



\$150 Cup of Coffee: Specialty Coffee, Third Wave Cafes, and Gentrification in Portland, Oregon 1995-2020

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\$150 Cup of Coffee: Specialty Coffee, Third Wave Cafes, and Gentrification in Portland, Oregon
1995-2020

Dennis Dalton Cote

A Thesis in the Field of History
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

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Abstract

The idea that a customer would pay \$150 for a cup of coffee seems to many people absurd, exploitative, and cringeworthy. Looking deeper the question becomes: where is a third wave café able to justify selling a cup of specialty coffee for such a high price? Also, what type of customer has the money and is willing to spend on what many would consider a luxury? There were only twenty-two cups available in the United States of this specialty grade coffee and the 100 pounds of these coffee beans had sold at auction for \$2,000 per pound. It came from a single farm, single varietal in Panama.¹

This thesis will describe the historical processes and events that led to third wave cafes producing specialty coffee in Portland, Oregon 1995-2020. The primary process that allowed this to happen is gentrification. This thesis will draw upon the works of many authors to explain the history of Oregon and Portland. It will then synthesize the theories of rent gap and stages of gentrification and show how it overlays with the history of Portland, Oregon. This thesis will also discuss the history of coffee domestication, production, and consumption from Yemen to Panama to Portland. There are strong parallels between the land use policies that allow for spaces of production to be exploited both in Portland and in coffee producing countries. This thesis will interrogate the common notion that gentrification causes displacement because former residents are displaced by newcomers. An important concept is the understanding of space and place.

¹ Best of Panama, “Best of Panama Auction 2022”, Retrieved 01/15/2023, <https://auction.bestofpanama.org/en/lots/auction/auction-2022>.

People do not say that they were “dis-spaced” but they were displaced. It will show how areas with early third wave cafes and then later ones within walking distances were part of the cause for increases in real estate prices relative to the walkable neighborhoods surrounding them. Former residents were priced out of their homes and neighborhoods, many forced to live in government subsidized housing. Being priced out can occur because of increased rent and/or increase taxes that is then included in the rent owed. Third wave cafes and specialty coffee are just one setting among many in a food system, especially in Portland, that causes but also reinforces gentrification and displacement.

This thesis finally will finally provide verification to the common belief of people that third wave cafes and specialty coffee are signs of both a gentrifying and gentrified neighborhood. It provides a historical explanation for this belief by examining the causes. It also answers how does specialty coffee define what it is and how it determines value. At the same time, it provides an explanation for why a cup of coffee is \$150 and why it was available in one of the most heavily gentrified neighborhoods in Portland. Different stages of gentrification overlap with each other and therefore it is possible to say that a third wave café would have not moved into a space if it had not gentrified but also a third wave café can cause gentrification in other spaces.

Frontispiece



A cup of Panamanian Gesha Natural processed coffee priced at \$150 per cup being brewed in a Hario V60.

Dedication

To the memory of all peoples whose history has been erased from the historical records. They lived and their lives mattered.

Acknowledgments

Let me thank Karen and Donald Cote. Also let me thank my sibling, Taylor. I would like to thank my partner James. Also, I appreciate the support of Fozzy, Florence, Emmett, Duke, and the late Bella. I appreciate Doctor Carla Martin who advised me and Doctor Michael Miner who challenged me to be a better scholar. I thank the Oregon Historical Society and Portland State University for allowing me to use their research facilities.

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Chapter I

History of Oregon

The history of Oregon and history of Portland are intertwined. Portland as the primary metropolitan area has a central and centralizing role in the history of Oregon. Central to the understanding of history of Oregon is that it has always been a place of many people coming from all over the world to many times exploit the natural resources for exportation to other markets as either raw materials or finished manufactured goods. The spaces of production meant using the land for agricultural, forestry products, and ranching. To support these industries, it meant reconfiguring the waterways from irrigation to transportation. Land use policies have been the primary way which governments have controlled the spaces of production.

Tomanowos

The Willamette Meteorite fell to Earth thousands if not millions of years ago. It is the largest meteorite discovered in the United States and held a special place for the indigenous Clackamas people. It was transported in the ice sheets of the last glacial ice age down the Colombia River where it came to rest in the West Linn, a suburb of Portland. It was later found and ultimately acquired by the American Museum of Natural History in New York. This was not before many legal battles concerning whose land it was “discovered” upon. Recently the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon sued to have access to the meteorite which they call *Tomanowos*

because it holds a religious, cultural significance to the Clackamas people, a Native American tribe which they had descended from before being forced onto a reservation in the 1850s. The treatment of the meteorite shows many ways that something special, otherworldly, is treated by people as something significant but is also stolen without regard for how people perceive it in their cultural identity.²

Wapato Nation

For many years before the settlement of Portland, indigenous people lived in the area near the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers. The primary village was on Sauvie Island on the Willamette River. These people engaged in subsistence farming of wapato and fishing.³ The indigenous people had a wide variety of food items to consume. Wapato was compared to a potato and the Multnomah people who ate it were sometimes identified by this food and referred to as “Wapato Nation.” The arrival of Europeans and others brought many diseases which decimated indigenous populations before in other parts of the Americas. The relative isolation of the Pacific Northwest somewhat insulated them from the diseases which were believed to be smallpox and possibly influenza. The mortality rate was high among the peoples with some estimates as high as 90%.⁴

² Hannah Kempf, Olson, H. C., Monarrez, P. M., Bradley, L., Keane, C., & Carlson, S. J. (2023). History of Native American land and natural resource policy in the United States: impacts on the field of paleontology. *Paleobiology*, 49(2), 199. <https://doi.org/10.1017/pab.2022.41>

³ Carl Abbott. *Portland in Three Centuries : the Place and the People*. Second edition. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2022), 12.

⁴ Abott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 15.

European and American Settlements in Oregon

The European and American exploration and colonization of Oregon began in 1792 when Robert Gray aboard the American *Columbia Rediviva* entered the mouth of the Columbia River. Later William Broughton aboard the British *Chatham* entered the Columbia River and went as far as the Sandy River, a tributary of the Columbia River near Portland. The Lewis and Clark Expedition entered the Portland area in the winter of 1805 and later explored the area near St. John's Bridge in the spring 1806. The area that would be settled as Portland was not occupied by any human settlements and was overlooked by the American and European colonizers.⁵

The land surrounding Portland was claimed by two countries but in fact had a mix of many races, ethnicities, and nationalities. The British operated at Fort Vancouver on the northern shore of the Columbia River near Portland at a trading outpost that was run by the Hudson Bay Company. John McLoughlin founded it in 1825.⁶ It traded in furs that would either be sent back to Europe or to Guangzhou, China for manufactured goods. There already existed a global trade of goods and products that found a crossroads near Portland.

Canadians who were of French descent also lived with Metis, indigenous people from the Canadian Parries, in what was called French Prairie, now known as Marion County, which is south of Portland. They also established small trading posts for beaver pelts which would be traded for other goods with the British at Fort Vancouver. While

⁵ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 11.

⁶ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 14.

the population here remained small it established outposts. One of the oldest brick buildings in Oregon, St. Paul's Church, built 1846, still stands.⁷

The British and Americans in 1818 decided for joint administration of Oregon Country and to review the agreement within ten years. Oregon City was established in 1829 as a British trading outpost, part of the trading network with British Fort Vancouver. The settlement was at the base of Willamette Falls, a natural barrier to river navigation. The British and Americans had both laid claim to what was known as Oregon Country.

During the intervening years, more Americans began to arrive in Oregon. McLoughlin was friendly with the Americans and encouraged their own settlements in the area. In 1843, 800 Americans arrived and the next year, 1,200 newcomers came over the Oregon Trail.⁸ With the number of animal pelts quickly diminishing many new arrivals turned towards farming. The Oregon Treaty in 1846, resolved the boundary dispute with the British and moving their territory claims to north of the 49th Parallel, therefore placing Oregon and the future state of Washington under American control.⁹

Portland

Halfway between Oregon City and Fort Vancouver was to be the future site of Portland, Oregon. The location as halfway between the other two settlements helped to establish it. Furthermore, in the Willamette River was Ross Island which had sandbars

⁷ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 16.

⁸ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 17.

⁹ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 20.

and the water was shallow making it difficult and treacherous for larger ships to attempt to navigate further upriver to Oregon City.¹⁰

Portland developed as a river port for loading and unloading both wheat products from the Tualatin Valley and wood from the forests that surrounded Portland. Many of the people who came to Portland originated from New York City, Boston, and other Northeastern towns. For many people, Portland, seemed like a distant outpost of New England. During the mid-19th century, Portland and San Francisco were the two cities in the American West that acted as hubs of economic prominence. The Gold Rush of 1849 drew people seeking their fortune, Portland remained what some would call quieter. The aforementioned agricultural and forestry products were the main exports of Portland.¹¹

Oregon was admitted to the United States in 1859. Oregon on paper was a free state and did not permit slavery within its borders. The fact is that the Oregon Constitution did not allow blacks, Indians, or Chinese to own property, work, or stay in the state. This provision however in the Portland area was rarely enforced but in other parts of the state it almost seemed like a white supremacist utopia. Racial tensions in Oregon would remain low for many years because many people simply believed that it was not a welcoming place for them. Chinese workers would though continue to help build the railroad system and work manual labor jobs.¹²

¹⁰ Carl Abbott. 2001. *Greater Portland: Urban Life and Landscape in the Pacific Northwest*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 36.

¹¹ Abbott, *Greater Portland*, 39.

¹² Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 45.

Chapter II

History of Portland, Oregon

The smaller cities of East Portland and Albina located on the other side of the Willamette River were annexed by Portland. Part of the reason was because of the competition with another city to the north, Seattle. The 1890 Census showed that Seattle may eclipse Portland in terms of population.¹³ The city of Portland continued to expand on the eastside. In order to connect the neighborhoods, streetcars were built to transport people back and forth from their homes. These neighborhoods would soon become the future “fifteen minutes” neighborhoods where many amenities were easily accessible within walking distance. These neighborhoods would almost a hundred of years later become some of the most heavily gentrified neighborhoods because of their desirability.¹⁴

Housing

In 1924, after considerable debate in Portland, new zoning laws were adopted. These established four different zones for either residential, mixed residential, commercial, or industrial. The master city plan was for most residential lots to be 5,000 square feet with dwellings being approximately 1,000-1,500 square feet. The first zoning residential laws also served as a way to restrict housing for renting. Affluent neighborhoods were the first to receive single family housing zone while other became working class neighborhoods. This in many ways followed a long history in Portland

¹³ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 57.

¹⁴ Abbott, Carl. *Portland : Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 27.

over land use to enforce economic and many times racial segregation.¹⁵ The Albina District became the center of Portland's black community where people could buy homes. However, soon in the 1930's and into the 1950's it was the only place that they were permitted to buy homes according to the Portland Realty Board.¹⁶

Vanport

During World War II, there was a massive influx of workers to help build ships at the Kaiser Shipyards. The housing crisis only became worse because with the housing codes established it became difficult for people to find accommodations. Many neighborhoods did not permit renting. Kaiser established its own company towns in Portland so that workers lived there and did not place pressure on the housing stock.¹⁷ The establishment in Portland, while feeling patriotic, was apprehensive of all the newcomers. The black population in Portland also surged from 2,000 before World War II to nearly 23,000. It was also at this time that many of the houses of former Japanese residents were annexed by their former neighbors. The largest of the Kaiser neighborhoods was called Vanport and placed on a floodplain of the Columbia River built in 1942. It was in fact the largest defense housing project in the United States with 10,000 housing units. While it was not permitted by law to have segregated housing, Vanport offered small apartments that were de facto segregated. Many of the other places in Portland were also segregated at this time. There were other dormitories for single workers who flocked to Portland to work in the shipyards. The pay for many shipyard

¹⁵ Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*, 81.

¹⁶ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 132.

¹⁷ Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*, 133.

workers was higher than that in Portland therefore caused inflation which many other residents resented.¹⁸

The Vanport Flood of 1948 occurred because of spring snow melt and making the Columbia River flood over its bank. Within a matter of minutes of the levees flooding, Vanport was destroyed, and 18,000 former inhabitants left homeless because even after World War II people had difficulty finding accommodation. Many of the people decided to leave Portland at that time, while others did not have the means to, especially the black community that was left without housing. They were forced to live in the Albina District because housing in Portland was still not available to them.¹⁹ The government of Portland considered building low-income housing for those displaced by the Vanport Flood, but nobody wanted it in their neighborhood and proverbial backyard because of the perceived problems that could follow. For many in Portland, they viewed Vanport as a “monstrosity” and a place of ill repute.²⁰

Housing Decline

As Portland moved away from streetcars and public transportation, it embraced automobiles and therefore highways. The highways built in Portland many times were built adjacent to railroad tracks but also through neighborhoods. These places were bulldozed to make way, for example, for Interstate 5. Neighborhoods were also demolished to make way for the expansion of hospitals, some of which never happened even after the homes had been demolished. The current area of the Oregon Convention

¹⁸ Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*, 129.

