighborhood" during this period as new development targeted homes for the wealthy (City of Portland 2003, 3). At the same time, the real estate practice codified racial discrimination in Portland, where it became unethical to sell property to "either Negro or Chinese people in a white neighborhood" (Gibson 2007, 6). Real estate agents, local government, and private landlords during this period intentionally steered non-white residents across the river, just outside of the city limits at the time (7). A small African American community in Albina grew and thrived as one that was "well educated and primarily middle class" (Gibson 2007, 6).

Gibson (2007) asserts that the formation of the Albina community began in the late 1940's as the product of the end of World War II (WWII) and the 1948 Vanport City flood (8). The African American population in Portland increased tenfold after the war, with less than 1,800 African Americans before and nearly 20,000 after (Rowe, Tuck and Morrill 2017). During the War, the Federal Public Housing Authority approved the quick construction of cheap homes to house wartime shipyard workers located just outside the city (Stroud 1999). This housing project, known as the Vanport apartments, was the largest wartime housing complex in the nation at the time and was considered a "miracle of city planning" (Stroud 1999, 72-73). But the city was concerned about "the negro problem" (73): the Vanport housed much of the growing black community working for the war cause. After the war this "problem" intensified as many white families moved out of the Vanport and the black population grew. The area's reputation transformed from "miracle" to "problem" as many "unfairly and incorrectly [saw the housing development] as a crime-ridden black-dominated neighborhood" (74). The Housing Authority of Portland sought to remove the Vanport, but they did not need to take action. A massive flood decimated the Vanport in 1948, leaving thousands displaced due to sheriff's inadequate notice to residents (75). The existing, small black community in Albina was one of the only areas that Vanport residents could move to because they were not "excluded by racist white homeowners and real estate agents" (75).

At the same time, the white population in Albina "left en masse for the suburbs" (Gibson 2007, 10). Suburbanization and the Vanport City flood nearly completely reversed the demographics of the Albina area in the 1950's, with "23,000 fewer white and 7,300 more black residents (total population was 31,510) (10). The Albina area experienced massive disinvestment and urban renewal in the 1950's as the black population crowded into "ancient, unhealthy and wholly inadequate housing" (10). The city's response, like many cities across the country, to fix blighted

areas was to clear and rebuild, or what is commonly referred to as "urban renewal" (11). Residents fought against urban renewal and advocated for rehabilitation, but by the 1960's the community lost many anchor businesses and homes in the name of city progress. Between 1950 and 1970, urban renewal projects such as the Emanuel Hospital project reconfigured the neighborhood (Serublo and Gibson 2013). To make matters worse, federal funding for the Emanuel hospital fell through after the removal of 76 acres worth of homes and businesses, and to this day the lot remains vacant (Gibson 2007, 13).

Disinvestment continued across Albina until 1988 when the city government could no longer avoid the "economic stagnation, population loss, housing abandonment, crack cocaine, gang warfare, and speculation" (Gibson 2007, 17) caused by their own poor policies and discriminatory practices. Crime and gang activities were high and the crack epidemic was wreaking havoc in the Albina area (Sullivan and Shaw 2011, 419). As a response, the city sanctioned urban renewal projects throughout Albina in the late 1980's which lead to increasingly tense relationships between African Americans and city agencies. (Gibson 2007, 8). Residents disputed urban renewal with city agencies, but in most cases the city continued to raze entire neighborhoods, often resulting in vacant lots when federal funding fell through after building removal (14).

The Albina area experienced population growth and city reinvestment in the 1990's, particularly on NE Alberta St. The city adopted the 'Albina Community Plan' in 1993 which sought to "combat the loss of employment base, disinvestment and dilapidation in the Albina area" (Portland City Council 1993, 1). The plan focused on removing development constraints in terms of land use. The city also invested in Community Development Block Grants to help support nonprofit housing development (Gibson 2007, 20). While the city was trying to tackle disinvestment issues from the top, the NE Alberta St. area attracted those seeking a "bohemian" lifestyle (Sullivan and Shaw 2011, 419). NE Alberta Street attracted artists due to extremely affordable and available rents. The newcomers tended to be white with higher levels of both education and income (419). Realtors seized the opportunity to "re-brand" the neighborhood as the "Alberta Arts District," causing and further influx of both white and Hispanic residents (Gibson, 2007, 20). The NE Alberta St. commercial area began the process of retail gentrification in the 1990's with the loss of many important black social institutions (Sullivan and Shaw 2011).

Given Oregon and Portland's complex racial history, and the current vision to create a Portland that is prosperous, vibrant and equitable, it is important to assess and evaluate the tools that the city is using to measure prosperity, vibrancy and equity.

4. METHODOLOGY

This research project compares data demonstrating changes in the built environment with changes in demographics in a single case study of the Alberta Main Street Program in Portland, Oregon. This project uses indicators proposed by A. Jacobs (1995) to understand changes in vibrancy and those proposed by Krumholz (1999) and Brand (2015) to understand changes in equity.

A. Jacobs (1995) used images, physical observations and pedestrian volumes to demonstrate vibrancy in "great streets" in a narrative-style analysis. This project similarly maps the location of active uses (such as dining, services, and retail) and the location of inactive uses (vacant lots and businesses). March et al (2012) and Newman and Burnett (2013) also considered adaptive reuse of vacant lots, such as foodcarts, to be an active use of otherwise inactive space. This project also considers the ratios of building heights to street widths and maps the physical maintenance of sidewalks and building facades. Finally, this project examines the presence of details including trees and streetlamps. This project does not include pedestrian volumes because it is very time consuming and requires a lot of people power to conduct.

Krumholz (1999) evaluated changes in equity by comparing the presence of prosperity with changes in the demographics for marginalized communities. He argues that the presence of prosperity should include equal distribution of resources, and those from marginalized communities should receive at least equal resources. Brand (2015) uses interviews to understand the quality of changes and compares data between white and black correspondents. This project assumes gains in prosperity in NE Alberta St since the introduction of the AMSP due to existing evaluation statistics. This project seeks to understand how prosperity is distributed to the historically marginalized residents and business owners. This project considers the history of the area to understand who the historically marginalized residents are, in this case, they are typically low-income families and African Americans. To evaluate of equity, this project seeks to understand if gentrification has occurred simultaneously alongside the development of the AMSP. Gentrification is characterized by the rapid increase in privileged communities and rapid decrease in historically marginalized communities. This information is by the U.S. Census including population size, ethnicity, educational attainment, and income, property value, and monthly rent of a 6-block range from the study area. Finally, interview with business owners shed further light on the quality of changes to the study area.

The research is longitudinal and examines the Alberta Main Street Program in two "snapshots," one taken from October 2009 to March 2010 and the second taken in October 2016 to March 2017. The first snapshot provides a view of the area at the start of Main Street intervention (which began in winter 2009) while the second provides a view after six years of Main Street intervention. The case study includes site observations and photographs, Census data, GIS data, and interviews with business owners for both data collection periods.

4.1. VIBRANCY DATA COLLECTION

Architecture faculty Howard Davis and John Rowell at the University of Oregon supervised students' data collection for a graduate research project spanning from 2009 to 2017. This independent, longitudinal research project was not part of a class. Master of Architecture Students Marc Holt and Maurice Reid[ii] collected the first round of data collection in 2009-2010 and meticulously detailed their methodology. In 2016-2017, Master of Architecture Students Nicola Fucigna, Stephanie Morales, and Alexandra Lau[iii] collected the second set of data following the same methodology. Students collected the same data in both time periods using the same methods but by different sets of students. Rowell and Davis provided data from 2009-2010 as part of this research project. While Rowell and Davis used the data to investigate changes in commercial redevelopment in Portland, this project uses the data to understand changes in vibrancy and equity in relation to the Alberta Main Street program.

The following sections provide a more in-depth look at the specific methods used to collect the data by vibrancy and equity. For the purposes of this project, Lau alone analyzed all of the collected data from both data collection sets.

4.1.1. FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Students created maps and took photographs to conduct field observations of the built environment. A map of the study area was printed to scale from GIS with an overlaying 5x5 foot grid (see Appendix 8.2, Figure 19); this map was used to locate and describe conditions on the street. Students also collected photos of building and street conditions on-site. In 2016-2017, students collected data on Saturdays between the hours of 9:00am and 5:00pm by walking on each street and notating on printed maps the existing conditions. It is not clear which days of the week students collected the data in 2009-2010.

The following list describes the data collected via observation in both 2009-2010 and 2016-2017. These data points provide two snapshots in time of the condition of buildings, building use, and street elements. Marc Holt and Maurice Reid collected all the data in 2009-2010 (unsure of how they split responsibilities), whereas Alexandra Lau, Nicola Fucigna, and Stephanie Morales collected the data as follows:

- **Façade photos:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau took photos on the north side of the block and Morales conducted photos on the south side;
- **Business names, types (food and beverage, retail, office, services, residential), and locations:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales mapped on the south side;
- **Change in building use (residential, commercial, industrial):** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales mapped the south side;

- **Vacant business locations:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales mapped the south side;
- **Use of spaces between buildings:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau and Morales simultaneously collected this information;
- **Street cross section measurements:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau and Morales simultaneously collected this information together at three cross sections;
- **Building height measurements:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Fucigna collected this information;
- **Location of street trees:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales mapped the south side;
- **Location and types of street lamps (with ornamentation or without):** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales mapped on the south side;
- **Location of crosswalks, stop lights and signs:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales conducted photos on the south side; and
- **Sidewalk quality:** Lau mapped this information on the north side of the block and Morales mapped this information on the south side.

There are limitations to field observation as a limitation method. The façade photos are used to identify changes in storefront appearance, but south-facing sun produced some photos with glare that could make interpretation more difficult. Business names were not always readily available by looking at the signs and it could be difficult for some locations to ascertain type (retail, dining, etc.) just by looking. In some cases, it was possible to enquire with the business but in others it was necessary to do an online search to determine the name and type of business. It could also be difficult to tell if some businesses were vacant based on appearance. The change in business use category could also be difficult to deduce based on the architecture, to remedy this limitation it was possible in some cases to cross-reference the lot with City of Portland GIS data. Students completed street cross measurements with a tape measure, but this could be dangerous at times due to traffic. Gathering building height had some issues also because the tool uses a laser and in sunny conditions it could be difficult to see due to glare. An overall limitation of field observations is the distance from the study area. Due to distance limitations it was only possible to visit the area once a week, and if the weather was inclement it was not possible to take measurements that day. The field observation methodology is a lengthy process.

4.1.2. GIS DATA

Field observations can sometimes tell only part of the story, and as listed above there were some limitations. Students used GIS data to supplement information that they could not gather via field observation or to confirm data gathered in the field for the study area (Figure 17). Some GIS data

is easily accessible to the public via the city of Portland's website called PortlandMaps (www.portlandmaps.com). Other GIS data is available by contacting city of Portland staff via email. For example, PortlandMaps shows the zoning for a building but that does not necessarily describe specific building uses. Maurice Holt and Marc Reid collected this data in 2009-2010. Alexandra Lau collected all of this data in 2016-2017.

The data collected via the city of Portland GIS website include:

- **Building age:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Building height:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Street widths:** collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017.

The city of Portland GIS data (building age, height, and street width) is used in conjunction with data collected in the field to verify field collected data for a variety of reasons. In some cases, the field observation data was incomplete or it was difficult to take measurements. For example, the team measured building heights using a laser tool which was sometimes difficult to take due to issues like glare on sunny days in south-facing locations and could be imprecise for a few of the buildings. On the other hand, the city of Portland data was not completely reliable or up-to-date. An obvious example of this when the city listed a building height as '0' when there was actually a building in that location. Another example would be listing the building age for a building that did not exist anymore. By comparing the field observations with the city of Portland GIS data it was possible to gain a better picture of the height of the buildings than using either source alone.

4.1.3. ANALYZING VIBRANCY DATA

A. Jacobs (1995) uses a narrative style to analyze vibrancy data to highlight the presence (or lack of) certain indicators. Ozdil (2006) measures changes in the built environment and uses simple frequency and probability calculations without a regression to analyze the frequency data. This project also uses frequency and probably calculations with a narrative style to analyze the vibrancy data. An area experiencing a positive increase in vibrancy would be characterized by an increase in active business types (dining, retail, and services), a diverse mix of uses, a decrease in inactive uses of space in and between buildings, an increase in the continuity of storefronts, maintenance or improved sidewalk quality, maintenance or improved storefronts, and maintenance or improved details (trees or streetlamps). Again, Lau alone conducted all vibrancy analysis comparing both sets of data from 2009-2010 and 2016-2017.