¹⁹ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 129-132.

²⁰ Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*, 157.

Center and Rose Quarter were also formerly neighborhoods of the black community that was erased.²¹ Many of the projects that cleared neighborhoods were part of urban renewal or revitalization because the city government considered them blighted. The housing that remained continued to fall in real estate value.

Urban Growth Boundary

However, as Portland expanded with many suburbs there was an uneasiness over the natural resources and farmland that was being converted to residential and commercial purposes. Governor McCall, looking at the suburban sprawl of California, helped pass Oregon Senate Bill 100 in 1973. In it was established the Urban Growth Boundary, which had municipalities establish boundaries for its development. It protected farmland and forests from being developed in a haphazard manner. Not only was residential density limited in Portland but also how far the city could expand with periodic review.²² Sauvie Island, which was the population center of indigenous people consisting of hundreds, now remains sparsely developed and outside the urban growth boundary of Portland.

A Tale of Two Neighborhoods

By the time of the 1990s, Portland was a tale of two cities. Barbara Roberts, a former governor of Oregon, returned from Harvard University in 1998 and moved into an affluent 15-minute neighborhood with many amenities within walking distance. She claimed that it reminded her of a small town and had a good mix of people with different

²¹ Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*, 164.

²² Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 160.

backgrounds. While identifying as socially progressive she found comfort living in a preserved neighborhood from the 1960s.²³ In Albina, a different story of divestment had been playing out for years. As mentioned above, the real estate had been falling in value for decades. The black community had been relegated through regulations to live there. Black families, even if they had wanted to move out of Albina, they could not because banks would not approve mortgage. Redlining by the federal government also identified Albina as an area of high risk of default payments. In the 1990s many of the homes were foreclosed upon by Portland because of failure to pay taxes, therefore developers were able to move in and improve the homes, passing on the improvements and tax debt to the new owners.²⁴ These improvements are known as revalorization and a critical part of the gentrification process. Many of the Black residents displaced by losing their homes in Albina were forced into Section 8 Housing east of 82nd Ave, a public highway that demarcates the former streetcar neighborhoods from automobile high density housing.²⁵

Conclusion

Land use policy in Portland and in Oregon has remained from the beginning a point of conflict. From the British and Americans with competing land claims and their joint annexation of indigenous lands to the spatial segregation and near total displacement of the Black community. Tied closely to land issues are also water issues that continue to play out in Oregon, whether it is access to sacred sites such as Willamette Falls or salmon

²³ Abbott, *Greater Portland: Urban Life and Landscape in the Pacific Northwest*, 81.

²⁴ Karen Gibson. Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000." *Transforming Anthropology* 15 (1) April 2007: 6.

²⁵ Erin Goodling , Jamaal Green, and Nathan McClintock.. "Uneven Development of the Sustainable City: Shifting Capital in Portland, Oregon." *Urban Geography* 36 (4) March 2015: 518.

spawning grounds. *Tomanowos* remains in possession of the American Museum of Natural History, however descendants of the Clackamas tribe are allowed private access. In a similar manner, former Black residents are able to visit their historical home, but they remain just that, visitors.

Chapter III

Literature Review

A literature review of the scholarly sources concerning gentrification, specialty coffee, and third wave cafes is necessary. This literature reviews includes both recent peer reviewed books and articles and also older sources to show the development over time that the more current works have drawn upon. There are currently no peer reviewed works available that examine how specialty coffee and third wave cafes specifically became symbols of gentrification in Portland, Oregon. However, there was a sense that retail and restaurant establishments are symbols of gentrification.

History of Portland

The first book that is useful is *Portland in Three Centuries: The Place and People* by Professor Carl Abbott at Portland State University. In it he argues that Portland has always been a place of diverse people.²⁶ In fact, it is the place that helped shape the people and also the people that reshaped the landscape of Portland throughout history to meet their social and economic visions. While Abbott never says it explicitly, the mixing of so many people coming through Portland caused tension, conflict, and, at times, violence.²⁷ People with lesser influence were often forced or coerced into using their labor to support those in power. Finally, food production systems, in Oregon for many

²⁶ Carl Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries: The Place and The People* (Second Edition). (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2022),

²⁷ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 184.

has been very important as the main occupation. This is because of the fertile landscape surrounding Portland.²⁸

Matt Hern in his book *What a City is For: Remaking The Politics of Displacement* asks this question concerning what is the purpose of a city. He uses the Albina neighborhood in Portland, Oregon as an example for why and how gentrification has taken place. In the book, Hern says that the city can be used for freedom to rethink and work out a new way of living instead of a place of accumulation of wealth but to correct injustices of the past which is a result of economic and political actions.²⁹ In many ways, Hern does not write as clearly or technically as would be helpful, however, his writing does offer insight into following other sources to review. The large demographic data of displacement population is useful but more specific methodology is later employed in this thesis to truly show how the rent-gap in specific places forecasted gentrification.

History of Coffee

Moving into the literature review, it is necessary to ask a generalized question concerning the history of coffee. Professor Jeanette M. Fregulia wrote recently, *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew: A History of How Coffee Connected The World*. In this book she argues that coffee originated for human consumption in Yemen and then in coffeehouses throughout the Levant and then Europe starting in Renaissance Italy and other European cities during the Enlightenment. Men would transplant the coffee tree to other places and build plantations and economies upon its production for European and then American

²⁸ Abbott, *Portland in Three Centuries*, 34.

²⁹ Matt Hern, *What A City Is For: Remaking the Politics of Displacement*. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2016), 44.

consumers.³⁰ It is important to point out that coffee was and continues to be a critical product of colonialism. Coffeehouses themselves were places of human connection but excluded people who could not pay. It has been argued that class distinctions were blurred in these places, but this may be a romantic notion of egalitarianism, especially since women were not always allowed entry. Coffeehouses and cafes are places between work and home where people could meet and socialize and has been noted early on its history. Some have referred to this as a third place. This third place was recreated during gentrification and in fact third wave cafes in Portland often times led the way because of cheap retail rent. Coffee is one of the first and most important products of globalization stretching out through space and time connecting people.³¹

An important seminal book that is often times cited is *From Modern Production To Imagined Primitive: The Social World of Coffee from Papua New Guinea* by Paige West. This book was written as an anthropological study of the coffeelands and people in Papua New Guinea. West offers insightful analysis into specialty coffee and the pricing structure that has arisen. The neoliberal economics in the 1980s led to fluctuating prices of coffee whether commodity grade or specialty grade.³² It also led to marketing attempts by different coffee companies to sell their coffee based upon symbolic values in order to gain consumers. The coffee producers in Papua New Guinea participate in this global trade of coffee along with other coffee related businesses.

³⁰ Jeanette Fregulia. *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew: A History of How Coffee Connected the World*. (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2019), 9.

³¹ Fregulia, *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew*, 35.

³² Paige West. *From Modern Production to Imagined Primitive :the Social World of Coffee from Papua New Guinea*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 45.

A more recent book that has come out about specialty coffee is *Making Better Coffee: How Maya Farmers and Third Wave Tastemakers Create Value* by Edward F. Fischer. At the heart of this book is the argument that neoliberal policies throughout the years coupled with colonialism have created vast and profound inequality in the value chain.³³ Indigenous people in Guatemala, namely the Maya, have been removed off their land through government policies only to be required by law to work under grueling conditions. The Maya do not benefit from the value chain of specialty coffee that pays a premium for quality coffee. In many situations, the Mayan coffee producers who grow their own coffee are unaware of the quality of their coffees.³⁴ The globalization of coffee has created only further inequalities.

Gentrification

Gentrification is interdisciplinary meaning that many academic branches intersect to interrogate the process. In order to better understand gentrification, one needs a lens to focus otherwise the topic is far too broad. One of the most recent books to come in the literature is *The \$16 Taco: Contested Geographies of Food, Ethnicity, and Gentrification* by Pascale Joassart Marcelli. This book, while focused on the geography and spatial relationships of gentrification, offers insights specific to understanding the historical background of changes in cities that cause and reproduce inequalities.³⁵ Marcelli understands that place and space play a critical role in gentrification. The displacement of

³³Edward Fischer. *Making Better Coffee: How Maya Farmers and Third Wave Tastemakers Create Value*. (United States: University of California Press, 2022), 66.

³⁴ Fisher, *Make Better Coffee*, 181.

³⁵ Pascale Joassart, *The \$16 Taco: Contested Geographies of Food, Ethnicity, and Gentrification*. (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2021), 26.

people means the erasure of the history of places. This book directly relates to how Portland arrived through gentrification at its own apotheosis of a \$150 cup of coffee.

Another book that was edited by Jossart-Marcelli and her colleague Fernando J Bosco is *Food & Place: A Critical Exploration*, which is an anthology of essays. This book examines on how three different levels that food as a process works to reproduce inequalities throughout. This book offers insights into the history of food production and systems from many authors. The authors throughout their essays examine the power structures behind the food systems and how it reshapes geographies and people's lives. One chapter that is of particular interest to this thesis is "Ethical Food and Global Commodity Chains" which is authored by Hannah Evans and Pascale Joassart-Marcelli. They offer for an example of how inequalities in the supply chain, push producers further into poverty.³⁶ Another chapter that is important is "Food and Gentrification" that examines the relationship of food to gentrification. They write that foodies, people who enjoy cosmopolitan food, are often times leading the way for gentrification. The foodies are people who search for authentic food experiences which often times include appropriating ethnic food. Just as neoliberalism has caused widely fluctuating coffee prices that drive producers into poverty, the same policies have resulted in gentrification of neighborhoods.³⁷

A Recipe for Gentrification is another collection of essays that examines how food as a process reproduces power structures. It also offers ways that people have resisted the changes to their lives from the food systems. Again, while it is more of a social analysis,

³⁶ Pascale Joassart and Fernando J. Bosco. *Food and Place: A Critical Exploration*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 100.

³⁷ Joassart, *Food and Place*, 145.

it is possible to see how Portland has reproduced these same scenarios historically. One chapter, “The Cost of Low Hanging Fruit” by Emily Becker and Nathan McClintock specifically focuses on Portland, Oregon and presents a history of gentrification that proves useful, however, with little specific data supporting its claims. What is important to extract from their chapter is that allowing communities to determine what is best is not always the best because the community is often times biased towards whiteness and excludes former residents which is often times the black community.³⁸

Karen Gibson wrote in the article “Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000” about the historical processes at the governmental level that led towards gentrification. More importantly she examines the black experience of living in Portland, Oregon which has been a predominately white city for its entire history. In fact, the movement of white people into places like Albina reversed segregation which had occurred. However, this soon proved to actually be the displacement of the black community as home ownership fell and census tracts became a majority of white residents. This pattern of divestment and displacement is not unique to gentrification in Portland, however the magnitude at which occurred was astonishing.³⁹

Sharon Zukin wrote in the often cited article “New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City” about gentrification and retail. These retail locations are boutiques and cater to certain clientele. Zukin argues that they are agents of change in neighborhoods. This change is revitalization, a way of saying that the neighborhood is open for business and

³⁸ Sbicca, Joshua, Yuki Kato, and Alison Hope Alkon. *A Recipe for Gentrification Food, Power, and Resistance in the City*. (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 134-135.

³⁹ Karen J. Gibson 2007. “*Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000.*” *Transforming Anthropology* 15 (2007): 3–25.

consequently gentrification. In a similar way, third wave cafes create a sense of place, that cater towards “white” tastes because of the specialty coffee because of perceived higher quality. People’s taste for perceived quality goods differentiates them from other people. Most importantly from Zukin’s work is the recognition that there are two paths to gentrification, either government reinvestment or consumer demand, but often times with the same outcome of displacement of previous residents.⁴⁰

“Have craft breweries followed or led gentrification in Portland, Oregon? An investigation of retail and neighborhood change” by Samuel Walker and Chloe Fox Miller examines one of the adjacent products in the beverage retail category which is craft beer. Portland has been known as part of the craft beer movement in the United States. Their analysis looks at the temporal relationship between craft breweries opening. Important to this work is their acknowledgement concerning the limitations which was based upon census data and that more fine, granular data could be used.⁴¹

Conclusion

If Portland was once considered one of the most gentrified cities in the United States, then what does it actually mean for people who live it out? Coffee, which is produced in the Global South and consumed in the Global North, often times reproduces in both places colonialism or some notion of it. Food and more specifically specialty coffee along with third wave cafes offers an important lens into examining the process of

⁴⁰ Sharon Zukin, Valerie Trujillo, Peter Frase, Danielle Jackson, Tim Recuber, and Abraham Walker. 2009. “New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City.” *City & Community* 8 (2009): 47–64.

⁴¹ Samuel Walker and Chloe Fox Miller. “*Have Craft Breweries Followed or Led Gentrification in Portland, Oregon? An Investigation of Retail and Neighbourhood Change.*” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 101 (2019): 102–17.

gentrification. This thesis will add to the academic literature that questions people's assumptions. More importantly though it will examine the underlying historical causes for gentrification in Portland, Oregon.

Chapter IV

Coffee

The history of coffee has connected peoples from all over the world. It has also been a cause of division between peoples who view it as coming from some place foreign and exotic. The question at the beginning though is how did a shrub or tree from East Africa come to be sold for such high prices? Also, more specifically how did coffee become symbolic of gentrification? There is a certain symbolic connection between quality and prices.

Science of Coffee

It is necessary to clear up a few misconceptions about coffee. First, there are multiple species within the scientific genus of *Coffea*, however what concerns specialty coffee and most third wave cafes is the species *Coffea Arabica*.⁴² Second, the product that people consume today comes from the fruit of the coffee tree.⁴³ Third, the third wave really is not the third wave but is a construct that was created to differentiate the different forms of production that seem to fall within neoliberal political policies.⁴⁴

Coffea Arabica arose in the southern Ethiopian Highlands at least 500,000 years ago. It is a singular cross between *Coffea eugenioides* and *Coffea canephora*. *Eugenioides* is not widely grown for consumer production. *Canephora* also known as Robusta is

⁴² James Hoffman. *The World Atlas of Coffee: From Beans to Brewing, Coffees Explored, Explained, and Enjoyed*. Richmond Hill, Ontario : Firefly Books, 2018, 12.

⁴³ Hoffman, *The World Atlas of Coffee*, 15.

⁴⁴ Fischer, Edward F. *In Making Better Coffee*, 198-199.

hardier and is grown in more places in the world but does not make up the majority of coffee production.⁴⁵

History of Coffee

It is unclear when humans first began consuming coffee. There are legends that goat herders would eat parts of it to remain awake. Others have said that monks would use it to stay awake at night. While the documentary evidence remains sparse, what appears to be true is that humans knew about coffee's mind-altering attributes at an early time and was considered medicinal. The prehistoric human consumption of coffee remains shrouded in the past.

Recent scientific inquiry into coffee has attempted to trace the travel out of Africa and into the Arabian Peninsula. Early botanists at first believed that coffee was native to the Arabian Peninsula and that is why they named it Arabica. Coffee is actually indigenous to the Ethiopian Highlands along the border with Sudan. It was in Yemen that coffee was first domesticated for production and exported to other places in the world along trade routes. As opposed to other parts of the world today where coffee may be grown in small garden plots, Yemen in fact has grown coffee for hundreds of years on terraced plots in dry and harsh environments at high altitudes. The major port that exported coffee is on the Sea of Aden and the place was called Mokka.⁴⁶ This name has at times been associated with coffee along with the term Java. Coffee was consumed in the Near East in public settings among men during the early Modern Period. Europeans such

⁴⁵ Hoffman, *The World Atlas of Coffee*, 15.

⁴⁶Christophe Montagnon, Faris Sheibani, Tadesse Benti, Darrin Daniel, and Adugna Debela Bote. "Deciphering Early Movements and Domestication of *Coffea Arabica* through a Comprehensive Genetic Diversity Study Covering Ethiopia and Yemen." *Agronomy* (Basel) 12 (12) December 2022: 3203.

as Leonard Rauwolf travelling to Lebanon and Syria would see these Muslim men drinking the coffee. Of certain note were the coffeehouses in Aleppo, Syria.⁴⁷ Venice was one of the first European ports to have coffee sometime in the 1580s.⁴⁸ It was at first consumed for more medicinal purposes such as curing gastrointestinal ailments. In other parts of Europe coffeehouses were open and again men would be able to drink it in a public setting. Part of the reason why coffeehouses grew in popularity during the 17th century was it did not have the inebriating effects of alcohol and instead seemed to stimulate conversation.⁴⁹

The dispersion of *C. arabica* to other parts of the world was heavily influenced by colonialism. The coffeehouses in Europe required that coffee be grown in other parts of the world because it did not grow productively in Europe itself. Recent genetic research attempted to confirm historically the different varieties and their dispersion throughout the world from Yemen. The primary center of genetic diversity of coffee remains in the Ethiopian Highlands, while the rest of the world has genetic stock from two ancestral populations in Yemen.⁵⁰

There are two main varieties of coffee that are grown in the world. Coffee first traveled to India which at that time was a British colony. It is not exactly clear when and how this happened, but it may have occurred around 1670.⁵¹ It also competed with tea as a crop for production both of which were exported back to the British Empire and other colonies. This variety is known as Typica. From there, Dutch traders introduced coffee

⁴⁷Jeanette Fregulia. 2019. *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew*, 66.

⁴⁸Fregulia, *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew*, 95.

⁴⁹Fregulia, *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew*, 121.

⁵⁰Christophe Montagnon., A. Mahyoub, W. Solano, and F. Sheibani. "Unveiling a Unique Genetic Diversity of Cultivated *Coffea Arabica* L. in Its Main Domestication Center: Yemen." *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 68 (6) February 2021: 2411–22.

⁵¹Hoffman, *The World Atlas of Coffee*, 165.

into Indonesia in 1699 and began exporting in 1711. One of the main islands that coffee grew on was Java, therefore that is why java is still sometimes synonymous with coffee because of the long-associated memory with that place.⁵²

The Bourbon variety was first grown on the island of Bourbon, a French colony now known as Reunion. Bourbon is a natural mutation of the varietal of Typica. What happens when many times for species that are transplanted to islands is that it becomes shorter and more compact in a process known as dwarfism. This in fact makes it easier for harvesting the coffee.⁵³ From Bourbon the coffee was transplanted to the plantations in Brazil where it has been mass produced. The Bourbon varietal was also introduced into other colonies such as Rwanda and Burundi, both of which almost exclusively grow Bourbon.

Gesha, the most expensive coffee in the world, did not come from these two transplantations of coffee from Yemen as mentioned above. It in fact is believed to have been taken from Ethiopia in the 1950s and transplanted in Costa Rica. For many years, this Gesha varietal was often times overlooked. However, this changed in the early 2000s when people began to drink it as a single varietal and realized its unique floral attributes similar to jasmine and black tea like acidity. At this time, the Ethiopian coffee market was not entirely open to outsiders and those attributes were not known to exist in the coffee market. Furthermore, it was believed that the special microclimate in Panama where Gesha had been grown was ideal for its unique attributes.⁵⁴ Since the recognition

⁵² Hoffman, *The World Atlas of Coffee*, 168.

⁵³ Hoffman, *The World Atlas of Coffee*, 22.

⁵⁴ “Geisha, Panama.” World Coffee Research. Accessed September 8, 2023. <https://varieties.worldcoffeeresearch.org/varieties/geisha-panama>.

of the gesha varietal it has been introduced into other surrounding countries such as Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala.

Production of Coffee

The history of coffee production in many countries took on many forms. However, there are common themes such as colonialism. This took the shape of land repossession often times by the colonial authorities in order to encourage, coerce, and in some cases force indigenous populations to produce coffee. The following paragraphs will explain the means of coffee production and how that has transformed those societies. It will later on explain how this connects to specialty coffee and third wave cafes.

Papua New Guinea

One of the most remote places in the world that produces coffee is Papua New Guinea. Some parts of the country remained uncontacted until the mid-20th century. However, coffee production continued to be an important part of the economy. It is estimated that 1/3 of the population is connected to the production, selling, and exporting of coffee. However, coffee consumption itself remains low. This is not unusual for places that produce coffee to actually not consume the coffee. The producers know that it is sent overseas for consumers there.⁵⁵ It is this image of remote locations that offers a sense of romanticism but also authenticity to consumers. However, the history of coffee production was a seismic upheaval of the core of the indigenous populations in Papua New Guinea and other locations. The most profound effect was the introduction of fiat

⁵⁵ Paige West. 2012. *From Modern Production to Imagined Primitive*, 111.

currency or money into the societies. Before this, people did not use money to purchase commodities which they did not have.⁵⁶ Coffee was and continues to be an important cash crop.

Coffee in itself has little to no nutritional value but its consumption is attached as a status symbol. West explains that at a spiritual level, coffee is transactional for the people of Papua New Guinea, because they do not consume it. They do not feel a special connection to it like they do with the sweet potato which they consume for nourishment. The ancestral spirits who have died do not inhabit the coffee that they grow unlike other foods that they grow for consumption.⁵⁷ However, the money that they do earn from producing the coffee is small compared to what it is sold for to consumers.

Value is added to the coffee by a form of mythmaking, a narrative for consumers that makes them feel connected to the producers. This marketing is specifically focused on socially conscious consumers. The quality of coffee from Papua New Guinea continues to develop as better processing methods and quality controls are implemented. Barioda Estates run by the Colbran Family is the coffee producers most often used by specialty coffee roasters because they are known for high quality coffee.⁵⁸ There is sometimes a disconnect between the quality of the coffee and the marketing which adds an apparent value to coffee. Papua New Guinea is just one country where the indigenous population has largely been convinced to produce coffee for export to the Global North while also fundamentally changing their society.

⁵⁶ West, *From Modern Production to Imagined Primitive*, 80.

⁵⁷ West, *From Modern Production to Imagined Primitive*, 121.

⁵⁸ Maja Wallengren.. *Papua New Guinea Growers: In Pursuit of Specialty Coffee*. The Tea & Coffee Trade Journal. Vol. 186. Lockwood Trade Journal Co., Inc, April 2014, 82.

Guatemala

Coffee production in Guatemala has followed a similar pattern of exploitation of people and the land which they used to live on. In the late 19th century, some German families moved to Guatemala and bought large plantations for coffee.⁵⁹ They also married some of the women who were part of the local indigenous population. The government of Guatemala also forcibly removed the indigenous populations from their ancestral lands. These people had been descendants from the Mayans. The land which they lived on was considered ideal for growing coffee. Coffee as a cash crop was one way for the rich German families to gain even more money at the expense of exploiting the local population. However, once the indigenous people were removed from their land, they were then required by law to work on it without receiving a fair wage or share of their labor.⁶⁰ Similar to how marketing of coffee from Papua New Guinea, value is added to coffees from Guatemala by adding a sense of authenticity and connection. However, this again elides the colonial past, namely the dispossession of people from their land.

Conclusion

These are two examples of countries and their people who are intertwined with the global trade of coffee. The colonial past of introducing coffee production for consumption in Enlightenment Europe. It is also these ideas of free trade that helped to support specialty coffee and third wave cafes. With the collapse of regulated supply and

⁵⁹ Fischer, *Making Better Coffee*, 94.

⁶⁰ Fischer, *Making Better Coffee*, 100.

demand it caused the prices to fluctuate. Coffee in the C market futures can move and change but never really moving above \$2/pound. However, the gesha varietal from Panama can reach high prices going from \$20/pound in 2005 to Best of Panama 2023 receiving close to \$5000/pound. The expectation though for many in the Global North is for cheap cups of coffee without realizing how exploitative coffee production actually is or how much of a country's population is devoted to exporting coffee.

Chapter V

History of Coffee in Portland, Oregon

According to Clever, a real estate website that helps people choose residential and commercial properties, Portland is the #1 best coffee city in the US in 2024. There are an estimated 27.8 locations to purchase a cup of coffee per 100,000 residents in Portland vs a national average of 12.6 There are also 2.4 coffee roasteries for every 100,000 residents vs the national average of .7.⁶¹ The study by Clever did not differentiate between first, second, or third wave. People have choices in Portland where they can consume coffee and this leads to competition. One way to achieve this is through higher quality coffee and different consumer experiences. This leads to the question how Portland arrived at this position in terms of coffee ubiquity.

The question still remains: what led from pioneers drinking past date, stale coffee to \$150 cups of coffee? This question relates to what is specialty coffee, specialty grade coffee, and third wave cafes. There still remains debate about those above definitions. However, in an attempt to answer the first question, it is necessary to explain how Portland, Oregon played a pivotal role in the history of coffee not only in the city but in fact the world. It was the historical circumstances that were previously discussed, specifically land use policies, that allowed a “café culture” to flourish in what many had considered a from early in history a cultural backwater to the sleepy, residential neighborhoods of Portland, Oregon.

⁶¹ Sam Huisache. “The Best Coffee Cities in the U.S. (2024 Data)”. 12 January 2024. <https://listwithclever.com/research/best-coffee-cities/>.