4.2. EQUITY DATA COLLECTION

4.2.1. U.S. CENSUS DATA

Demographic data for all three streets includes parcels within a six-block radius of each street using ESRI analysis of Census data (see Appendix 8.2, Figure 18). It is unclear whether students

in 2009-2010 collected built environment data before collecting demographic data, but the students in 2016-2017 collected demographic data simultaneously while collecting built environment data. The data collection years include 1990, 2000, 2010 (U.S. Census) and 2010-2014 and 2016 (American Community Survey) projections. Some data points were only available for either 2010-2014 or 2016, but it is possible to trace the general 25-year trend using the data available. In 2009-2010, Holt and Reid collected the 1990 and 2000 (U.S Census) and 2010-2014 projections (American Community Survey). In 2016-2017, Lau collected the 2010 (U.S. Census) and 2016 projection (American Community Survey.

The data collected includes:

- **Population**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Ethnicity**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Income**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Education**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Age**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Transportation and travel time to work**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017;
- **Property value (residential)**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017; and
- **Monthly rent**: collected by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010, collected by Lau in 2016-2017.

4.2.2. BUSINESS OWNER INTERVIEWS

Students also conducted interviews one-on-one with business owners or managers during both data collection years. Holt and Reid conducted all interviews in 2009-2010 and Lau conducted all the interviews in 2016-2017. In 2009-2010, Holt and Reid randomly chose businesses of varying uses to interview spread throughout the study area (see Appendix, Figure 17). They conducted 17 interviews. In 2016-2017, Lau first recruited interviews with the same businesses from the 2009-2010 collection year. There were many cases where the businesses interviewed in 2010 no longer existed, moved, were replaced, or the building no longer existed. In those situations, the Lau recruited the new businesses in the same location. Six businesses on NE Alberta St conducted follow-up interviews in 2016-2017. Overall, there were 14 interviews in 2016. Recruitment materials in 2010 and 2016 included IRB-approved flyers handed out in person (see Appendix 8.3, Figure 20). Lau conducted Interviews at the owner/manager's business or at nearby coffee shops or on the phone. Each interview lasted approximately 30-60 minutes with 17 standard questions.

Standard interview questions included:

1. Do you rent or own space in this building?
2. How long have you been at this location?
3. Did you live in the district at the start?
4. Why did you choose this district?
5. Why did you choose this building?
6. Have you done any renovations?
7. Did you have any incentives to renovate?
8. Where do customers come from?
9. Why do customers come?
10. How do customers travel here?
11. Have you seen a change in clientele?
12. Has the district changed? If so, how?
13. Have those changes impacted your business? How?
14. Have those changes impacted the community? How?
15. Are you satisfied with changes in the district? (2016-2017 only)
16. Are you familiar with the Alberta Main Street Program? (2016-2017 only)
17. Has the Alberta Main Street Program impacted your business? (2016-2017 only)

The interview method had some limitations. First, the data set was limited by the first round of interviews conducted by Holt and Reid in 2009-2010. At that time Lau was not a part of the team collecting data and it was not possible to retroactively interview more businesses or ask different questions. Holt and Reid interviewed 17 businesses but there were 148 businesses in the area at the time. Second, while many interviewees explicitly described their point of view as one tied with an identity (i.e. "...as a black business owner, I feel..."), interviewees did not respond to a standard set of demographic questions.

4.2.3. ANALYZING EQUITY

Krumholz (1999) analyzes equity data by examining the percentage of change in demographic features within a given study area. The desired outcome is Brand (2015) analyzes equity data by transcribing and coding qualitative data. This project uses similar methods to analyze the demographics and interview data. Target outcomes from the demographic analysis include an increase in diversity with a maintained level of the historic population.

5. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

The first part of this section documents the changes to the built environment to evaluate for changes in vibrancy. The second part of this section examines demographic changes and business interviews to evaluate changes in equity.

5.1. VIBRANCY RESULTS

Compactness describes both the proximity of buildings to one another as well as the density of business within a given area. The more compact, or dense, an area is with buildings and businesses, the better. An area achieves compactness by maximizing lot coverage with buildings, minimum setbacks, and minimum undeveloped land immediately adjacent to the sidewalk. The target outcome for this indicator is to see an increase in buildings and/or an increase in the number of businesses per block.

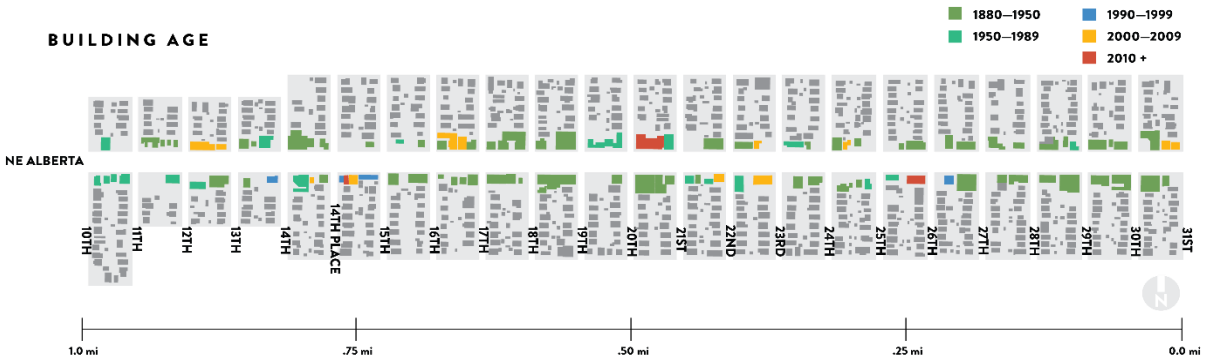
The level of compactness in 2010 was not optimal, likely due to the zoning, but this is not necessarily problematic considering the context. The first and largest wave of building development occurred from 1880-1950 (see Table 1). Development continued at a somewhat slower pace from 1950-1989 and did not pick up again until 2000-2009. Most of the buildings are only one to two stories tall (see Appendix 8.4 Figure 21 Figure 22), nearly all the buildings over two stories were built in the period from 2000-2009. Each block typically has two to four smaller buildings and each building generally does not fill the entire lot (Figure 3). There were only three buildings built from 2010 until 2016

Table 1: Percentage of buildings built by year.

Year Built	# of Buildings	% of Total Building Stock
1880-1950	79	66%
1950-1989	20	17%
1990-1999	4	3%
2000-2009	14	12%
2010+	3	3%
TOTAL	**120**	**100%**

Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 3: Map of building compactness by year built.

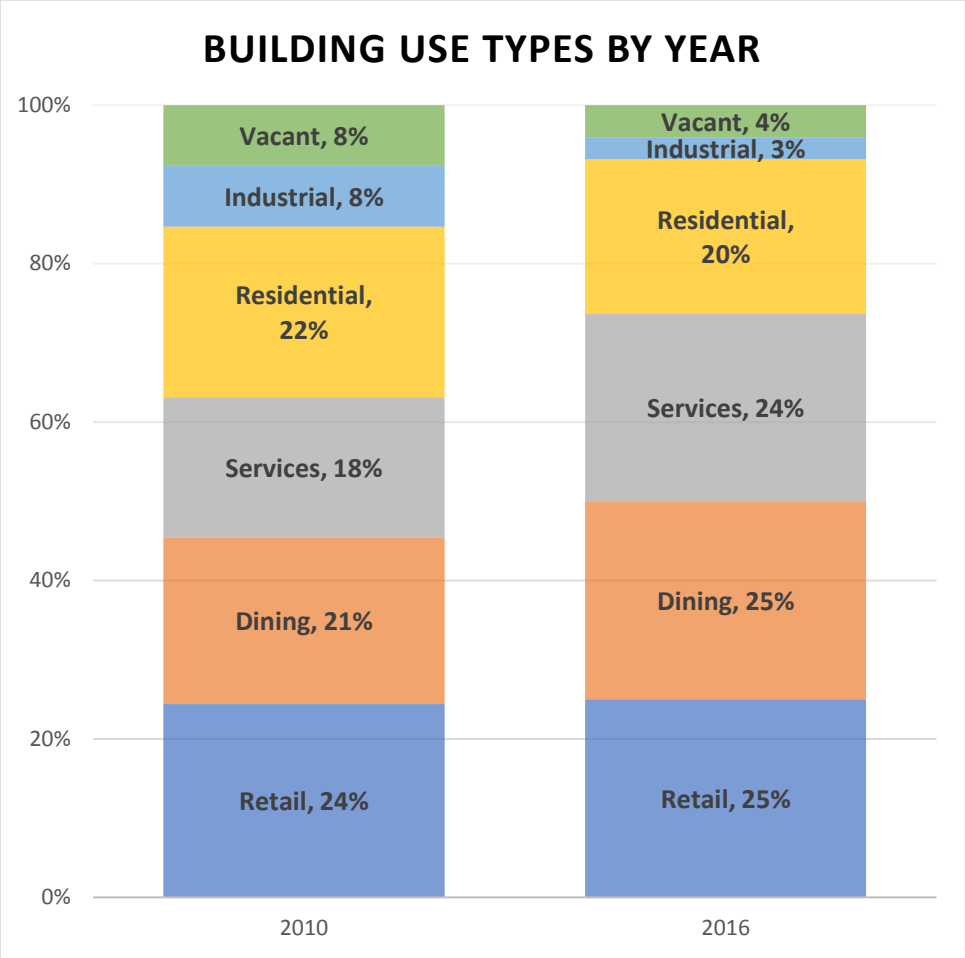


Source: Alexandra Lau

and the number of businesses per building and per block both increased, although only minimally. This development pattern is largely reflected in the zoning, which seeks to preserve or enhance these older commercial buildings with storefront character compatible with adjacent residential. While compactness as an indicator for vibrancy seeks maximum lot coverage and minimum setbacks, the zoning protects the existing, low-compact, building stock to ease the transition from commercial to the low-density, single dwelling units nearby.

Active building uses include dining, retail and services, whereas inactive uses include industrial or vacant businesses. A good mix of uses should include an even mix of the active uses with residential uses primarily above ground level. Residential use should not be the predominate use in the area at the ground level. The target outcome for this indicator is to increase active building uses and decrease inactive building uses. The study area in 2010 already met much of the criteria, with 63% active businesses at nearly equal rates. Residential uses accounted for about a quarter of the uses in 2010, giving some presence without being the predominate use. The mix of uses improved from 2010 to 2016, with a 1% increase in retail, a 4% increase in dining, and a 6% increase in services. These increases came primarily as the product of decreasing inactive building uses (vacant businesses and industrial uses). The increase could also be attributed to the three new buildings added to the stock (Figure 4, Appendix 8.4 Table 7).

Figure 4: Chart of change in building use by year from 2010 to 2016.



Source: Alexandra Lau

Adaptive reuse of buildings is an economical way to increase the active uses of buildings because it requires less funds than new development. As industrial or residential areas transition to more a commercial character, buildings can be repurposed for more active uses. The study area saw a big decrease in industrial uses from 2010 to 2016 (Table 2). The decrease in industrial uses is largely attributed to repurposing buildings for commercial use. There are also some single family residential buildings now repurposed for commercial uses with the development of higher intensity development.

Table 2: Percentage change of adaptive reuse buildings from 2010 to 2016.