Arrival of Coffee in Oregon

The early white pioneers who came across the Oregon Trail and other routes brought with them coffee. At this time, much of the coffee was being primarily grown in Puerto Rico before it was decimated and also Brazil.⁶² People would either roast the green coffee beans before using what would be considered a percolator, shooting hot water in a compressed atmosphere. Coffee could also be prepared by boiling the grounds and then allowing to cool and then using a piece of cloth to filter it, otherwise known as cowboy coffee. In 1873, the Central Market was open in what is now known as Old Towne. In Stall 15, Frank Fabre, was selling coffee and what he claimed to be the only place to have “pure mocha” probably a reference to the Port of Mocha in Yemen conjuring ideas of authentic coffee. Fabre also sold oysters, pies, cakes, and chops.⁶³ Fabre had originally been born near Versailles France and possibly had experienced the European coffeehouses at that time and wished to reproduce something of which he saw there. The Pine Street Coffeehouse was opened in 1893 and operated until 1938. This was one of many coffeehouses that were opened in the tradition of European coffeehouses. Other places in Portland were known to sell coffee, tea, and spices.⁶⁴

First Wave of Coffee

In the post-World War II era there was a change in the consumption of coffee. Many people began to drink instant coffee and they also consumed it at home. Coffeehouses in many American cities would cease to exist for decades. Even the

⁶² James Hoffmann, *The World Atlas of Coffee: From Beans to Brewing: Coffees Explored, Explained and Enjoyed* (Firefly Books, 2018), 198.

⁶³ Portland City Directory. Oregon Historical Society Research Library. Portland, Oregon, 1872.

⁶⁴ Portland City Directory. Oregon Historical Society Research Library. Portland, Oregon, 1893.

gentrification of Soho, New York City, did not see the rise of “café culture” during its beginning in the 1970’s. The first wave of coffee can be traced to this period. This was a time of mass production, mass consumption, and mass standardization. Just as homes themselves were being mass produced to standard models so were other consumer products such as coffee. Portland had the distinction of having two large roasters that are still in business. P.D. Boyd founded the company Boyd’s Coffee in 1912. It slowly grew to become a regional roaster and opened a larger roastery in 1970. Much of the interior decoration has been preserved as it would have looked from that time period. The company was bought out in 2016 by Farmers Brothers and the roasting operations shutdown. However, the brand lives on in many grocery stores that maintains the image of a connection to a storied past. The company roasts blends, not single origins, and produces them at large scale.⁶⁵

Second Wave of Coffee

The second wave of coffee brought back in many coffeehouses back to Portland. There was a hiatus after World War II when there were none. The coffeehouse was a “third place” between home and work that people could gather. For other people they were liminal spaces where people could engage in transactional relationships for a cup of coffee. It was at this time that companies like Peet’s and Starbucks first ventured into the Portland, Oregon market. However, before that there was Kobos Coffee. This company opened in 1973 with the coffee roaster in the shop that sold coffee, tea, spices, and other kitchen equipment. This setup was unusual for the Pacific Northwest where the coffee

⁶⁵ Will Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX: How Portland Became the Best Coffee City in America*, (Valencia, California: HFC Media 2014), 45-48.

roaster was closer to the consumer to see. Unlike Boyd's which roasted the coffee in an industrial setting the consumer felt more of a connection. Founder and CEO David Kobos also believed in roasting fresher coffee and what he believed was higher quality. This was at a time also that Peet's and Starbucks were also following a somewhat similar model of selling fresh roasted coffee directly to consumers. Kobos opened one of the first espresso bars in Portland in the early 1980's. Many Americans had never heard of espresso or lattes, but Kobos was at the forefront in the second wave of coffee. These Kobos has had to close their retail locations and focuses on wholesale and online retailing. This is not unusual for many second wave coffee retailers due to the rise of the third wave.⁶⁶

One other second wave coffee company in Portland that often times serves as a cautionary tale is Coffee People. Husband and wife team, Jim and Patty Roberts opened Coffee People in 1983. With many businesses it had a hard time and was bought out in 1986 by another Portland Coffee Company, Coffee Bean International, which was larger. It kept the original owners on as managers who were able to buy back the company in 1991. Expansion of the company into other markets were difficult and ended up with a failed IPO and also another buy out including a non-compete clause. The Robertses were not able to re-enter the coffee scene until 2002 under the name of Jim and Patty which had its own sense of nostalgia of the previous Coffee People. As a second wave café, they continued to struggle in terms of quality against other coffee companies in Portland and eventually closed. The lesson learned by many early coffee professionals was that quality was the way of differentiating oneself in a saturated market.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 49-54.

⁶⁷ Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 55-61.

Third Wave of Coffee

Different waves of any movement are seen as reactions to the previous ones. The third wave café in many ways attempted to move away from corporate businesses. One example of this in the Pacific Northwest was the 1999 World Trade Organization riots which protested violently against the corporations which seemed to be against local, small businesses. Duane Sorenson had grown up in the Seattle area. He began roasting at Lighthouse Coffee and then moved down to Portland, Oregon where he married, partly because of the lower cost of living compared to Seattle. He opened Stumptown Coffee on Division Street in November 1999.⁶⁸ The Division Street area at this time had not yet been gentrified and was still considered by many to be sleepy and outside of the Portland downtown scene. Sorenson focused on procuring coffees directly from producers in a model that was known as direct trade. Coffee buyers attempted to visit origin countries and producers to establish relationships with them and finding the high-quality coffees. These coffees also meant that they could be roasted lighter than before when dark roasted coffees pervaded. The darker roasted coffees could cover so the faults and defects in the coffee. Some of the longest relationships for Stumptown Coffee are still used today. Many of the coffee workers at Stumptown known as baristas looked different than what one may have seen at corporate owned places.⁶⁹

It was another move towards independence. Sorenson's and Stumptown's commitment to quality coffee provided a gospel to other café owners like Phoung Tran. She took over Lava Java in Ridgefield, WA in 2002. Later, she competed in the United

⁶⁸ Weissman, Michael. *God in a Cup: in Pursuit of Perfect Coffee*. (Hoboken, NJ: J. Wiley, 2008), 30.

⁶⁹ Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 74.

States Barista Championship and won 1st place in 2005.⁷⁰ At that same time, she was moving towards Stumptown Coffee because of its quality. At the same time in Portland, Albina Press had opened in 2004. Mark Fuller had bought the building as part of an art cooperative, and Billy Wilson from Lava Java also worked there bringing coffee knowledge from his previous employer. They also both competed in regional barista competitions. Albina Press also served Stumptown Coffee. Through all the times at Albina Press, Fuller was training future baristas who would later become café owners/operators.⁷¹ Two of particular note are Mindy Farley and Matt Higgins. Farley opened up Red E Café only a few blocks away from Albina Press. Over time as business grew, Red E started roasting its own coffee to have even more control over quality.⁷² Matt Higgins opened his coffee company Coava in 2009. It was originally located in his garage but later opened in an industrial space on the near the waterfront. His focus was also on quality coffee and would travel to origin countries to build relationships.⁷³

The term “third wave coffee/cafes” was first used by Trisha Rothgeb in 2002 to describe coffee professionals, that is baristas and roasters who were trying to present specialty coffee in their cafes.⁷⁴ All of these cafes have something in common and that is they were not located in central locations of commercial business. They were located in residential neighborhoods or what others may call not ideal business locations. For some they chose it because of lower rent and others so they could be closer to customers and become part of the neighborhood. These neighborhoods although were undergoing

⁷⁰ Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 93-95.

⁷¹ Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 104-106.

⁷² Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 131-133.

⁷³ Hutchens, *Caffeinated PDX*, 138-139.

⁷⁴ Trish Rothgeb Skeie, “*Norway and Coffee*,” *The Roaster’s Guild Flamekeeper* November, 2002.

gentrification and the third wave cafes played a critical role in both attracting newcomers but also driving even more gentrification. It is important to note that all of these people who have been listed above still play a large part in the Portland coffee scene. They are part of the early third wave cafes in the early stages of gentrification. As more neighborhoods opened up with developers, more third wave cafes received funding from restaurant groups and investors. Together, the developers and investors helped to support each other in gentrifying Portland.

Specialty Coffee

Finally, the specialty coffee industry started to undergo some developments that allowed specialty coffee to arrive in markets easier. Part of this was the Cup of Excellence auction that was based in Portland but worked throughout the world, expanding year after year. Sorenson and other coffee buyers would act as a jury and judge coffees submitted to the Cup of Excellence. Individual producers would be recognized for their coffee and then have it auctioned off. The coffees were scored from 0-100 based upon sensorial analysis. Also, included in this auction system was the arrival of geisha from Panama. It was discovered at a similar competition to auction coffees to buyers. People in 2005 time were willing to pay \$20 per pound and then the next year, 2006, they paid at auction \$50 per pound.⁷⁵ In the 2023 auction, Best of Panama, geisha was selling for \$5,000 per pound. It is through the relationships over the years that companies like Stumptown with others were able to buy other high-quality coffees. As more consumers bought these coffees they wanted more, especially in Portland that

⁷⁵ Weissman, 2008, xv.

prided itself on supporting local businesses but also knowing where their food products were grown. For other products that seemed generic and standardized, specialty coffee had these different flavor notes and stories that sometimes connected to people.

The \$150 cup of coffee was announced with excitement at Proud Mary Coffee located in the Alberta Arts District. Proud Mary was a coffee company first originally founded in Melbourne, Australia and had a reputation of serving exceptional, high quality coffees. The reason believed is because of the direct relations that the owner Nolan Hirte had with many farmers. Direct Relationship coffee is often times used by coffee companies to make it seem that they know the coffee producers because they maybe visit the farm once. It is a term that has a level of ambiguity and promiscuity because it means different things to different people.⁷⁶

Proud Mary opened in 2017. This was at the height of gentrification in Portland, Oregon. The neighborhood had been transformed from boarded up shops. The former space of Proud Mary was a used car garage. The neighborhood had been rebranded as the “Albina Arts District” to emphasize its cultural and bohemian nature. Hirte had said controversially in an interview that there was “nothing” in Portland.⁷⁷ Many of the old guard of coffee professionals whether roasters or owners took offense at this comment, but this was partially true. Proud Mary was willing to buy high quality coffees and serve them within a sit-down restaurant setting unlike third wave cafes where many orders were taken to go. It was a different service model both in Portland and the American dining experience. Hirte believed that coffee should not be treated as something mundane

⁷⁶ Proud Mary Coffee. “Proud Mary Coffee Journal”. <https://proudmariycoffee.com/pages/our-story>.

⁷⁷ Michelman, Jordan. “Nolan Hirte of Proud Mary Coffee: The Sprudge Interview” Sprudge. July 29, 2016. <https://sprudge.com/proud-mary-pdx-104760.html>.

but the premium coffees consumed like a fine wine. Its also important to note that in Australia filter coffee through automatic brewer is rare and people prefer handcrafted beverages. Hirte was bringing this craftsmanship to Portland, both in coffee and food.

\$150 cup of coffee

Hirte among others had participated in the Best of Panama auction as a judge. He was able to procure for Proud Mary one pound of the top scoring (96.5) coffee at a price of \$2000 to be served in the Portland and Austin, Texas cafes. It was a single lot of coffee of gesha and naturally processed. Each location received 11 cups available at a price point of \$150.⁷⁸ Phuong Tran at a previous coffee tasting competition won a golden ticket to be able to taste the coffee for free. She said that it “tasted like heaven”.⁷⁹ A more important exercise that Proud Mary wanted to highlight with this coffee was that many coffee producers do not receive a fair price for their coffee. \$150 is on the extreme end, however, coffee producers and those who harvest the coffee are not paid enough to be sustainable. The difference between coffee as a commodity and as specialty is that it can’t be replaced and easily substituted.⁸⁰ Finally, the \$150 cup of coffee sold out within the first day. Proud Mary still offers cups of coffee at a price point from \$15-20.

⁷⁸Brooke Jackson-Glidden. “You Can Spend \$150 on a Cup of Coffee at Proud Mary, if That’s Something You’re Into”. EaterPDX. January 26, 2023. <https://pdx.eater.com/2023/1/26/23571520/150-dollar-coffee-proud-mary>.

⁷⁹ Tim Steele. “\$150 cup of coffee ‘tastes like heaven’ in Portland”. Koin 6. February 12, 2023. <https://www.koin.com/news/portland/150-cup-of-coffee-tastes-like-heaven-in-portland/>.

⁸⁰Crystal Ligori. “How a \$150 cup of coffee at a Portland café sheds light on a coffee pricing crisis”. Oregon Public Broadcasting. April 1, 2023. <https://www.opb.org/article/2023/04/01/150-dollar-cup-of-coffee-portland-oregon-cafe-sheds-light-on-industry-pricing-crisis/>.

Chapter VI

Gentrification

Gentrification is a process of change in a neighborhood. The end product of gentrification is displacement. In many ways, displacement not only includes the removal of people from the neighborhood but also entire memories of the place and being replaced with new people and new places, therefore creating new memories and subsequently meaning.

Displacement

In order to define gentrification, it is easier to define displacement both in an objective and subjective sense. Displacement is the lived experience of people who watch as their neighborhood slowly changes or in some cases dramatically changes. This displacement can occur over months, years, or generations. The time span chosen, 1995-2020, it is the time it takes for a generation to be born, grow up, and actually be displaced from the neighborhood that they were born into.

In the YouTube documentaries, the *Northeast Passage*⁸¹ and *Portland's History of Segregation and Redlining*⁸², it examines one black woman's, Nikki Williams, experience of gentrification and subsequent displacement. Her story is not unique nor unusual in Portland, Oregon. All the neighborhoods in the city experienced gentrification in one way or another with many residents being forced out from their homes.

⁸¹ Priced Out: Tales of Gentrification. "NorthEast Passage: Gentrification in Portland in the 1990s," YouTube Video, 55:45. May 8, 2017, <https://youtu.be/4r4gkrRMXTE?si=o87N6ZyP9fyLuT3Y>.

⁸² Priced Out: Tales of Gentrification. "Portland's History of Segregation and Redlining," YouTube Video, 1:02:15. Oct 22, 2020, https://youtu.be/vMZYiv_jf2U?si=m4_HFt8M6yC3RyF3.

East Portland is a vast part of the city of Portland that lies east of 82nd Ave. It used to be that Caesar Chavez Ave was the line drawn for East Portland. The point is the disinvestment historically in this area has led to concentrations of poverty. People who were forced out of the Albina District and Inner Southeast have been forced to live here or to move completely out of Oregon. A simple drive down 82nd Ave and into the eastern neighborhoods illustrate the neglect from the city in terms of municipal services. The fact that one has to drive through these neighborhoods shows that it was built up in the post-World War II era to be traveled by automobile and not streetcar or other forms of public transportation. East Portland is further divided by I-205 and I-84. Section 8 housing abounds in this area and therefore some people have called it warehousing of the poor or maybe simply put, placing the poor on reservations.⁸³

Causes of Gentrification

Understanding the causes of gentrification, scholars attempt to explain whether it is production or consumption. Production side explanation of gentrification say that it is the housing prices that are the main causes. The consumption say that it is the retail environment that cause gentrification and therefore attract consumers into neighborhoods. However, the most recent scholarship identifies that both cause gentrification. Production of space for gentrification can be understood as objective, something that is measurable, such as real estate value. However, consumer and therefore retail space is more

⁸³ Goodling, Erin, Jamaal Green, and Nathan McClintock. "Uneven Development of the Sustainable City: Shifting Capital in Portland, Oregon.", 509.

subjective because the quality of products requires people to give it value. They cannot exist one without the other.⁸⁴

Neil Smith is considered by many urban theorists to be the most influential especially with the rent gap theory which describes gentrification. Smith posited that gentrification is the process of land or property was divested in and therefore loss value. Since value is a social construct, it could be reinvested and therefore the price could rise. The capital that was being poured into the neighborhood would be a way to measure the magnitude of gentrification. The rent gap theory falls onto the production side way of explaining gentrification.⁸⁵

Philip Clay's Four Stages of Gentrification

Phillip Clay in his seminal book from 1979, *Neighborhood Renewal: Middle-class resettlement and Incumbent Upgrading in American Neighborhoods* helped to identify four different stages of gentrification. In the first stage, pioneers enter the neighborhood and begin renovating the properties using their own labor.⁸⁶ The first Stumptown Coffee location on SE Division Street and Albina Press on North Albina were the early pioneers of third wave cafes and specialty coffee. Many people were curious why they were opening in their locations, and some would say crime ridden neighborhoods. The original Stumptown location was a burned-out place from a fire in a

⁸⁴ Joassart-Marcelli, \$16 Taco, 63-64.

⁸⁵ Peter Moskowitz. *How to Kill a City : Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood*. (New York, NY: Nation Books, 2017), 36-39.

⁸⁶ Clay, Phillip L. *Neighborhood Renewal: Middle-Class Resettlement and Incumbent Upgrading in American Neighborhoods*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1979, 57.

hair salon. The Portland Police in fact visited Albina Press warning them of the dangers of opening in their location.

In Stage Two, more people begin moving into the neighborhoods and begin renovating the homes and businesses.⁸⁷ Looking at the data as described later, it is unclear at what stage certain third wave cafes were opening. One possibility is Red-E Café located at North Killingsworth. Also, another location of Stumptown on SE Belmont also opened less than a mile from the original location. Workers from one location would gain knowledge and skills and go out on their own taking the risks of opening their own cafes.

Third Stage is when more developers move into the neighborhood and develop it further. The neighborhood's character begins to change.⁸⁸ In Portland, developers would move into the neighborhoods and flip the houses within 12-18 months and resell them to individual homeowners. This can be seen in the data because of the Recession of 2008. There is a 20% dip in almost all real estate values and then an immediate rebound and increase in value. These homes were either foreclosed upon or bought out. People moving into these neighborhoods would be enticed to move there because of amenities such as parks, natural grocery stores, and coffee. The accessibility of these places such as within walking distance was highly sought after. Portland was seen as still affordable but not for past residents but for people moving in from places like Seattle, Washington and San Francisco, California.

⁸⁷ Clay, *Neighborhood Renewal*, 58.

⁸⁸ Clay, *Neighborhood Renewal*, 58.

Stage Four of gentrification is even more people continue to arrive from the middle class and price out older residents from the neighborhood.⁸⁹ There is significant developer investment in commercial properties in Portland. Many of the retail corridors are bought and renovated offering even more amenities to the newcomers. Proud Mary Coffee opens on NE Alberta within this timeframe and offers exclusive coffees. There is at the same time a certain tension between Stage One pioneers and the most recent arrivals, both in coffee and residents.⁹⁰

Gentrification does not happen overnight or even within a few years. As explained by Alkon, Kato, and Sbicca, gentrification is a dynamic process that takes place over many years and if not generations. As in Portland's case, housing policies, that occurred one hundred years before 2020 still influence gentrification as it progresses to displace people. For many neighborhoods as explained, it is the devalued space that seems to create an urban frontier for people to move into.⁹¹ There is a sense of authenticity. In Portland, this particular mindset matches with the early pioneers who came across the Oregon Trail and settled in the area.

Space vs Place

In discussing gentrification and displacement it is important to offer a discussion of place versus space. People say that they were displaced, not dis-spaced. The question is what the difference between place and space is and how this relates to gentrification. Joassart-Marcelli using the work of John Agnew identifies three interpretations of place:

⁸⁹ Clay, *Neighborhood Renewal*, 59.

⁹⁰ Jordan Michelman. "Nolan Hirte of Proud Mary Coffee: The Sprudge Interview" Accessed 01/15/2023. <https://sprudge.com/proud-mary-pdx-104760.html>

⁹¹ Alkon, Kato, and Sbicca, *A Recipe for Gentrification* 10-11.

location, locale, and sense of place. First, is the location, which means a space that history occurs in. Second, is locale, which is the place that people experience their ordinary everyday life. Third, is the sense of place that is the most intimate because it is how people interpret the above two through their own life experiences. All of these above descriptions of place are interdependent upon each other and offered a layered experience.⁹²

The landscape of place contains its own history, meaning, and memory for the different people who have lived there and continue to inhabit it. The foodscape also operates in the same way because people purchase, prepare, and consume food. Landscapes and foodscapes touch upon all the above definitions of place. The name of Portland describes the economic activity of the city as a major port in the Pacific Northwest specifically the exportation of wheat. However, the indigenous name located Sauvie Island was actually Wapato. There was a village and a meeting place on the island where the different tribes would meet to exchange goods. Wapato was a tuber that was grown for food by the indigenous people and was plentiful on the island. The name of Portland and Wapato signify the representation of two different cultures in the same space but having a different place.⁹³ One cannot simply go to a grocery store and buy wapato but there is an abundance of wheat products. While, the food product displaced another, as different peoples and cultures displaced each other. Ironically, the only place

⁹² Joassart-Marcelli, *Food and Place*, 14-15.

⁹³ Joassart-Marcelli, *Food and Place*, 16.

in Portland to have the name wapato was a jail that cost millions to build but was never used until converted to a homeless shelter.⁹⁴

Gentrification is a similar process that results in displacement. The landscape changes because of the displacement of one social class by another. The social class displaced usually has lower income status and are no longer able to afford to live in that neighborhood. The urban renewal projects accelerate this transformation. As different people move in, they bring in their own social status and influence.⁹⁵ For example, why have so many first and second wave cafes closed but the third wave cafes seem to be flourishing and offering high priced coffee? Are people no longer wishing to visit all night coffee shops? Even Starbucks Coffee has pulled back in recent years from Portland, Oregon and closed in many of the gentrified neighborhoods.

Walkability

A final question about gentrification more broadly asks, why have some cities gentrified, and others have not? Some cities still have housing stock that people can move into and fix up. Is it because that there are not the retail and consumer services associated not available there? The walkability of a place is considered an important aspect of a neighborhood. Portland developed in 2009 a city goal of having 20 minute neighborhoods as opposed to 15 minute neighborhoods but essentially remain the same. All the basic needs of the residents could be met either by walking or biking, not using a

⁹⁴Antonin Margier. "The Involvement of Business Elites in the Management of Homelessness: Towards a Privatization of Service Provision for Homeless People?" *Urban Affairs Review* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.) 59 (3): May 2023 668–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10780874211073882x>.

⁹⁵ Joassart-Marcelli, *Food and Place*, 135.

car. It was hoped that 90% of the population could have this by 2030.⁹⁶ In the 2015 Portland Plan update, approximately, 60% of the population has reached this goal.⁹⁷ One reason, why this was possible was because of gentrification or rather the space was available for it occur. The streetcar system from over a hundred years before the mass use of cars made it possible because of the compact neighborhoods. This walkability of neighborhoods overlaps with gentrification. The same report that cited the complete neighborhoods also recognizes that gentrification and displacement can occur as well.

Any attempt to define gentrification runs into challenges. Dennis E. Gale says that it remains largely meaningless for discussion because of its “promiscuity” among people and across time.⁹⁸ The City of Portland in the above-mentioned Portland Plan defines gentrification:

“The process of an under-valued neighborhood becoming desirable, resulting in rising property values and changes to demographic and economic conditions of the neighborhood. These changes include a shift from lower-income to higher-income households, and often there is a change in racial and ethnic make-up of the neighborhoods residents and businesses.”

This definition leads to questions about what has historically led to the devaluation of a neighborhood. Also, how does an undervalued neighborhood then become desirable and therefore cause rising property values. The definition also does not capture how in some

⁹⁶ City of Portland. “Climate Action Plan.” 2009. Accessed May 17, 2022.
https://www.portland.gov/sites/default/files/2019-08/cap_may_2010_web_0.pdf.

⁹⁷ City of Portland “Climate Action Plan.” 2015. Accessed May 17, 2022.
https://www.portland.gov/sites/default/files/2019-07/cap-2015_june30-2015_web_0.pdf

⁹⁸ Dennis E Gale. *The Misunderstood History of Gentrification : People, Planning, Preservation, and Urban Renewal, 1915-2020*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2021), 16.

cases the same families have lived in the same home for generations and even continue to live in multigenerational households.

Conclusion

Finally, in Portland, Oregon, this rent gap will be mapped onto the foodscape, specifically, third wave cafes that serve specialty coffee. All data was collected from PortlandMaps.Com and then examined within a five minute walking distance. The real estate market price is tracked over the years and shows how it goes up. In some neighborhoods, homes prices over twenty-five years increased one hundred times while in others it has not been as dramatic. The taxes owed also increased but still in some neighborhoods, taxes were not paid. Tracking the real estate value is a better way to examine gentrification because as stated, some homes remain in the family and are paid off, therefore the income value may not properly reflect this. Also, in other homes, early gentrifiers had their homes paid for by their parents sometimes as wedding gifts, whether it be outright or a down payment. This methodology of using real estate values help to answer the original question, whether a neighborhood has gentrified or not. Arriving at a precise definition for gentrification, here in Portland or elsewhere, remains difficult because it is a process that has to be lived and experienced. This is accomplished through displacement and only the people who have lived through it, know it. Nikki Williams said about gentrification let it come but when the neighborhood had arrived at this apotheosis, she suddenly realized that it was alien to her and commented that she felt like an alien herself because so many retail places were no longer welcoming to her.

Chapter VII

Gentrification in Portland

Gentrification in Portland, Oregon follows a unique trajectory and not necessarily the predicted model as found in other cities. As previously discussed, housing in Portland is different because of restrictive laws in terms of density and expansion of the cities in Oregon. Therefore, the methodology that was chosen to chart gentrification in Portland was real estate prices. The data sets that were used was extracted from Portlandmaps.com which is a repository of data and other housing information for properties in Portland.

Methodology

The set of data chosen for analysis is a small sample size. However, it is believed to be a better sample size than census tract data at the zip code level. It tracks the data from residential lots within a one block radius of several early third wave cafes that were serving specialty coffee.