Adaptive Building Reuse Type	# in 2016	% of Total
No Change (Original Use)	95	79%
Residential to Commercial	12	10%
Industrial to Commercial	13	11%
TOTAL	**120**	**100%**

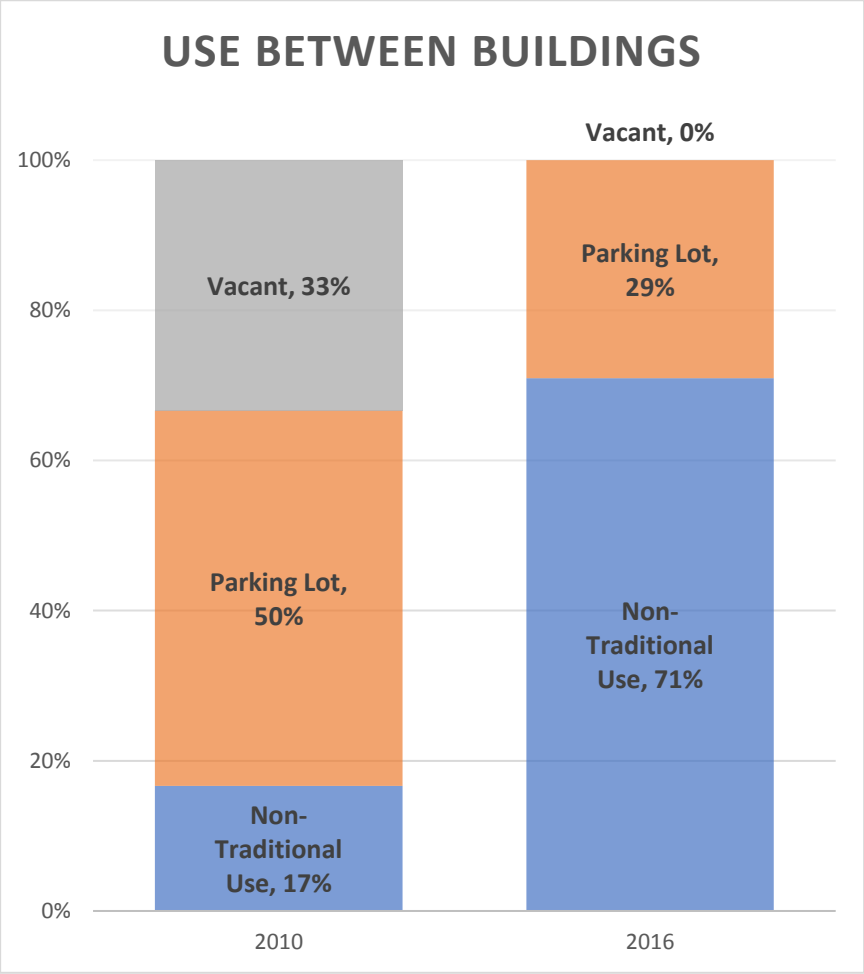
Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 5: Photographs showing examples of changes in adaptive reuse of buildings.

Source: Alexandra Lau

There is also an increase of active uses in undeveloped land between buildings. Compactness seeks to decrease undeveloped land altogether with new building development, but it is not the only way to activate space. This indicator seeks to decrease inactive uses of undeveloped land, which can be accomplished several ways. Inactive uses of undeveloped land between buildings includes vacant lots and parking lots[iv]. These spaces can become active by allowing non-traditional uses such as community green spaces (gardens, parks) or small-scale entrepreneurial spaces such as food-cart pods (Figure 6). The amount of undeveloped areas decreased from 2010 to 2016 due to new building development and to utilizing space with non-traditional uses. Food cart pods became the most prevalent active use of undeveloped space between buildings in 2016 (Figure 7, Appendix 8.4 Figure 25).

Figure 7: Chart showing change of use between buildings.



Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 6: Photograph example of change of use between buildings.

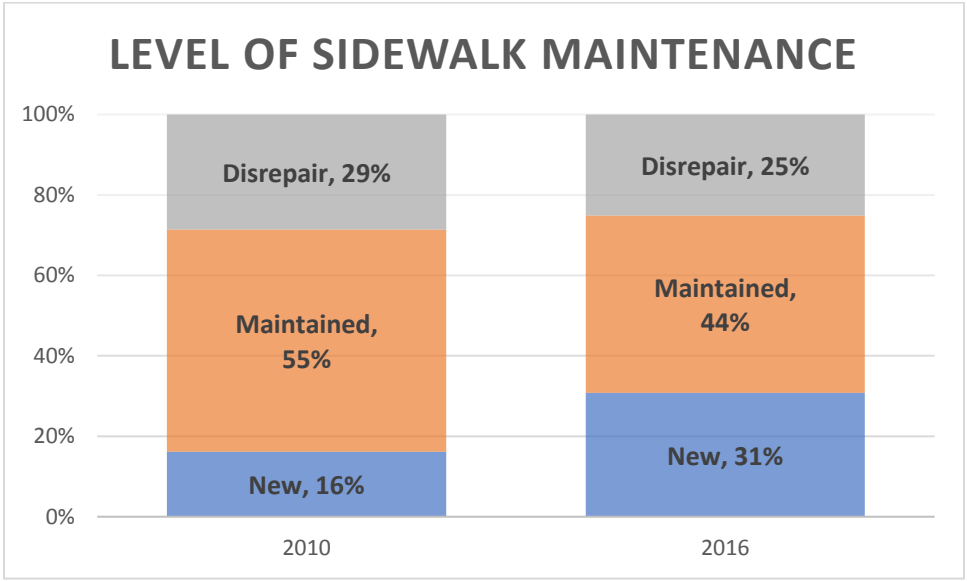
Source: Marc Holt and Maurice Reid 2010, Alexandra Lau 2016.

Use is only part of the equation when it comes to vibrancy. From sidewalks to storefront facades, maintenance and aesthetics play large roles in creating vibrant spaces. Well-maintained sidewalks contribute to user comfort and safety in using the space while traveling as a pedestrian. Well-maintained sidewalks are continuous and even (Figure 8). The level of sidewalk maintenance was acceptable in 2010, with all continuous sidewalks and only 29% of the sidewalks in disrepair. Sidewalk maintenance levels improved in 2016 with a 4% decrease in sidewalks in disrepair (Figure 9).

Figure 8: Photographs showing typical examples of each category of sidewalk conditions.

Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 9: Graph showing change in level of sidewalk maintenance 2010-2016



Source: Alexandra Lau

Storefront maintenance also contributes to user comfort, safety, and place attachment. The AMSP and other Main Street agencies measure design improvements by the dollar amount of investment. This project seeks to understand the quality of façade improvements in terms of their visual impacts but does not link them to direct initiatives or dollar amounts. Façade improvement categories are heavy, medium, and light (see Appendix 8.4, Figure 29 and Figure 30). A heavy improvement is characterized by a major change to permanent elements such as window or door openings. This also includes building additions or new buildings. Medium improvements include the addition, subtraction, or other editing of permanent fixtures such as fixed signs, awnings, or lamps. Simply adding temporary signs or repainting the building is considered a light improvement. The desired outcome for this indicator is to see over 50% of the facades improved at any level.

Over 60% of the facades received some improvement from 2010 to 2016 (Table 3). Most improvements were light, and most light improvements were simply repainting the building. There were very few heavy improvements and they occurred when buildings changed use from inactive to active. Few facades had no improvement and a few buildings were under construction or did not exist in 2010. These measurements show that overall façade maintenance improved but does not indicate if further improvements are necessary for the existing building stock.

Table 3: Percentage change in facade maintenance in 2016.

Type of Façade Maintenance	# of Facades in 2016	% of Total Facades
Heavy: New building or addition	6	5%
Medium: Add/subtract/edit permanent fixtures	26	21%
Light: New paint/sign	49	40%
No Changes	38	31%
Did Not Exist in 2010	3	2%
Under Construction in 2010	2	2%

Source: Alexandra Lau

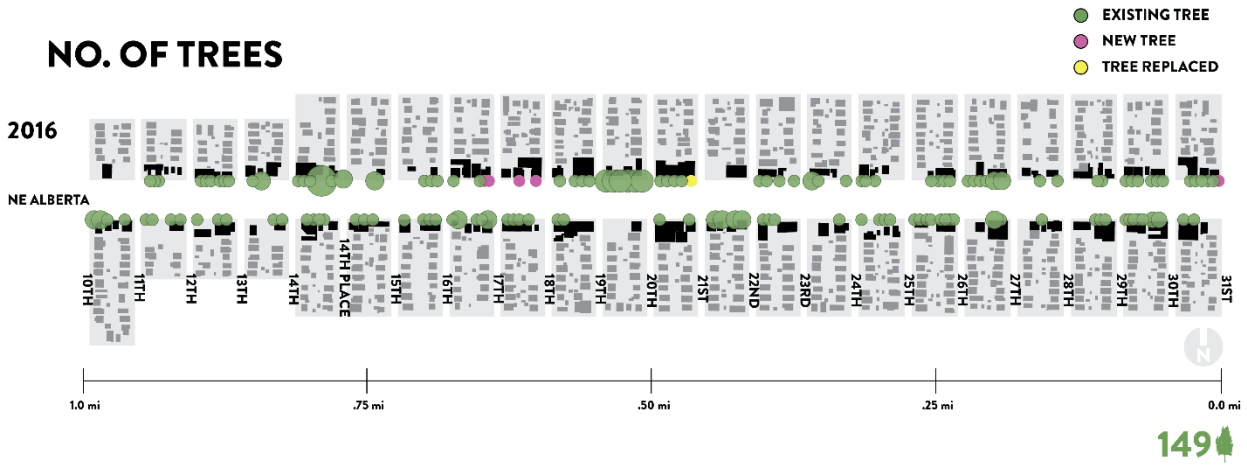
Two final vibrancy indicators consider how elements in the public right of way contribute to the overall comfort and aesthetics of the area. Trees help to improve the scale of pedestrian zones by creating a continuous canopy. The most effective tree spacing is 15'-20' and 40' from street corners, the average block length is a 230', so the 7-10 trees per block is optimal. There are 149 trees on in the study area, with an increase of five trees from 2010. The current number of trees falls short with an average of 3.38 trees per block. Ninety-six percent of the trees were already present in 2010, and only five new trees were planted. Although the average number of trees per block does not meet the desired level, the trees are well-maintained and spaced in rows along both sides of the street.

Table 4: Table showing percentage change in trees in 2016.

No. of Trees	
# of Trees 2010	144
# New Trees 2016	5
# Replaced Trees 2016	1
# Removed Trees 2016	0
Total Trees in 2016 (#)	150
Average # of Trees per Block	**3.39**
Min # of Trees per Block	**0**
Max # of Trees per Block	**8**

Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 10: Map of trees in the study area in 2016.



Source: Alexandra Lau

Streetlamps lengthen the period that activity can occur by creating visibility at night. Additionally, streetlamps can contribute to the aesthetic feel of the area if they are decorative. This indicator seeks an average of two lamps per block, either decorative or non-decorative. There is a total of 72 lamps in the study area and nearly half of them are decorative. Decorative lamps are spread throughout the study area and tend to include colorful metal fixtures as a means of branding. Non-decorative lamps blend into the environment because they tend to be nondescript attachments to powerline poles. Most lamps are located on corners and many intersections have lamps on all four corners Figure 11. There are a few blocks with no lamps and a few with four, but the average is three lamps per block. There were no new lamps added from 2010 to 2016. Except for in the few blocks with zero lamps, there is a sufficient number of lamps for both illumination and aesthetic purposes (Figure 12 and Figure 31).

Figure 11: Image showing the difference between decorative and non-decorative streetlamps

Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 12: Table showing number of streetlamps

No. of Streetlamps	
# of Decorative Lamps	32
# of Non-Decorative Lamps	40
Total # of All Lamps	72
# of Blocks	22
Average # of Lamps/Block	3

Source: Alexandra Lau

5.2. EQUITY RESULTS

5.2.1. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Target outcomes are increases in diversity and a maintained level of the historic population. The demographic profile includes population size, ethnicity, age, income and education. The area has been experiencing incremental growth since the 1990's at a rate of approximately 6% each decade. On the other hand, there was a 46% increase in the white population with decreases in every other non-white population. The African American community decreased by nearly 60% from 1990 to 2016. In 1990 the White population accounted for only 47% of the population in

Table 5: Ethnicity in the study area in 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2016.

Ethnicity	1990*	2000**	2010***	2016****
White Alone	7,034	7,614	10,268	10,744
Black Alone	5,983	5,019	2,463	2,526
American Indian Alone	250	186	130	122
Asian or Pacific Islander Alone	397	296	346	441
Some Other Race Alone	250	160	432	487
Two or More Races	324	695	778	898
Hispanic Origin****	553	938	1,066	1,202

*Data Note: The 1990 Census reported population by single races only. ESRI estimates the multiracial population from 1990 Census data for the total population. In the 1990 Census, "Asian" and "Pacific Islander" were not reported separately for the Hispanic Origin population. To compare the data, "Asian" and "Pacific Islander" are combined in 2000. The Diversity Index summarizes racial and ethnic diversity. The index shows the likelihood that two persons, chosen at random from the same area, belong to different race or ethnic groups.

**Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geography.

***Data Note: Hispanic population can be of any race. Census 2010 medians are computed from reported data distributions.
***Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.
****Data Note: Persons of Hispanic Origin may be of any race. The Diversity Index measures the probability that two people from the same area will be from different race/ethnic groups.

****Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri forecasts for 2016 and 2021 Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

Source 1: Alexandra Lau

the study area and now it accounts for just over 70%. On the other hand, the African American population once accounted for over 40% of the population and now less than 20% of the population is African American. The population in the overall study area has grown since 1990, but not enough to accommodate both the existing African American population in 2010 and the increase in the white population. Whites displaced African Americans and other ethnic minorities.

Additionally, NE Alberta St has an increased number of "yuppies", or "young urban professionals", as evidenced by the age of the population, level of education, and the income levels. Since 1990, there has been a 10% increase in the population aged 15-54 corresponding with a 2% decrease in the population aged 75+ and a 12% decrease in the population aged 0-14 (see Appendix 8.5 Table 9). This indicates that historic residents are getting older without having kids and/or new residents are moving in without kids. The level of education has also dramatically risen. There has been a 301% increase in residents with a college education (see Appendix 8.5 Table 10). Finally, the population has experienced a 26% increase in those who earn over $100,000 per year. Over half of the population earned less than $25,000 per year in 1990; and although an increase in income is positive, this does not speak to an increase in income for the existing residents (see Appendix 8.5 Table 11). These factors indicate that the historic residents do not live here any longer, yuppies have taken over the area. "Yuppies" are those who work white collar jobs, do not have kids, and often fuel market-based development of higher priced boutiques and services. These types of services do not align with the demographics of the historic residents of the area.

Another target outcome is a stable increase in the rent/property value. NE Alberta St does not meet this target. The rent and property values have increased massively on NE Alberta St from 1990 to 2016. Ninety eight percent of owner occupied housing in 1990 was valued as less than $100,000; only 3% of housing in 2016 held the same value (see Appendix Table 12). Most of the housing in the NE Alberta St area falls in the range of $200,000-$499,000. Renter occupied housing units have also increased from primarily $200-$499 per month to primarily over $1,000 per month (see Appendix 8.5 Table 13). This only further indicates that historic residents are being priced out of the area due to its success.

Development in NE Alberta St. cannot be considered equitable when a large amount of the historically marginalized population is being displaced. Sharp increase in property value and monthly rent indicate that the area is more favorable and historic residents are being priced out.

5.2.2. BUSINESS OWNER INTERVIEWS

The target outcome for the business owner interviews is generally positive reports of involvement with Alberta Main Street across all business owners. All business owners interviewed in 2016 reported familiarity with AMS. Most businesses reported knowledge of or participation in the street fairs. Many reported attending meetings or donating to AMS.

Interviews also mentioned the mixers, business seminars, holiday events, street cleanup, and street art. Five of the interviewees had negative experiences when working with Alberta Main Street and only one explicitly reported a positive experience with AMS when asked about familiarity with AMS. Below are some of the positive responses given to the question, "Are you familiar with AMS?"

> *"Definitely, they do a great job. Events are successful. Trick or treat is for any business, not just retail, and street fair too."*
>
> *"Yes, [they have impacted my business]. Street fair is a huge day, very positive. They do, or attempt to do, beneficial things for the community. Seminars for small businesses are good. They raise awareness."*
>
> *"[They have] indirectly impacted [my business] through creating a cohesive sense of the vision of the street. Directly, advertising."*

Most of the interviewees did not feel that AMS impacted their business for various reasons. Below are some of the responses given to the question, "Has AMS impacted your business?"

> *"No."*
>
> *"No. Their promotion of cute elves in the window is only for kid friendly things. It doesn't help us. They only help out during the holiday season, not during the slow season. The draw outside of Alberta St is too corny and too family driven."*
>
> *"No impact to my business…I don't spend too much time on them."*
>
> *"No. We would be doing the same thing with or without them."*

All African American business owners reported feeling uncomfortable when working with AMS, or they reported an inability to access AMS resources. Below are some sample responses illustrating negative experiences:

> *"No. AMS has not impacted my business."*
>
> *"Yes, I try to avoid them."*
>
> *"Yes. They have good intentions but a small broadcast. They have issues with diversity. They are white and financially comfortable. We have pulled back involvement with them and money…They are a little sterile. They focus on business, not people."*
>
> *"Yes. They want black people to come. But it is a racial thing. They are not sure how to get black people to come to the table."*

The interviews clearly illustrate an inequitable distribution of resources, where African American business owners do not feel that they benefit from AMS. NE Alberta St cannot be considered successful when an historic, marginalized population feels that they cannot benefit from the initiative in the same ways as other populations.

6. FINDINGS

This project reports the following findings:

1. The Alberta Main Street Program does not evaluate its impacts on vibrancy or equity.
2. NE Alberta is more vibrant in terms of increases in active uses of space, good physical maintenance, and a good presence of street element details.
3. Development in NE Alberta and the Alberta Main Street program has not had a positive effect on equity for two reasons:
    a. There has been large residential displacement of historically marginalized people concurrent with development of the Alberta Main Street Program.
    b. There has been inequitable access to resources for business owners, especially black business owners.

NE Alberta St has experienced many positive changes to the physical environment. There are more businesses, better uses in buildings and in spaces between buildings. There are improved sidewalks and buildings facades are well maintained, street widths are proportionate, and there are more trees than ever. NE Alberta has experienced many positive changes to the physical environment that may be attributed to the presence of the Alberta Main Street Program. It is possible to consider the NE Alberta St area to be more successful in terms of vibrancy related to the changes in the physical environment.

These positive changes have not affected historic residents because historic residents are being displaced. The NE Alberta St area is quickly losing ethnic minorities and, as noted in Table 5, the percent of white population has increased by 46%. This corresponds with over 300% increases to property values and rents, which is directly leading to displacing the previously low-income residents. Any program that seeks to be an equitable force must seek to provide positive changes for historically marginalized populations. Instead, Alberta Main Street is continuing the trend in displacing African Americans and other ethnic minorities. The program cannot be considered successful in creating equity and therefore fails overall.

Additionally, there is a lack of equitable distribution of resources. First and foremost, the mission clearly demonstrates re-branding and erasing the history of the population. The identity of this district has been that of African American residents for nearly a century, whereas the identity as an “arts district” debuted only 20 years ago. The Main Street Program stresses that programs should use their identity as a selling point; the Alberta Main Street Program chose to embrace the

newer, marketable identity as an arts district rather than one with a predominately African American community.

The interviews generally demonstrate that the overall character of the district has negatively changed, despite many of the positive changes to the physical environment. Demographics and interviews demonstrate that the population in this area has changed— the many benefits described above are being enjoyed by a new population of people, particularly those who are generally privileged. Finally, property value information coupled with demographics show that gentrification processes are occurring. The Alberta Main Street Program does not meet the city's needs to create prosperous, vibrant, and equitable neighborhoods because it fails in terms of equity.

7. CONCLUSION

The Main Street Approach was designed at a time after massive disinvestment in downtowns across the United States (Olson 1997). The masses, generally white and middle class, fled to the suburbs in the outer rings in the 1950's and 1960's, leaving downtowns without a broad enough economic tax base. The typical planner following the rational model prescribed either improving the built environment or providing government subsidies to revitalize downtown (Robertson 2004).

The Main Street Program was, and still is, an innovative approach because it considers both economics and the built environment through its Four-Point Approach. In other words, the Main Street Approach seeks to improve the prosperity and vibrancy of an area. This is evident in the metrics they use to evaluate their success, which focus on the number of new jobs created or the amount of money spent on storefront improvement (Main Street America 2018).

In general, planning and planners focus on the physical environment. Planner use the rational model to improve the built environment with lesser concern given to the social impacts of policies. The use of the Main Street Program as a tool to achieve equity in Portland is proof of this. The Main Street Program focuses on prosperity of neighborhood businesses, and the physical benefits that go along with this. This is evidenced by the façade improvement grants provided by Main Street Programs across the country. Whilst there is nothing wrong with the Main Street approach, and it has arguably been very successful across the nation, as a tool to advance equity it falls somewhat short.

The Main Street Approach is not explicitly an "equity planning tool." Equity planning asks planners to consider how the benefits and costs are distributed throughout the community. It further requires planners to become activists and advocates for historically marginalized communities by redistributing resources. The urban development process is "inherently unfair and exploitive by nature" (Krumholz 1982, 163), so it is necessary to take explicit action to steer

development to benefit those who have "few, if any choices" (163). This is not what the Main Street Approach does, it does not ask its affiliates to understand the social, economic, and racial dynamics of the existing population. It does not measure who the population was before intervention or after, which is one common way to evaluate for equity.

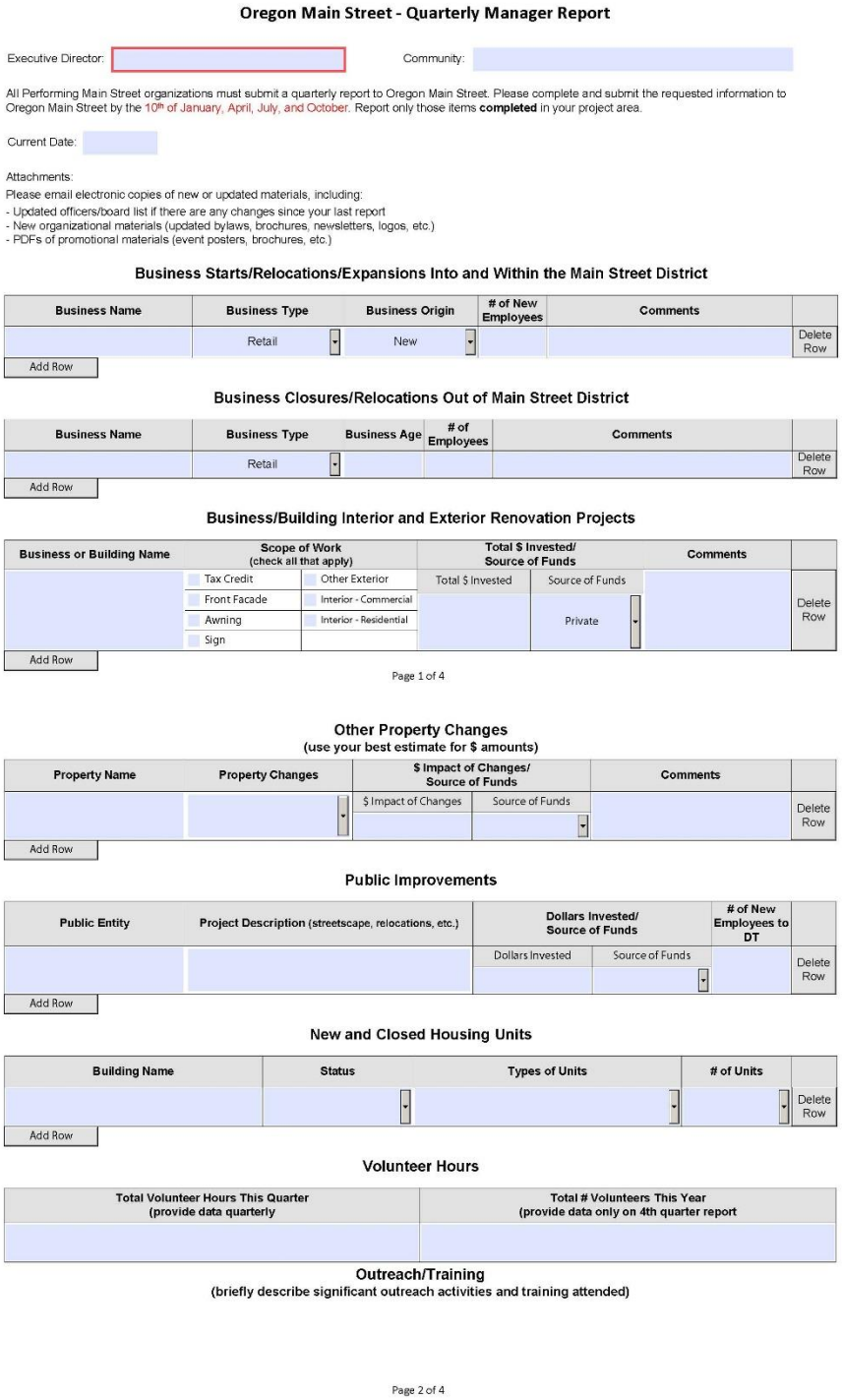
Should the City of Portland adapt the Main Street Approach to help meet their equity goals, or should they adopt an entirely different approach? This question raises a deeper existential debate about the nature of capitalism and "gentrification as a consummate expression of neoliberal urbanism" (Goodling et al 2015). Brand (2015) argues that it may not be possible to plan for the equitable city under a neoliberal[v] society because free markets and individualism make it impossible to "account for the historical and localized ways residents experience inequality and racism" (259). In other words, it is necessary to address the political and economic fabric of society to address equity issues in planning.