The first data comes from Stumptown Coffee original location at 4525-4537 SE Division Street. The price of real estate for the building which was shared with a hot tub jacuzzi business at the time in 1999 was \$213,000. Previously the real estate value was \$174,000 in 1997. Moving forward to 2022 the real estate value in \$3,354,000. The real estate value went up nearly 20x in the time period.

The real estate prices for residences in the surrounding neighborhood block follow a similar pattern. The median home price from the table provided was \$117,000-\$120,000 in 1997 and then in 2022 \$635,000-\$671,000. That is an increase in value of 5.4-5.6 times what it was within a twenty-five-year period. The taxes owed increased also

within the time period within a range of 3.3 and 3.5 times. The increase in taxes and sometime liens on houses forced people to move out.

The real estate prices in the Albina District were even higher and had a larger gap. For the residential zones around the third wave cafes, the real estate prices rose 7.4-7.9 times over what it was between 1997 and 2022. Tax data however indicates that taxes remained in line with increase by the same amount as the original Stumptown location with an increase of 3.2-4.9 times over the time period. This significant gap in real estate prices is part of what is called the rent gap. Some houses in the neighborhood sold for \$8000.

With all of this data what can be said about how this relates to gentrification. First, some neighborhoods had a wider gap between when residences had very low real estate value vs very high. This is what I would call high gentrification vs low gentrification. Moskowitz describes Neil Smith's gentrification theory of rent gap in an excellent manner. They describe the rent gap as when a property is the lowest value that it can be invested in with the highest return.⁹⁹ Is this approach correct? It seems that it partly explains what is happening in the data with a rapid increase in real estate value but also taxes owed on properties. It would seem that it explains only part of the gentrification in these neighborhoods, specifically the mechanism why people were being forced out of their homes. Some people in these homes also had mortgages and the taxes due on their properties which they could not pay. Many times, these mortgages were predatory. Within recent memory, these subprime mortgages took advantage of

⁹⁹ Moskowitz. *How to Kill a City*, 38.

homeowners in the Albina neighborhood which led to foreclosure.¹⁰⁰ The so called “Red House” was part of an occupation movement during the racial equality riots in Portland. The Red House is situated on land in Albina that had been foreclosed upon and developers were moving into redevelop. The Red House was also between two early third wave cafes, Fresh Pot and Albina Press. The protestors would use both spaces for their amenities while still protesting the gentrification of the neighborhood which led to the family of Red House to be forced out. In the end the developers decided it was too risky to redevelop the Red House and it remains as it is today in a dilapidated condition.

In 2017, Proud Mary Coffee opened on NE Alberta Street. It was opened in a neighborhood that had already been gentrified.¹⁰¹ However, it represented a new wave of gentrification which Neil Smith would call hypergentrification. It was sweeping through Portland where developers were moving in and buying up properties. Using Google Streetview to contextualize the data for Proud Mary Coffee, before it was selling \$150 cups of coffee, only a decade earlier it was a used auto shop. Using Google Streetview again people can see the differences of the neighborhood change over the years. Proud Mary Coffee is a symbol of gentrification of the neighborhood that had been happening over a long period. Without other retailers in the neighborhood being there first, then it would not have been possible. Proud Mary also benefited from the specialty coffee and third wave cafes in Portland because there was already a demand for those products. People who could afford coffee not just for its mind-altering function but also for its

¹⁰⁰ John Hendricks. *Police Chief Asks for Barricades to Come down at Portland Red House Protest; Mayor's Office Says 'an Armed Occupation' Will Not Stand.* CNN Wire Service. Atlanta: CNN Newssource Sales, Inc, December 12, 2020.

¹⁰¹ Samantha Bakall, “Why Australian Coffee Gem Proud Mary Chose Portland,” Oregonlive, July 1, 2017, https://www.oregonlive.com/dining/2017/07/australias_caf_culture_runneth.html.

pleasure could consume it. This consumer culture differed significantly from what had existed before. In many third wave cafes in Portland there was little to no table service. Proud Mary Coffee served both coffee and food which was incorporated the Pacific Northwest ethos for local and quality food. It not enough to say that having low priced housing could produce gentrification but also the consumption of experiences also drew people to these spaces.¹⁰²

Conclusion

The areas of Portland that experienced high levels of gentrification as described here was divested in. It was neglected by the government. In many ways it was the urban frontier and gentrifiers were the new pioneers who came to settle it. As discussed by Joassart-Marcelli, white settlers move into neighborhoods and displace former residents, especially African American residents in Albina and other former black majority neighborhoods.¹⁰³ This mentality of an urban frontier is especially instilled here in Portland, Oregon because of its history. White settlers had come here to claim land for agricultural purposes. The indigenous populations had largely been displaced and weakened by diseases brought by the newcomers. They were forced onto reservations. In a similar manner, former residents in gentrified neighborhoods were also forced into public housing projects far from their historical neighborhoods. This was because of documents such as treaties or subprime mortgages that they had signed without understanding what they meant. Third wave cafes also reproduce inequality of the food systems from neocolonial states. Specialty coffee is possible because of neoliberal

¹⁰² Joassart, Pascale.. *The \$16 Taco*, 9.

¹⁰³ Joassart-Marcelli, *\$16 Taco*, 157-158.

policies, namely the deregulation of the coffee market and prices. However, it does not benefit everyone, especially the indigenous people who are sometimes forced to work on the land but are unable to receive a fair wage. While consumers can drink a \$150 cup of coffee, it is impossible for those farmers to ever dream of consuming it. In addition, it is the mindset of white settlers that they can still have cheap coffee because of the exploitative practices of colonialism. This examination of real estate prices and taxes shows the extremes of gentrification in Portland, Oregon at a personal level. People sometimes decided to sell their homes knowing that they could make more money than they had originally bought it for, or they were foreclosed.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

The reputation of Portland, Oregon as a diverse and progressive city is in contrast to its history and legacy. Instead, of making a better community for many it's the few who are able to afford to live in Portland's gentrified neighborhoods and benefit from its amenities. The early third wave cafes opened up in neighborhoods that were overlooked by developers because of there was no demand. However, people moved to Portland's divested neighborhoods because of the low real estate values and caused the prices to skyrocket. The low real estate values was because of years of divestment from both city and developers. The land use policies of Portland that restricted residential development and Oregon's urban growth boundary limiting expansion of cities, led to the high prices for real estate. The high taxes associated with housing forced many people to leave while at the same time attracted buyers to develop the houses and bring the real estate values even higher. The third wave cafes were listed as something desirable in many ads for housing and attracted people because of the walkability of the neighborhoods. People's sense of gentrification and displacement are correct when they see third wave cafes opening and the most extreme example being a cup of coffee selling for \$150.

Third wave cafes arose in Portland during the first wave of gentrification. Part of the reason was because of the inexpensive real estate needed to start a business. Also, they served specialty coffee which was of higher perceived quality. With the higher priced coffee products came other amenities to neighborhoods from farmers markets and

bicycle lanes. The neighborhoods that experienced this change had been formerly neglected by local, state, and the federal government. They had not been invested in either by private investors. It was with the arrival by these early “pioneers” that people took notice. These were also other newcomers coming from other cities where they had been priced out. The neglected neighborhoods in Portland were the former homes of the black community until they were priced out and displaced. This displacement was caused by rising real estate prices and associated property taxes. Many former residents were not able to pay the taxes. Others also considered their homes an investment and a means to increase their personal wealth and therefore sold them.

Homes in Portland, Oregon as discussed were under restrictive zoning laws that had started in the 1920’s. Developers had originally overlooked these homes because it was not profitable for them to invest in single family housing. The early gentrifiers would improve the housing stock and increase the value of the homes. Newspapers and other media outlets highlighted these changes and more people moved in and continued to drive up prices and displace former residents. The rent gap widened even more with home and neighborhood transformations.

Without the process of gentrification, then third wave cafes and specialty coffee would not have flourished in a cycle of displacement and exploitation. Specialty coffee especially serves a symbolism on how neoliberal policies have exploited coffee producers and in gentrified neighborhoods this exploitation is reproduced in a local sense. The public perception of a \$150 cup of coffee and its conspicuous consumption is just a sip of gentrification and its underlying processes.

Appendix

Albina Press

	4637 N ALBINA AVE		4635 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4635 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4634 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2022	\$2,065,590	\$6,112.13	\$944,230.00	\$7,097.20	\$623,310.00	\$1,679.83	\$467,160.00	\$1,418.44
2021	\$1,850,920	\$6,008.85	\$838,750.00	\$6,977.05	\$556,640.00	\$1,651.43	\$419,220.00	\$1,394.58
2020	\$1,880,180	\$5,512.30	\$763,330.00	\$6,400.58	\$512,430.00	\$1,515.20	\$377,160.00	\$1,279.41
2019	\$1,755,810	\$5,309.71	\$753,330.00	\$6,165.37	\$502,430.00	\$1,459.67	\$367,160.00	\$1,232.56
2018	\$1,755,810	\$5,153.55	\$738,050.00	\$5,984.16	\$502,430.00	\$1,416.92	\$367,160.00	\$1,196.45
2017	\$1,340,330	\$4,939.34	\$551,070.00	\$3,990.85	\$468,410.00	\$1,358.22	\$342,860.00	\$1,146.88
2016	\$1,218,480	\$4,520.31	\$530,380.00	\$3,652.41	\$451,640.00	\$1,243.03	\$332,090.00	\$1,049.71
2015	\$982,650.00	\$4,401.71	\$460,230.00	\$3,556.58	\$397,980.00	\$1,210.52	\$281,980.00	\$1,022.25
2014	\$869,600.00	\$4,335.26	\$401,650.00	\$3,502.87	\$343,670.00	\$1,192.22	\$238,630.00	\$1,007.04
2013	\$869,600.00	\$4,234.45	\$351,220.00	\$3,421.40	\$297,240.00	\$1,164.63	\$213,180.00	\$983.68
2012	\$869,600.00	\$3,830.65	\$312,230.00	\$3,095.34	\$263,990.00	\$1,053.74	\$188,730.00	\$890.02
2011	\$780,000.00	\$3,686.27	\$308,960.00	\$2,978.86	\$261,520.00	\$1,014.12	\$187,520.00	\$856.53
2010	\$720,000.00	\$3,497.66	\$334,620.00	\$2,826.37	\$279,520.00	\$962.29	\$193,770.00	\$812.89
2009	\$720,000.00	\$3,406.22	\$330,850.00	\$2,752.58	\$277,950.00	\$937.28	\$195,550.00	\$791.75

	4637 N ALBINA AVE		4635 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4635 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4634 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2008	\$720,000.00	\$3,214.29	\$345,760.00	\$2,597.64	\$288,630.00	\$884.64	\$200,800.00	\$747.26
2007	\$711,540.00	\$3,204.81	\$294,150.00	\$2,589.89	\$249,010.00	\$882.04	\$190,280.00	\$745.11
2006	\$573,320.00	\$2,877.91	\$239,150.00	\$2,325.92	\$203,600.00	\$792.28	\$157,060.00	\$669.20
2005	\$604,900.00	\$2,748.83	\$220,760.00	\$2,221.63	\$183,910.00	\$756.82	\$136,380.00	\$639.31
2004	\$364,770.00	\$2,172.45	\$193,210.00	\$2,419.68	\$161,830.00	\$824.26	\$118,470.00	\$696.45
2003	\$319,980.00	\$2,124.38	\$183,940.00	\$2,366.29	\$144,900.00	\$806.17	\$117,630.00	\$681.07
2002	\$275,860.00	\$1,950.92	\$180,210.00	\$2,173.17	\$125,580.00	\$740.51	\$69,150.00	\$625.54
2001	\$248,510.00	\$1,860.42	\$162,350.00	\$2,072.25	\$113,130.00	\$706.24	\$62,300.00	\$596.69
2000	\$218,000.00	\$1,817.10	\$156,100.00	\$2,024.07	\$108,780.00	\$689.93	\$59,900.00	\$582.86
1999	\$116,500.00	\$1,689.57	\$150,100.00	\$1,882.01	\$104,600.00	\$641.64	\$57,600.00	\$541.94
1998	\$108,900.00	\$1,663.15	\$135,200.00	\$1,852.53	\$94,200.00	\$631.61	\$51,900.00	\$533.57
1997	\$103,700.00	\$1,571.43	\$126,400.00	\$1,750.40	\$88,000.00	\$596.87	\$48,500.00	\$504.21
	19.91890	3.889533	7.470174	4.05461	7.0830681	2.814398445	9.632164948	2.813192916
			(2001) 167850					