Others are more optimistic that it is possible to have equitable revitalization by simultaneously mitigating for displacement issues. There are two methods to mitigate for displacement through process and evaluation. The revitalization process is often ignorant of who it is serving. This can be mitigated by conducting research into the history and demographics of the area at the start. (Rongerude and Sandoval 2016). Organizations such as Causa Justa[vi] describe how to characterize the level of gentrification a neighborhood is in and what the implications are. Once there is an understanding of who the stakeholders are, it is important to conduct inclusive, collaborative planning processes. Rongerude and Sandoval (2016) describe some methods to creating such a process, including "taking collaborative methods to the streets" (333). Second, it is necessary to evaluate impacts in terms of not just prosperity or vibrancy but also equity. This starts with having well-defined equity goals with measurable outcomes. This project suggests a framework to evaluate for equity that could be applied to other Main Street programs or similar revitalization projects.

8. APPENDIX

8.1. EVALUATION

Figure 13: Oregon Main Street Evaluation Form



Oregon Main Street - Quarterly Manager Report

Executive Director: Community:

All Performing Main Street organizations must submit a quarterly report to Oregon Main Street. Please complete and submit the requested information to Oregon Main Street by the 10th of January, April, July, and October. Report only those items **completed** in your project area.

Current Date:

Attachments:
Please email electronic copies of new or updated materials, including:
- Updated officers/board list if there are any changes since your last report
- New organizational materials (updated bylaws, brochures, newsletters, logos, etc.)
- PDFs of promotional materials (event posters, brochures, etc.)

Business Starts/Relocations/Expansions Into and Within the Main Street District

Business Name	Business Type	Business Origin	# of New Employees	Comments	
	Retail	New			Delete Row

Add Row

Business Closures/Relocations Out of Main Street District

Business Name	Business Type	Business Age	# of Employees	Comments	
	Retail				Delete Row

Add Row

Business/Building Interior and Exterior Renovation Projects

Business or Building Name	Scope of Work (check all that apply)		Total $ Invested/ Source of Funds		Comments	
	Tax Credit	Other Exterior	Total $ Invested	Source of Funds		Delete Row
	Front Facade	Interior - Commercial		Private		
	Awning	Interior - Residential				
	Sign					

Add Row

Page 1 of 4

Other Property Changes
(use your best estimate for $ amounts)

Property Name	Property Changes	$ Impact of Changes/ Source of Funds		Comments	
		$ Impact of Changes	Source of Funds		Delete Row

Add Row

Public Improvements

Public Entity	Project Description (streetscape, relocations, etc.)	Dollars Invested/ Source of Funds		# of New Employees to DT	
		Dollars Invested	Source of Funds		Delete Row

Add Row

New and Closed Housing Units

Building Name	Status	Types of Units	# of Units	
				Delete Row

Add Row

Volunteer Hours

Total Volunteer Hours This Quarter (provide data quarterly	Total # Volunteers This Year (provide data only on 4th quarter report

Outreach/Training
(briefly describe significant outreach activities and training attended)

Page 2 of 4

Promotion Activities Completed

Name of Promotion	Brief Description	Type	Main Street $ Expenditures	Main Street $ Income (including sponsors)	# of Attendees	
						Delete Row

Add Row

Committee Commentary

(include recently completed committee activities as well as other information the committees would like to share)

Organization:
Promotion:
Design:
Economic Restructuring:

Other:
Other:

Program Commentary

(list critical issues, problems, and successes of the past quarter)

Outlook

(list goals and challenges for the future)

Please email this completed report, with requested attachments, to Sheri Stuart at sheri.stuart@state.or.us

Source: Oregon Main Street Program

Figure 14: Alberta Main Street Market Data Report p.1

Only on Alberta

Market Report for Alberta Street Business

Alberta Street has a distinct identity as a successful mixed-used district with a local, small-business focus. Independent businesses continue to thrive while the district attracts new businesses. Ongoing investments from the community and the City translate into an improving public realm with attractive sidewalks, enhanced storefronts, and new public art, while Alberta Main Street continues to develop services to support local businesses and commercial property owners.

If you're a business owner on Alberta, you already know this. What you may not know is how other businesses are performing or where new opportunities lay. Alberta Main Street compiled responses from business and customer surveys as well as information from an independent market analysis to help local businesses optimize product offerings and identify opportunities for expansion.

Not only does Alberta Street have a local, small business focus, but ownership has a strong connection to the community.

- 93% of businesses on Alberta are independently owned and the remaining 7% are local chains. **Over 42% of business owners are residents in the area and 52% chose to locate on Alberta Street because of the strong community.**
- Alberta Street continues to be a **physically attractive commercial corridor,** with 95% of businesses considering the exterior condition of their building to be good to excellent and over 90% considering their interior condition to be good to excellent.
- **As a district, Alberta Street continues to prioritize sustainable development.** The primary efforts of businesses include purchasing local products, recycling and purchasing recycled materials, composting, using energy efficient materials, and selling reused or repurposed merchandise.
- New real estate development and renovation continues to increase space availability and by adding additional businesses, **the district continues to increase in popularity with regional patrons.**

Alberta has the distinct advantage of having a strong commercial core, while still remaining accessible to new and expanding businesses.

Continued Growth

- **Despite the recession, almost 40% of businesses on Alberta have seen an increase of up to 20% in business since 2011.** Between 2010 and 2011, 80% of Alberta Street businesses reported an increase in revenue.
- The district saw a net increase of 8 businesses between 2010 and 2011 and **the commercial vacancy rate of 5% remains below the Portland regional average of 7%.** During this time period, Alberta Street saw a **net increase of 75 new jobs.**
- Given the strong outlook for continued growth, **43% of businesses are considering expanding their services or the size of their business.** Additionally 39% of businesses are considering building improvement projects.

Available Support for Businesses and Commercial Property Owners

Alberta Main Street is an active network of commercial property and business owners and resident volunteers supporting the continued growth and improvement of the district.

- Alberta Main Street programs include: street-wide events, small business seminars, networking events, and a matching mini grant program. Spring 2013 mini grants leveraged over $31,000 in private investment.
- Alberta Street is in a designated Urban Renewal Area enabling business and property owners to benefit from a wide variety of business finance programs from tenant and façade improvements to property development and rehabilitation.
- Other resources and programs to support existing small businesses and entrepreneurs looking to start new businesses are available through the Portland Development Commission and Micro Enterprise Services of Oregon.
- Volunteers are actively engaged and contribute time and talent to the district. From 2011 to 2012, volunteers contributed over 2400 hours of service. Based on the Independent Sector's value of volunteer time, this equates to a cash equivalent investment of $53,832.

Alberta Main Street

Alberta Main Street advances efforts to develop Alberta Street as a vibrant, creative and sustainable commercial district serving residents and visitors to our community.

albertamainst.org

info@albertamainst.org

1722 NE Alberta St.
Portland, OR 97211
(503) 683-3252

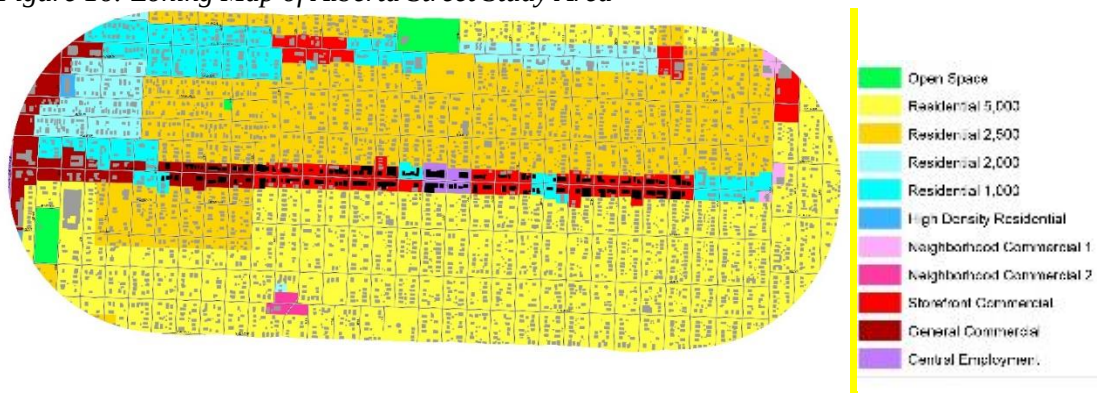
Source: Alberta Main Street Program

Figure 15Alberta Main Street Market Data Report p.2

Source 2: Alberta Main Street Program

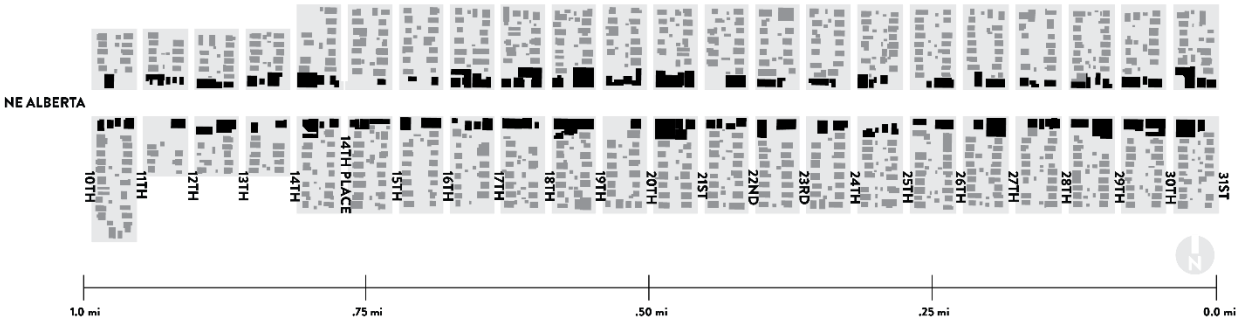
8.2. STUDY AREA MAPS

Figure 16: Zoning Map of Alberta Street Study Area



Source: City of Portland GIS, Alexandra Lau

Figure 17: Field Observation Study Map

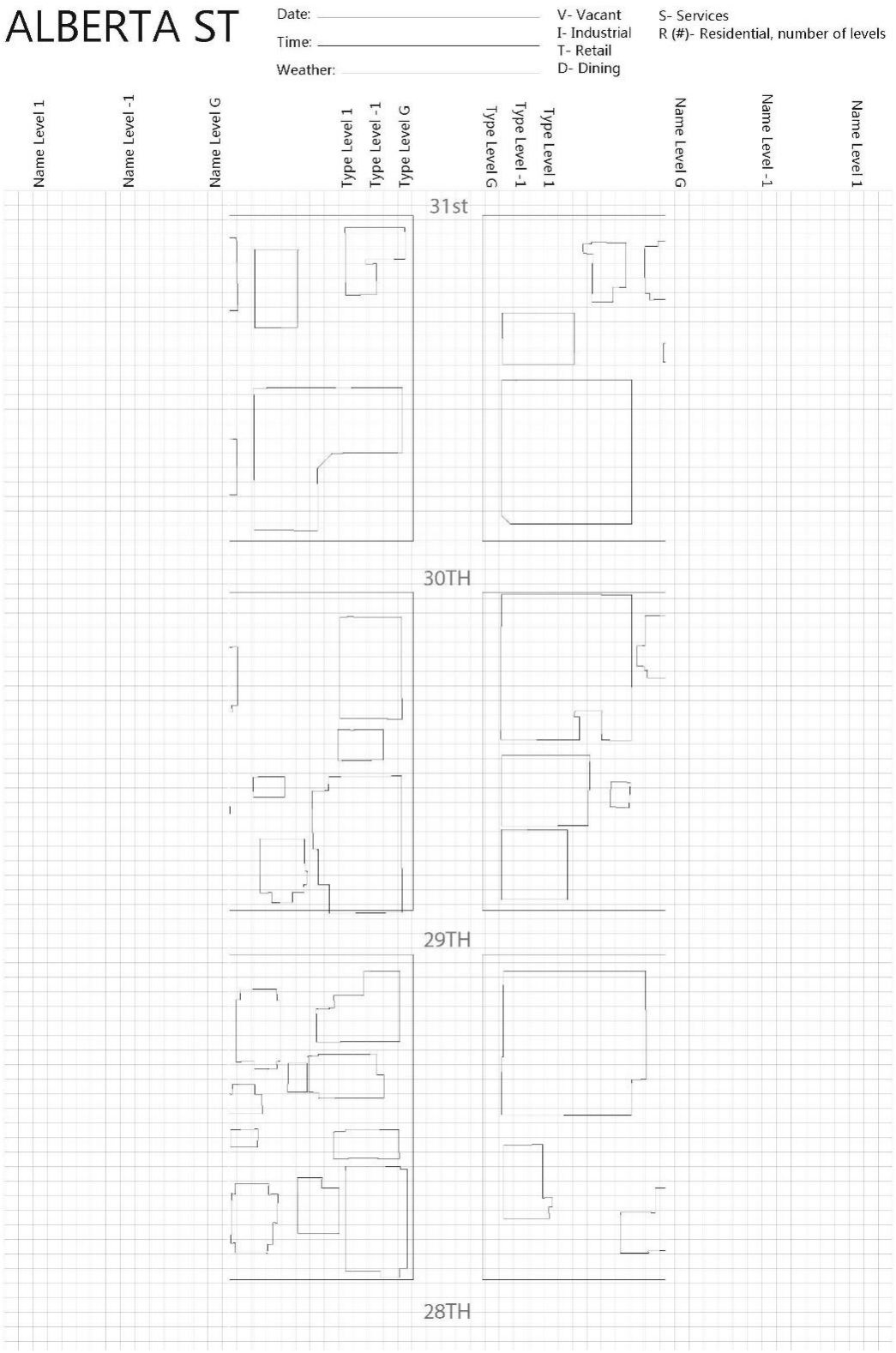


Source: Alexandra Lau, Nicola Fucigna, Stephanie Morales

Figure 18: Census Data Study Map

Source: Marc Holt and Maurice Reid

Figure 19: Map Field Tool with Grid Sample



Source: Alexandra Lau, Nicola Fucgina, Stephanie Morales

8.3. IRB

Figure 20: IRB Approved Interview Recruitment Flyers

THE RE-EMERGENCE OF LOCAL SHOPPING DISTRICTS IN PORTLAND, OREGON

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON AND ROWELL BROKAW ARCHITECTS RESEARCH PROJECT

DESCRIPTION

Neighborhood retail districts in Portland, Oregon are experiencing an economic revival and physical regeneration as property values rise and nearby residential districts attract people who want the benefits of local and walkable urbanism. Many of these retail districts were first established along streetcar lines built in the late nineteenth century, but then declined as the streetcars were de-commissioned and automobiles became dominant. To some extent the physical structure remained even as relative property values declined, and that physical structure, supported by commercial zoning, forms the armature of the current revival.

This research focuses on one such re-emerging retail district–that along Alberta Street–based on maps of retail location, economic indicators of the value of particular locations, and interviews with retail owners concerning their own motivations for location. Distinctions will be made between the Alberta Street neighborhood, in which most interviews are being conducted and other districts that are at different stages of development. These range from streets with just a few retailers who are the first to establish themselves in a place, to streets with an almost continuous frontage of retail establishments.

The research is intended to illustrate how individual decisions, usually based on simple economic factors, lead to the emergence of overall urban form and greater retail density. At early stages of district development, retailers are more concerned with general location in the district than they are with particular places along a street. But as districts develop further, there may be more fine-tuned considerations, such as proximity to major streets and transit stops. The work is intended to help guide policy-makers, property developers and business owners in making sound decisions about location.

SURVEY

10 minute surveys will be conducted by graduate students Nicola Fucigna, Alexandra Lau and Stephanie Morales with business owners willing to participate in order to gather information about businesses. Questions pertain to business location, length of time in location, building type, district qualities, renovations, and customers. Many of the questions intend to quantify the perceptions that owners, customers and community members may have about a business district. Of primary interest are stories of how businesses were established and the issues surrounding establishment. The results will be displayed in graphic and map formats and may be related to public record property information gathered from www.portlandmaps.com.

CONTACTS

Nicola Fucigna, Graduate Student: nfucigna@uoregon.edu: (917) 767-3281
Alexandra Lau, Graduate Student: alau7@uoregon.edu: (808) 497-9084
Stephanie Morales, Graduate Student: smorales@uoregon.edu: (561) 876-9431

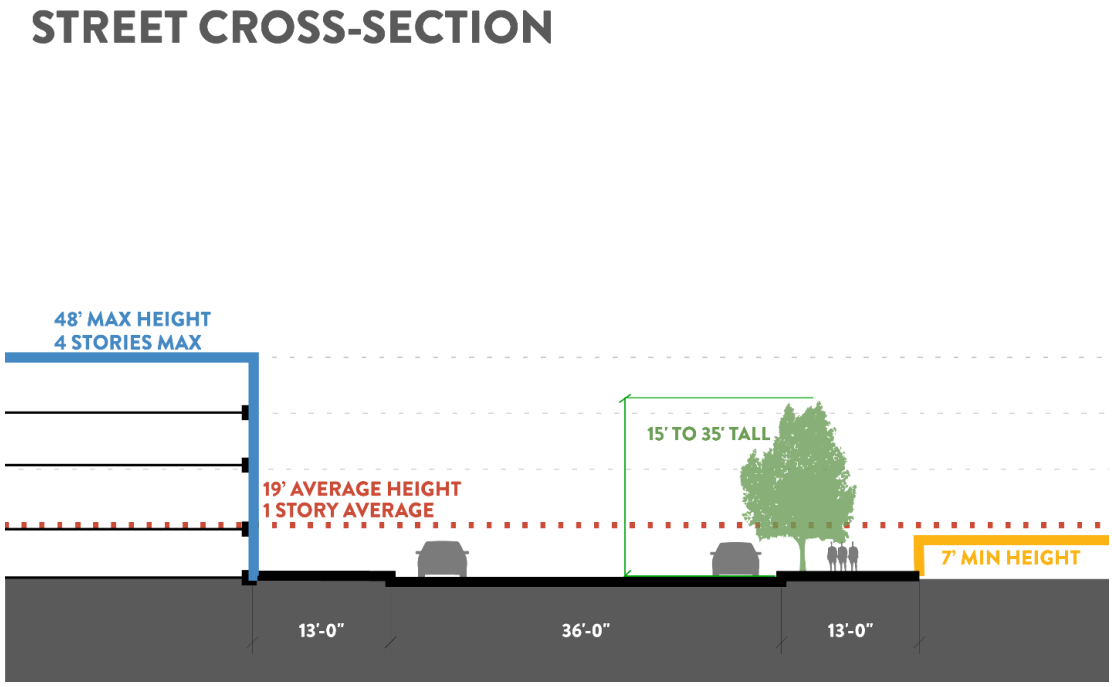
John Rowell, Project Director: jrowell@uoregon.edu: (541) 485-1003
Howard Davis, Faculty Advisor: hdavis@uoregon.edu: (541) 346-3665

For any questions about research compliance, contact the University of Oregon Research Compliance Services department at (541) 346-2510.

Source 3: Alexandra Lau, Nicola Fucigna, Stephanie Morales

8.4. SUPPLEMENTARY VIBRANCY FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 21: Image of street cross-section.



Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 22: Photograph of street-cross section.

Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 6: Change in business density.

Business Density	2010	2016	Net +/- 2010 to 2016	Net +/- by % 2010 to 2016
# of Buildings	117	120	3	3%
# of Businesses	164	177	13	8%
Average # Businesses per Building	1.40	1.48	0.07	-
Average # of Businesses per Block	7.45	8.05	0.59	-
Average # of Buildings per Block	5.32	5.45	0.14	-

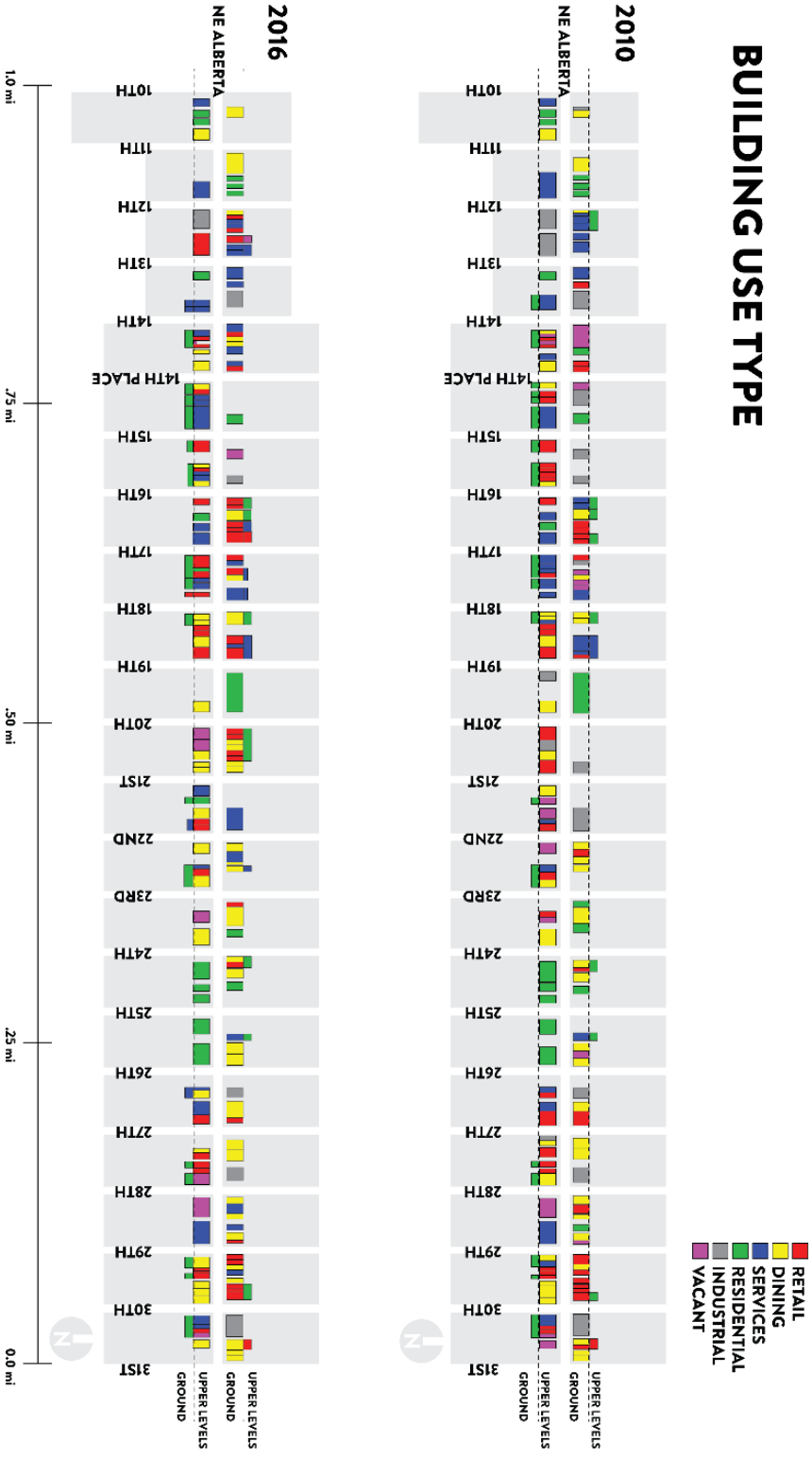
Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 7: Change in building use.