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	4725 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4735 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4807 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4817 N MISSISSIPPI AVE	
2022	\$632,920.00	\$2,488.93	\$637,580.00	\$2,541.27	\$607,620.00	\$3,188.53	\$551,220.00	\$2,173.01
2021	\$565,390.00	\$2,446.93	\$569,180.00	\$2,498.26	\$542,860.00	\$3,134.72	\$493,340.00	\$2,136.22
2020	\$521,080.00	\$2,244.81	\$524,770.00	\$2,291.82	\$498,880.00	\$2,875.86	\$450,140.00	\$1,959.75
2019	\$511,080.00	\$2,162.53	\$514,770.00	\$2,207.64	\$488,880.00	\$2,770.27	\$440,140.00	\$1,887.75
2018	\$511,080.00	\$2,098.98	\$514,770.00	\$2,142.86	\$488,880.00	\$2,688.89	\$440,140.00	\$1,832.47
2017	\$476,600.00	\$2,011.80	\$479,850.00	\$2,053.86	\$455,850.00	\$2,577.08	\$410,680.00	\$1,756.42
2016	\$459,560.00	\$1,841.14	\$462,510.00	\$1,879.61	\$439,690.00	\$2,358.44	\$396,730.00	\$1,607.56
2015	\$396,760.00	\$1,792.97	\$399,150.00	\$1,830.33	\$378,690.00	\$2,296.64	\$340,170.00	\$1,565.48
2014	\$343,750.00	\$1,766.04	\$345,710.00	\$1,802.71	\$327,050.00	\$2,262.16	\$291,920.00	\$1,541.96
2013	\$302,480.00	\$1,725.09	\$303,740.00	\$1,761.03	\$288,020.00	\$2,209.65	\$258,440.00	\$1,506.16
2012	\$268,820.00	\$1,560.62	\$269,660.00	\$1,593.20	\$255,650.00	\$1,999.10	\$229,340.00	\$1,362.67
2011	\$266,280.00	\$1,501.78	\$267,070.00	\$1,533.23	\$253,340.00	\$1,923.97	\$227,440.00	\$1,311.47
2010	\$284,820.00	\$1,424.94	\$286,170.00	\$1,454.76	\$270,130.00	\$1,825.54	\$239,940.00	\$1,244.42
2009	\$283,110.00	\$1,387.75	\$284,290.00	\$1,416.80	\$268,900.00	\$1,777.73	\$239,940.00	\$1,211.89
2008	\$294,040.00	\$1,309.55	\$295,480.00	\$1,337.15	\$279,020.00	\$1,677.54	\$248,070.00	\$1,143.70
2007	\$253,110.00	\$1,305.77	\$257,350.00	\$1,333.21	\$241,170.00	\$1,672.52	\$218,880.00	\$1,140.44
2006	\$214,150.00	\$1,172.63	\$209,910.00	\$1,197.26	\$197,260.00	\$1,501.98	\$179,780.00	\$1,024.22

	4725 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4735 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4807 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4817 N MISSISSIPPI AVE	
2005	\$160,630.00	\$820.24	\$190,530.00	\$1,143.69	\$177,370.00	\$1,434.74	\$159,860.00	\$978.39
2004	\$139,020.00	\$893.43	\$166,980.00	\$1,245.79	\$154,980.00	\$1,562.75	\$139,010.00	\$1,065.73
2003	\$133,760.00	\$873.88	\$160,420.00	\$1,218.22	\$150,760.00	\$1,528.29	\$137,090.00	\$1,042.26
2002	\$108,180.00	\$802.65	\$128,700.00	\$1,118.82	\$135,320.00	\$1,403.60	\$109,130.00	\$957.23
2001	\$97,450.00	\$765.37	\$115,940.00	\$1,066.93	\$117,570.00	\$1,338.52	\$98,310.00	\$912.82
2000	\$93,700.00	\$747.54	\$111,490.00	\$1,042.11	\$113,050.00	\$1,307.34	\$94,540.00	\$891.66
1999	\$90,100.00	\$695.23	\$107,200.00	\$969.09	\$108,700.00	\$1,215.65	\$90,900.00	\$829.24
1998	\$81,200.00	\$684.51	\$96,600.00	\$954.02	\$78,100.00	\$882.43	\$81,900.00	\$816.34
1997	\$75,900.00	\$646.76	\$90,300.00	\$901.53	\$73,000.00	\$833.84	\$76,500.00	\$771.46
	8.33886693	3.8483053	7.0606866	2.818841	8.323561	3.823911	7.205490	2.816750
	(1995) 135000				(1997) 102500		(1999) 91000	

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	4734 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4806 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4816 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		826 N HUMBOLDT ST	
2022	\$2,065,590	\$3,235.53	\$628,680.00	\$2,164.21	\$534,480.00	\$2,284.37	\$1,076,250	\$2,561.37
2021	\$1,850,920	\$3,180.95	\$561,050.00	\$2,127.57	\$478,340.00	\$2,245.72	\$963,436.67	\$2,518.08
2020	\$1,880,180	\$2,918.23	\$516,740.00	\$1,951.81	\$435,340.00	\$2,060.36	\$944,086.67	\$2,310.13
2019	\$1,755,810	\$2,811.10	\$506,740.00	\$1,880.14	\$425,340.00	\$1,984.86	\$895,963.33	\$2,225.37
2018	\$1,755,810	\$2,728.39	\$506,740.00	\$1,824.87	\$425,340.00	\$1,926.44	\$895,963.33	\$2,159.90
2017	\$1,340,330	\$2,615.17	\$472,220.00	\$1,749.15	\$396,770.00	\$1,846.48	\$736,440.00	\$2,070.27
2016	\$1,218,480	\$2,393.37	\$455,140.00	\$1,600.90	\$383,370.00	\$1,689.80	\$685,663.33	\$1,894.69
2015	\$982,650.00	\$2,330.71	\$392,270.00	\$1,559.03	\$327,950.00	\$1,645.60	\$567,623.33	\$1,845.11
2014	\$869,600.00	\$2,295.50	\$339,210.00	\$1,535.51	\$280,570.00	\$1,620.90	\$496,460.00	\$1,817.30
2013	\$869,600.00	\$2,242.26	\$297,870.00	\$1,499.89	\$248,470.00	\$1,583.40	\$471,980.00	\$1,775.18
2012	\$869,600.00	\$2,028.53	\$264,160.00	\$1,356.85	\$220,170.00	\$1,432.44	\$451,310.00	\$1,605.94
2011	\$780,000.00	\$1,952.25	\$261,640.00	\$1,305.90	\$218,410.00	\$1,378.55	\$420,016.67	\$1,545.57
2010	\$720,000.00	\$1,852.31	\$280,240.00	\$1,239.13	\$229,820.00	\$1,307.96	\$410,020.00	\$1,466.47
2009	\$720,000.00	\$1,803.97	\$278,510.00	\$1,206.86	\$230,130.00	\$1,273.94	\$409,546.67	\$1,428.26
2008	\$720,000.00	\$1,702.37	\$289,460.00	\$1,139.05	\$237,750.00	\$1,202.33	\$415,736.67	\$1,347.92
2007	\$711,540.00	\$1,697.40	\$249,940.00	\$1,135.69	\$211,030.00	\$1,198.89	\$390,836.67	\$1,343.99
2006	\$573,320.00	\$1,141.61	\$203,780.00	\$1,019.95	\$173,310.00	\$1,076.65	\$316,803.33	\$1,079.40

2005	\$604,900.00	\$1,090.52	\$184,250.00	\$974.21	\$153,190.00	\$1,028.42	\$314,113.33	\$1,031.05
2004	\$364,770.00	\$1,187.71	\$162,120.00	\$1,061.05	\$133,800.00	\$1,120.26	\$220,230.00	\$1,123.01
2003	\$319,980.00	\$1,161.50	\$152,060.00	\$1,037.79	\$126,830.00	\$1,095.59	\$199,623.33	\$1,098.29
2002	\$275,860.00	\$738.39	\$138,910.00	\$953.19	\$91,960.00	\$1,006.23	\$168,910.00	\$899.27
2001	\$248,510.00	\$704.16	\$125,140.00	\$909.08	\$82,850.00	\$959.47	\$152,166.67	\$857.57
2000	\$218,000.00	\$687.81	\$120,330.00	\$887.90	\$79,660.00	\$937.16	\$150,498.00	\$837.62
1999	\$116,500.00	\$639.65	\$115,700.00	\$825.63	\$76,600.00	\$871.39	\$102,933.33	\$778.89
1998	\$108,900.00	\$629.79	\$76,800.00	\$377.14	\$69,000.00	\$857.83	\$84,900.00	\$621.59
1997	\$103,700.00	\$595.07	\$71,800.00	\$356.34	\$64,500.00	\$810.67	\$80,000.00	\$587.36
	19.91890068	5.4372259	8.755988858	6.073441096	8.286511628	2.817879038	13.453125	4.360817897
	(2002) 120000		(1994) 28000					

Albina Press

	4728 N MICHIGAN AVE		4734 N MICHIGAN AVE		4804 N MICHIGAN AVE		4816 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2022	\$610,560	\$2,642.18	\$716,610	\$3,774.90	\$545,710	\$1,715.61	\$606,760	\$2,942.34
2021	\$545,440	\$2,597.48	\$638,570	\$3,711.16	\$488,500	\$1,686.59	\$542,110	\$2,892.77
2020	\$501,420	\$2,383.02	\$576,030	\$3,404.64	\$445,380	\$1,547.38	\$498,130	\$2,653.82
2019	\$491,420	\$2,295.53	\$566,030	\$3,279.52	\$435,380	\$1,490.60	\$488,130	\$2,556.34
2018	\$491,420	\$2,228.23	\$472,370	\$2,270.55	\$435,380	\$1,446.82	\$488,130	\$2,481.38
2017	\$458,190	\$2,135.62	\$440,550	\$2,176.17	\$406,270	\$1,386.75	\$455,160	\$2,378.24
2016	\$441,930	\$1,954.60	\$425,130	\$1,991.61	\$392,530	\$1,269.17	\$439,030	\$2,176.69
2015	\$389,270	\$1,903.43	\$374,220	\$1,939.31	\$344,990	\$1,236.07	\$386,680	\$2,119.76
2014	\$335,730	\$1,874.75	\$322,010	\$1,910.23	\$295,340	\$1,217.44	\$333,370	\$2,087.74
2013	\$290,550	\$1,831.23	\$279,000	\$1,866.03	\$256,550	\$1,189.28	\$288,570	\$2,039.27
2012	\$258,040	\$1,656.61	\$247,740	\$1,688.11	\$227,750	\$1,076.01	\$256,270	\$1,844.80
2011	\$255,670	\$1,594.25	\$245,560	\$1,624.64	\$225,920	\$1,035.52	\$253,930	\$1,775.47
2010	\$272,700	\$1,512.74	\$260,900	\$1,541.49	\$237,990	\$982.58	\$266,100	\$1,684.55
2009	\$271,430	\$1,473.19	\$260,100	\$1,501.15	\$238,120	\$956.93	\$265,070	\$1,640.51
2008	\$299,590	\$1,390.27	\$269,540	\$1,416.56	\$246,040	\$903.12	\$274,860	\$1,548.22
2007	\$258,170	\$1,386.23	\$236,480	\$1,412.39	\$215,220	\$900.60	\$245,210	\$1,543.66
2006	\$210,450	\$1,244.88	\$193,800	\$1,268.45	\$177,130	\$808.79	\$171,680	\$1,012.90

	4728 N MICHIGAN AVE		4734 N MICHIGAN AVE		4804 N MICHIGAN AVE		4816 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2005	\$191,060	\$1,189.13	\$174,180	\$1,211.53	\$154,770	\$772.62	\$151,670	\$967.48
2004	\$168,410	\$1,295.26	\$152,810	\$1,319.69	\$134,440	\$841.57	\$132,050	\$1,053.74
2003	\$162,520	\$1,266.64	\$151,340	\$1,290.63	\$128,560	\$823.00	\$127,280	\$1,030.58
2002	\$137,940	\$1,163.34	\$125,100	\$1,185.39	\$103,120	\$755.99	\$112,020	\$946.60
2001	\$124,270	\$1,109.43	\$112,700	\$1,130.46	\$92,910.00	\$721.02	\$106,550	\$1,093.38
2000	\$119,500	\$1,083.62	\$108,370	\$1,104.12	\$89,340.00	\$704.38	\$86,010.00	\$881.63
1999	\$114,900	\$1,007.62	\$104,200	\$1,026.66	\$85,900.00	\$655.09	\$82,700.00	\$819.82
1998	\$103,500	\$991.87	\$93,900.00	\$1,010.58	\$77,400.00	\$644.83	\$74,500.00	\$806.96
1997	\$96,700.00	\$937.16	\$87,800.00	\$954.97	\$72,300.00	\$609.33	\$69,600.00	\$762.57
	6.3139607	2.8193478	8.16184510	3.952899	7.547856	2.8155679	8.717816092	3.858452339
	(2003) 160000				(1989) 13500		(1999) 69900	