Building Use Type	2010 Amount	% of Total Use in 2010	2016 Amount	$ of Total Use in 2016	Net +/- by % 2010 to 2016
Dining	44	21%	55	25%	4%
Retail	51	24%	55	25%	1%
Services	37	18%	52	24%	6%
Industrial	16	8%	6	3%	-5%
Residential	45	22%	43	20%	-2%
Vacant	16	8%	9	4%	-4%
TOTAL	**209**	**100%**	**220**	**100%**	-

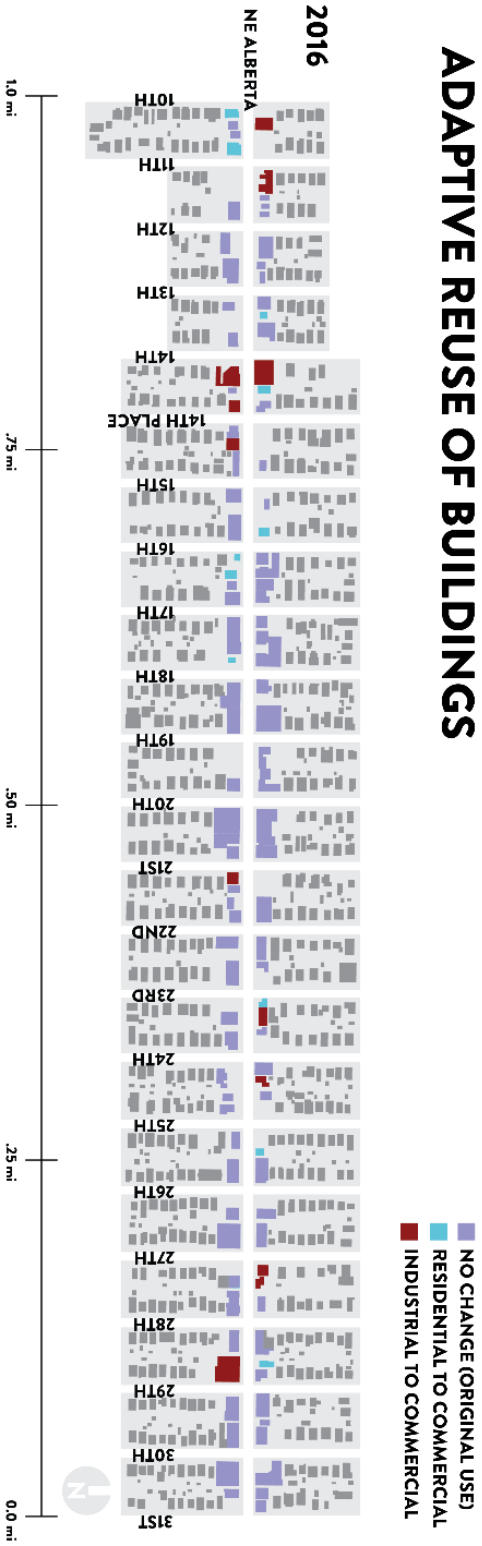
Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 23: Map of building uses in 2010 and 2016.



Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 24: Image showing location of adaptive reuse in 2016



Source: Alexandra Lau

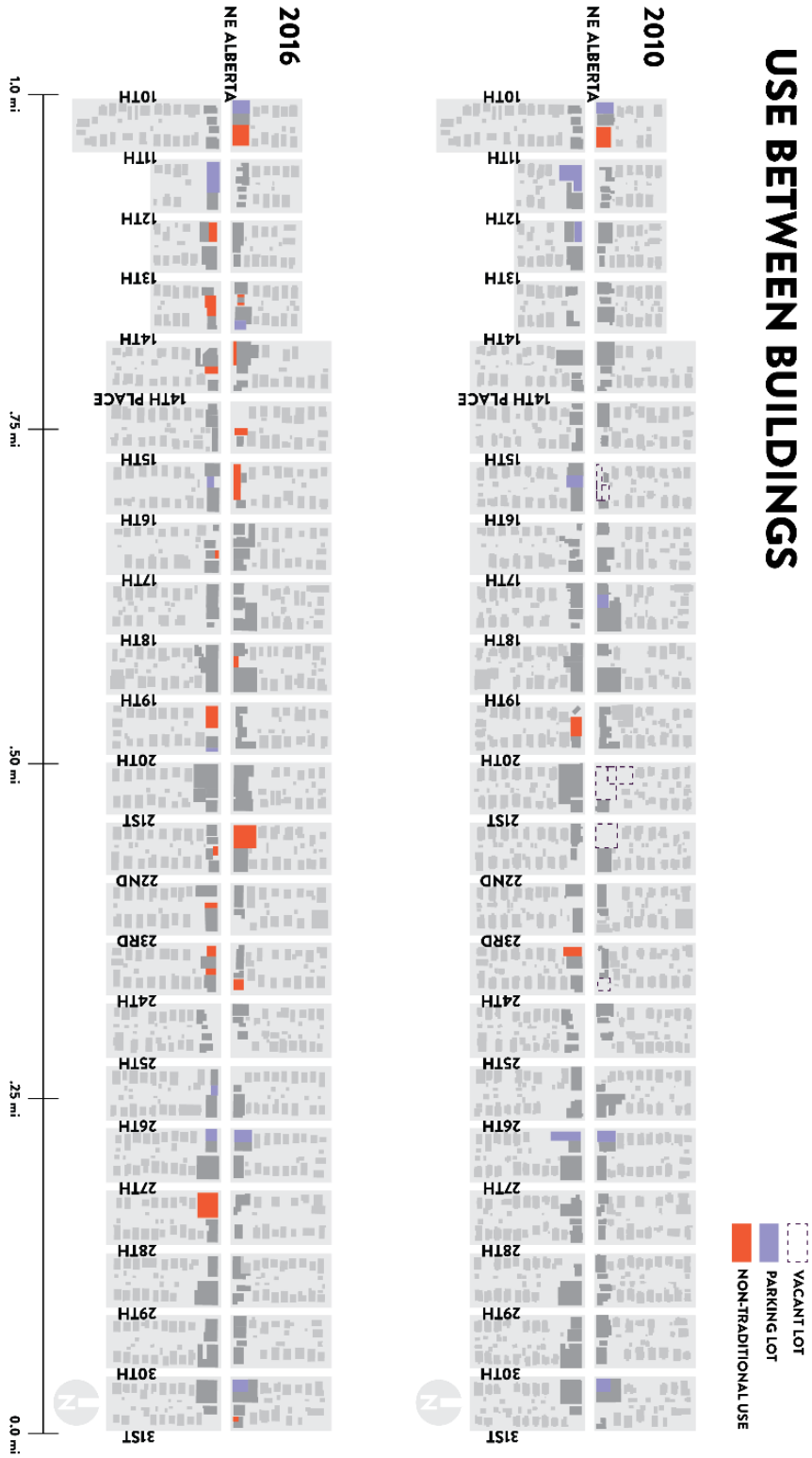
Figure 25: Table showing percentage change in use between buildings 2010-2016

Use Type Between Buildings	# in 2010	% of Total in 2010	# in 2016	% of Total in 2016	Net +/- by % 2010 to 2016
Non-Traditional Use*	3	17%	22	71%	54%
Parking Lot	9	50%	9	29%	-21%
Vacant	6	33%	0	0%	-33%
TOTAL	**18**	**100%**	**31**	**100%**	**-**

*Non-Traditional Use includes foodcarts, gardens, and ride-share lots.

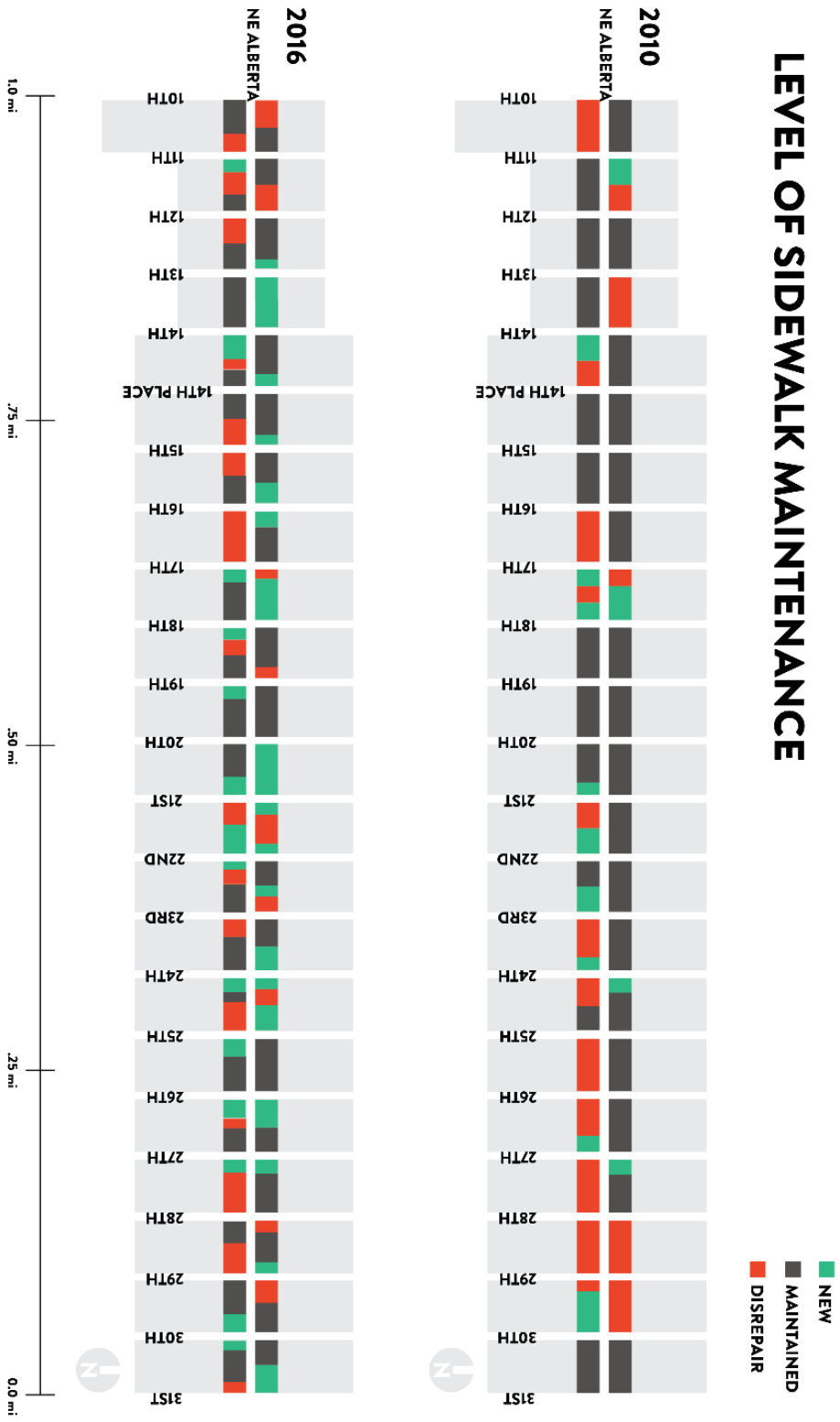
Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 26: Map of the locations of use between buildings.



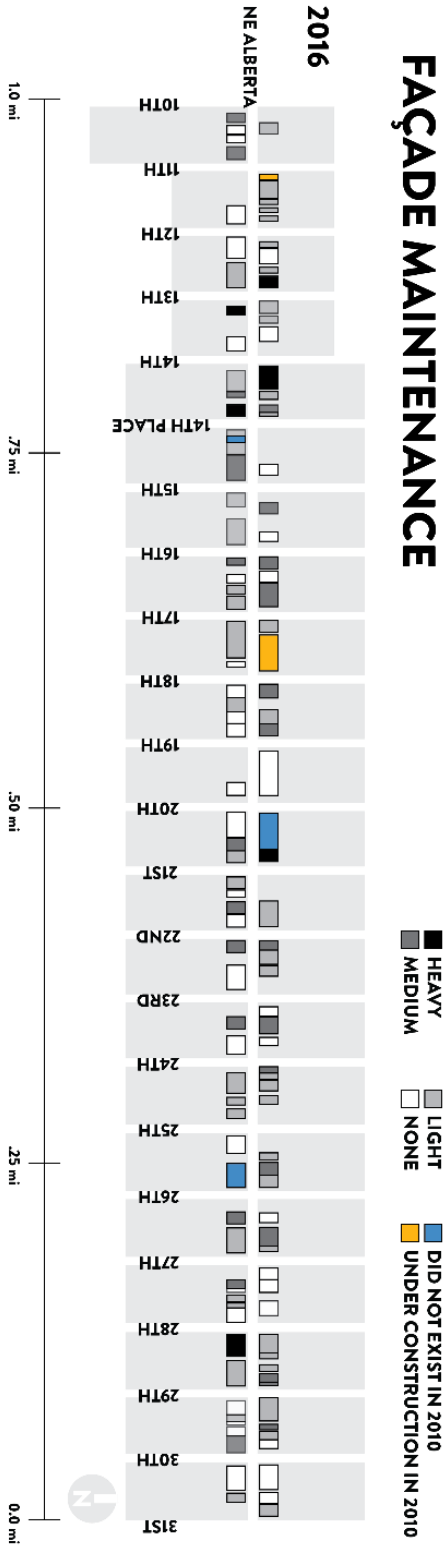
Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 27: Map of sidewalk maintenance levels.



Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 28: Map of changes to facade maintenance from 2010 to 2016.

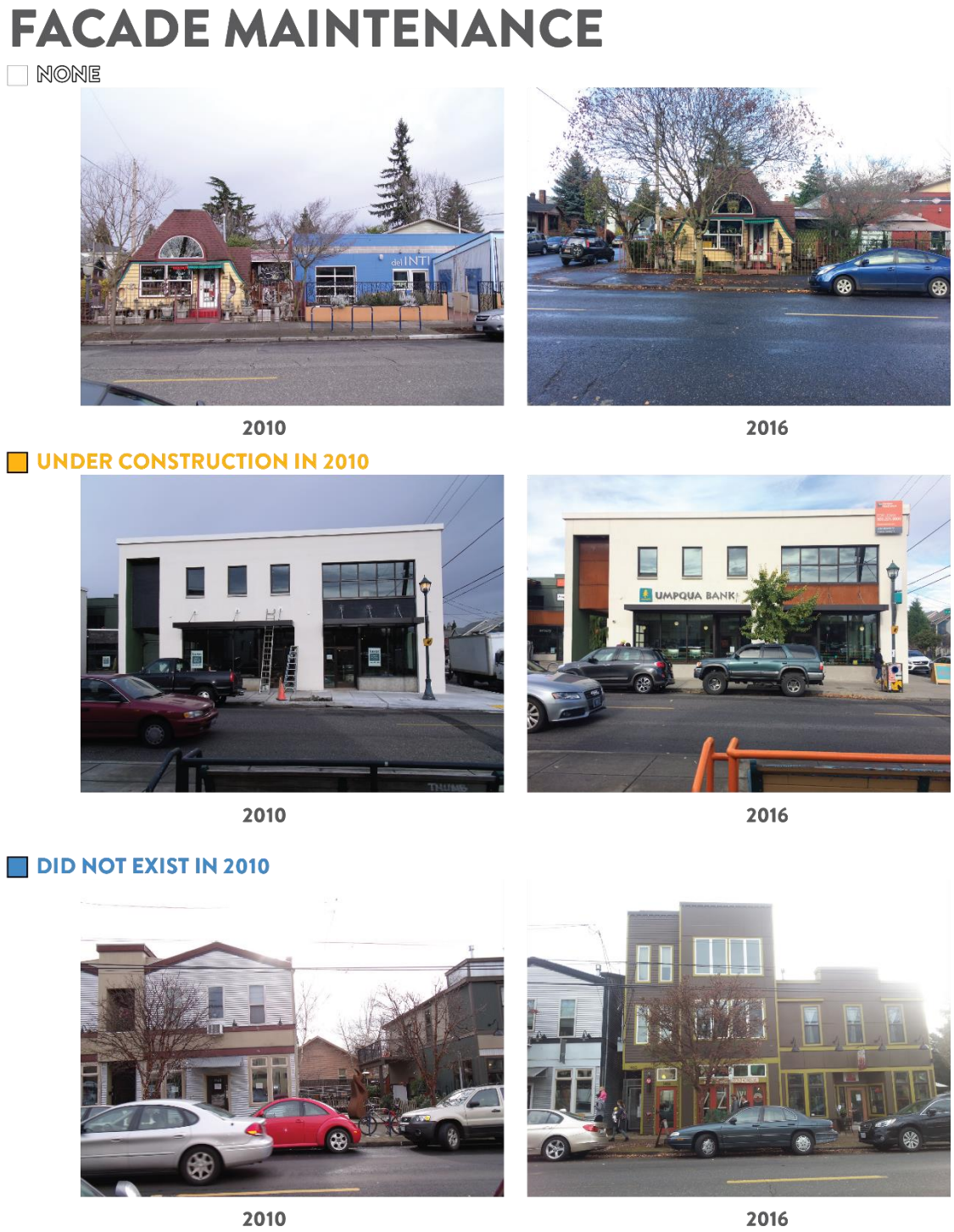


Source: Alexandra Lau

Figure 29: Photographs of typical changes of heavy, medium, and light facade maintenance.

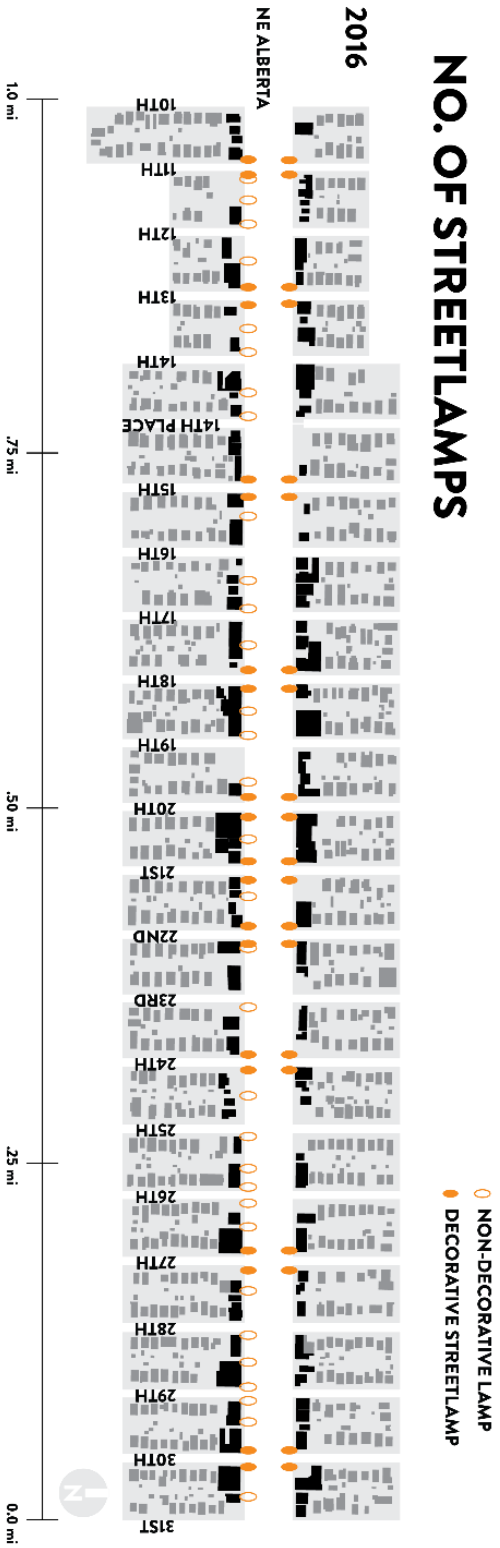
Source: Marc Holt and Maurice Reid 2010, Alexandra Lau 2016.

Figure 30: Photographs of typical lack of facade maintenance.



Source: Marc Holt and Maurice Reid 2010, Alexandra Lau 2016.

Figure 31: Map showing location of decorative and non-decorative streetlamps.



Source: Alexandra Lau

8.5. SUPPLEMENTARY EQUITY TABLES

Table 8: Demographics in study area in 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2016.

General	1990*	2000*	2010**	2016***
Population	14,239	14,909	14,400	15,218
Total Households	5,127	5,744	5,979	6,246
Total Families	3,410	3,320	2,965	3,062
Per capita Income****	$ 10,746	$ 24,833	N/A	$ 31,903
Total Housing Units	5,856	6,069	6,305	6,604
Renter Occupied Housing Units	2,188	2,147	2,211	3,692
Owner Occupied Housing Units	2,940	3,597	3,767	2,556
Vacant Housing Units	727	323	326	357

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geography

**Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1.

**Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

***Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri forecasts for 2016 and 2021 Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

****1990 Inflation: $1.00 = $1.13; CPI Inflation Calculator. Bureau of Labor Statistics. U.S. Department of Labor. Washington, DC 20212

****2000 Inflation: $1.00 = $1.40; CPI Inflation Calculator. Bureau of Labor Statistics. U.S. Department of Labor. Washington, DC 20212

Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 9: Age of population in study area in 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2016.

Age	1990*	2000*	2010**	2016***
0-14	3,845	3,121	2,191	2,267
15-34	4,447	5,288	5,296	5,418
35-54	3,619	4,443	4,564	4,718
55-74	1,652	1,494	1,972	2,389
75+	676	560	377	426
Total	14,239	14,906	14,400	15,218

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geogr

**Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

***Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri forecasts for 2016 and 2021 Esri converted Census 2000 data

**2010: census profile

Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 10: Educational attainment in the study area in 1990, 2000, and 2016.

Educational Attainment	1990*	2000*	2016**
Total	8,504	9,644	11,280
No college	6,572	6,059	3,531
College	1,932	3,585	7,739

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geography.

**Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri forecasts for 2016 and 2021 Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

***Includes high school graduate, GED/alternative credential for 2016.

Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 11: Household yearly income in the study area in 1990, 2000, and 2016.

Household Yearly Income Range	1990*	2000*	2016**
<$24,999	2,812	1,714	1,193
$25,000-$49,999	1,662	1,969	1,318
$50,000-$74,999	462	1,165	1,187
$75,000-$99,999	100	538	887
100,000+	42	334	1,661

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geography.

**Data Note: Income represents the preceding year, expressed in current dollars. Household income includes wage and salary earnings, interest dividends, net rents, pensions, SSI and welfare payments, child support, and alimony.

**Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri forecasts for 2016 and 2021 Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

***1990 Inflation: $1.00 = $1.13; CPI Inflation Calculator. Bureau of Labor Statistics. U.S. Department of Labor. Washington, DC 20212

Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 12: Owner occupied housing unit value in study area in 1990, 2000, and 2016.

Owner Occupied Housing Unit Value	1990*	2000*	2016**
<$100,000	2,707	500	114
$100,000-$199,999	44	2,461	166
$200,000-$299,999	2	362	868
$300,000-$499,999	0	50	2,141
$500,000+	1	5	399

*Data Note: Specified owner occupied Housing Units include only single family units on less than 10 acres, with no business or medical office on site. Specified renter occupied HUs exclude single family units on 10+ acres. Average Rent excludes units paying no cash rent. Rent, Home Value, and Units in Structure data are complete counts in 1990 and sample counts in 2000, so changes in enumeration can affect comparability.

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geography.

**Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010 Summary File 1. Esri forecasts for 2016 and 2021 Esri converted Census 2000 data into 2010 geography.

Source: Alexandra Lau

Table 13: Housing units by rent in study area 1990, 2000, and 2010-2014.

Housing Units by Rent Range per Month	1990*	2000*	2010-2014**
<$200	295	195	48
$200-$499	1,670	563	161
$500-$749	142	895	430
$750-$999	6	303	503
$1,000+	1	98	1,149

*Data Note: Specified owner occupied Housing Units include only single family units on less than 10 acres, with no business or medical office on site. Specified renter occupied HUs exclude single family units on 10+ acres. Average Rent excludes units paying no cash rent. Rent, Home Value, and Units in Structure data are complete counts in 1990 and sample counts in 2000, so changes in enumeration can affect comparability.

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census of Population and Housing. ESRI converted 1990 Census data into 2000 geography.

**2010-2014 ACS Estimate: The American Community Survey (ACS) replaces census sample data. Esri is releasing the 2010-2014 ACS estimates, five-year period data collected monthly from January 1, 2010 through December 31, 2014. Although the ACS includes many of the subjects previously covered by the decennial census sample, there are significant differences between the two surveys including fundamental differences in survey design and residency rules.

Source: Alexandra Lau

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[i] The reinvestment ratio is the average comparison of new investment for every dollar spent by a Main Street Program, not cumulative (Main Street America 2018, 8).
[ii] Students from the University of Oregon.
[iii] Students from the University of Oregon. Lau is also a masters student of Community and Regional Planning.
[iv] Parking is an important factor for businesses but they are not considered an active use of space in a commercial district of this scale.
[v] Brand defines neoliberalism as “strong free markets, deregulation, privatization, and a minimalist state” (251).
[vi] Causa Justa is a government organization in Alameda County, California.