Albina Press

	4827 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4833 N MISSISSIPPI AVE	
2022	\$746,750.00	\$2,787.97	\$675,190.00	\$2,621.64
2021	\$665,030.00	\$2,740.80	\$602,200.00	\$2,577.49
2020	\$600,770.00	\$2,514.35	\$542,030.00	\$2,364.63
2019	\$590,770.00	\$2,422.01	\$532,030.00	\$2,277.79
2018	\$583,530.00	\$2,350.89	\$523,330.00	\$2,211.02
2017	\$543,580.00	\$2,253.18	\$487,790.00	\$2,119.11
2016	\$523,120.00	\$2,062.11	\$470,060.00	\$1,939.48
2015	\$481,060.00	\$2,008.13	\$428,620.00	\$1,888.70
2014	\$420,410.00	\$1,977.87	\$372,600.00	\$1,860.33
2013	\$366,620.00	\$1,931.87	\$326,380.00	\$1,817.24
2012	\$325,690.00	\$1,747.70	\$289,800.00	\$1,644.02
2011	\$322,120.00	\$1,681.89	\$282,540.00	\$1,582.26
2010	\$350,400.00	\$1,595.97	\$304,190.00	\$1,501.42
2009	\$345,880.00	\$1,554.25	\$301,590.00	\$1,462.26
2008	\$361,340.00	\$1,466.69	\$301,350.00	\$1,067.92
2007	\$321,890.00	\$1,462.31	\$270,440.00	\$1,064.82

	4827 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4833 N MISSISSIPPI AVE	
2006	\$260,460.00	\$1,313.20	\$220,150.00	\$956.23
2005	\$242,250.00	\$1,254.38	\$200,750.00	\$913.30
2004	\$214,510.00	\$1,366.22	\$154,800.00	\$994.75
2003	\$159,720.00	\$1,336.16	\$143,040.00	\$972.74
2002	\$137,820.00	\$1,227.15	\$127,800.00	\$893.42
2001	\$124,170.00	\$1,170.24	\$109,960.00	\$852.02
2000	\$119,400.00	\$1,143.09	\$101,920.00	\$832.18
1999	\$114,800.00	\$1,062.99	\$98,000.00	\$773.86
1998	\$103,400.00	\$1,046.38	\$88,300.00	\$761.80
1997	\$96,600.00	\$988.85	\$82,500.00	\$719.80
	7.730331263	2.819406381	8.184121212	3.642178383
	(1988) 24400		(1993) 50000	

Stumptown Coffee

	4525-4537 SE DIVISION ST		4605 SE DIVISION ST		4615 SE DIVISION ST		4623 SE DIVISION ST	
2022	\$3,354,420.00	\$8,243.56	\$568,620.00	\$4,014.93	\$541,270.00	\$3,564.22	\$532,520.00	\$3,919.87
2021	\$3,013,340.00	\$8,103.96	\$517,400.00	\$3,947.21	\$493,990.00	\$3,504.03	\$485,300.00	\$3,853.66
2020	\$3,013,340.00	\$7,434.21	\$463,700.00	\$3,621.04	\$444,800.00	\$3,214.60	\$439,190.00	\$3,535.19
2019	\$2,816,350.00	\$7,160.93	\$464,290.00	\$3,488.08	\$444,830.00	\$3,096.50	\$435,100.00	\$3,405.17
2018	\$2,816,350.00	\$6,950.54	\$464,290.00	\$3,385.70	\$444,830.00	\$3,005.60	\$435,100.00	\$3,305.11
2017	\$2,407,170.00	\$6,661.75	\$455,290.00	\$3,244.96	\$436,330.00	\$2,880.79	\$425,030.00	\$3,167.91
2016	\$2,188,340.00	\$6,096.66	\$441,880.00	\$2,969.82	\$423,830.00	\$2,636.44	\$411,620.00	\$2,899.35
2015	\$1,800,610.00	\$5,936.66	\$354,260.00	\$2,892.07	\$334,790.00	\$2,567.36	\$332,540.00	\$2,823.25
2014	\$1,800,610.00	\$5,847.04	\$332,340.00	\$2,848.43	\$315,080.00	\$2,528.66	\$312,330.00	\$2,780.84
2013	\$1,787,110.00	\$5,711.21	\$288,980.00	\$2,782.34	\$295,020.00	\$2,469.82	\$268,480.00	\$2,716.25
2012	\$1,674,170.00	\$5,166.58	\$270,150.00	\$2,517.18	\$201,880.00	\$2,006.04	\$251,570.00	\$2,457.34
2011	\$1,488,800.00	\$4,503.37	\$262,150.00	\$2,422.31	\$193,880.00	\$1,930.65	\$221,480.00	\$2,364.80
2010	\$572,140.00	\$4,272.89	\$239,340.00	\$2,298.37	\$210,110.00	\$1,831.84	\$238,630.00	\$2,243.69
2009	\$572,140.00	\$4,161.09	\$235,510.00	\$2,238.30	\$212,900.00	\$1,784.05	\$242,170.00	\$2,184.93
2008	\$572,140.00	\$3,926.74	\$249,450.00	\$2,112.24	\$224,030.00	\$1,683.69	\$256,390.00	\$2,061.89
2007	\$555,480.00	\$3,915.08	\$245,860.00	\$2,106.06	\$221,330.00	\$1,678.87	\$243,650.00	\$2,055.90
2006	\$408,440.00	\$3,515.91	\$222,630.00	\$1,891.27	\$200,510.00	\$1,507.63	\$221,130.00	\$1,846.29

	4525-4537 SE DIVISION ST		4605 SE DIVISION ST		4615 SE DIVISION ST		4623 SE DIVISION ST	
2005	\$374,710.00	\$3,358.16	\$189,400.00	\$1,806.38	\$163,230.00	\$1,440.07	\$182,870.00	\$1,763.52
2004	\$331,610.00	\$3,657.70	\$168,490.00	\$1,967.41	\$144,330.00	\$1,568.53	\$164,360.00	\$1,920.90
2003	\$331,610.00	\$3,576.87	\$166,860.00	\$1,923.96	\$141,020.00	\$1,533.87	\$157,510.00	\$1,878.50
2002	\$309,910.00	\$3,284.98	\$135,920.00	\$1,767.06	\$108,210.00	\$1,408.71	\$132,540.00	\$1,725.09
2001	\$279,200.00	\$3,132.29	\$121,370.00	\$1,685.09	\$96,620.00	\$1,343.32	\$118,340.00	\$1,645.11
2000	\$247,080.00	\$3,059.30	\$113,420.00	\$1,645.92	\$90,290.00	\$1,312.17	\$110,600.00	\$1,606.75
1999	\$213,000.00	\$2,844.46	\$112,300.00	\$1,530.48	\$89,400.00	\$1,220.09	\$109,500.00	\$1,493.97
1998	\$193,600.00	\$2,800.07	\$105,900.00	\$1,506.49	\$84,300.00	\$1,200.99	\$103,300.00	\$1,470.71
1997	\$174,400.00	\$2,645.79	\$101,800.00	\$1,423.55	\$81,100.00	\$1,134.92	\$99,300.00	\$1,389.72
			(1988) 23000		(1993) 50000		(2001) 132500	

Stumptown Coffee

	2375 SE 47TH AVE		2372 SE 46TH AVE		2364 SE 46TH AVE		2365 SE 47TH AVE	
2022	\$532,520.00	\$5,212.55	\$497,900.00	\$3,971.42	\$615,350.00	\$5,392.80	\$688,900.00	\$4,805.64
2021	\$485,300.00	\$5,124.42	\$454,370.00	\$3,904.22	\$560,820.00	\$5,301.49	\$626,840.00	\$4,724.26
2020	\$439,190.00	\$4,700.90	\$413,450.00	\$3,581.71	\$504,480.00	\$4,863.43	\$559,970.00	\$4,334.08
2019	\$435,100.00	\$4,528.27	\$407,540.00	\$3,450.08	\$503,970.00	\$4,684.66	\$563,160.00	\$4,174.67
2018	\$435,100.00	\$4,395.17	\$407,540.00	\$3,348.69	\$503,970.00	\$4,546.95	\$563,160.00	\$4,052.12
2017	\$425,030.00	\$4,212.46	\$397,540.00	\$3,209.69	\$493,970.00	\$4,358.06	\$553,170.00	\$3,883.79
2016	\$411,620.00	\$3,855.17	\$384,680.00	\$2,937.51	\$479,440.00	\$3,988.36	\$537,460.00	\$3,554.34
2015	\$332,540.00	\$3,754.02	\$299,590.00	\$2,860.59	\$377,160.00	\$3,641.68	\$447,450.00	\$3,461.00
2014	\$312,330.00	\$3,697.42	\$281,680.00	\$2,817.47	\$354,550.00	\$3,586.77	\$419,950.00	\$3,408.80
2013	\$268,480.00	\$3,611.54	\$248,560.00	\$2,751.94	\$305,430.00	\$3,503.44	\$360,160.00	\$3,329.70
2012	\$251,570.00	\$3,267.36	\$233,270.00	\$2,489.48	\$286,320.00	\$3,169.53	\$336,620.00	\$3,012.36
2011	\$221,480.00	\$3,144.24	\$225,270.00	\$2,395.80	\$278,320.00	\$3,050.19	\$317,020.00	\$2,898.88
2010	\$238,630.00	\$2,983.41	\$242,410.00	\$2,273.08	\$297,400.00	\$2,894.10	\$337,910.00	\$2,750.55
2009	\$242,170.00	\$2,905.51	\$245,960.00	\$2,213.84	\$302,570.00	\$2,818.32	\$344,680.00	\$2,678.74
2008	\$256,390.00	\$2,741.87	\$260,140.00	\$2,089.10	\$323,330.00	\$2,659.68	\$371,760.00	\$2,527.81
2007	\$243,650.00	\$2,733.63	\$255,090.00	\$2,082.93	\$299,090.00	\$2,651.82	\$338,680.00	\$2,520.41
2006	\$221,130.00	\$2,454.82	\$231,700.00	\$1,870.51	\$271,780.00	\$2,381.41	\$306,740.00	\$2,263.43

	2375 SE 47TH AVE		2372 SE 46TH AVE		2364 SE 46TH AVE		2365 SE 47TH AVE	
2005	\$182,870.00	\$2,344.68	\$192,910.00	\$1,786.53	\$230,730.00	\$2,274.62	\$261,990.00	\$2,161.92
2004	\$164,360.00	\$2,553.68	\$172,610.00	\$1,945.81	\$207,580.00	\$2,477.58	\$236,810.00	\$2,354.74
2003	\$157,510.00	\$2,497.21	\$164,470.00	\$1,902.87	\$203,700.00	\$2,422.80	\$219,440.00	\$2,302.62
2002	\$132,540.00	\$2,293.38	\$134,240.00	\$1,747.55	\$170,910.00	\$2,225.13	\$188,680.00	\$2,114.67
2001	\$118,340.00	\$2,186.79	\$119,850.00	\$1,666.33	\$152,590.00	\$2,121.80	\$153,780.00	\$2,016.44
2000	\$110,600.00	\$2,135.97	\$112,010.00	\$1,627.50	\$142,610.00	\$2,072.48	\$143,730.00	\$1,969.40
1999	\$109,500.00	\$1,986.14	\$110,900.00	\$1,513.24	\$141,200.00	\$1,926.94	\$142,300.00	\$1,831.27
1998	\$103,300.00	\$1,955.07	\$104,600.00	\$1,489.63	\$133,200.00	\$1,896.89	\$134,200.00	\$1,802.68
1997	\$99,300.00	\$1,632.02	\$100,600.00	\$1,407.52	\$128,100.00	\$1,792.36	\$121,800.00	\$1,703.27
	(1993) 62000				(2011) 269000		(1986) 32700	

Stumptown Coffee

	2354 SE 46TH AVE		2355 SE 47TH AVE		2342 SE 46TH AVE		2343 SE 47TH AVE	
2022	\$663,010.00	\$5,685.45	\$828,820.00	\$6,737.78	\$666,030.00	\$5,859.33	\$647,320.00	\$6,580.79
2021	\$603,550.00	\$5,589.20	\$753,300.00	\$6,623.90	\$606,510.00	\$5,760.07	\$589,650.00	\$6,469.54
2020	\$540,310.00	\$5,127.28	\$700,300.00	\$6,076.62	\$543,200.00	\$5,284.15	\$528,920.00	\$5,935.07
2019	\$542,220.00	\$4,938.61	\$651,490.00	\$5,853.34	\$545,140.00	\$5,089.92	\$529,950.00	\$5,717.00
2018	\$515,190.00	\$4,467.88	\$667,660.00	\$5,681.36	\$545,140.00	\$4,940.46	\$529,950.00	\$5,782.46
2017	\$505,190.00	\$4,282.27	\$659,970.00	\$5,445.09	\$535,130.00	\$4,735.23	\$466,770.00	\$4,921.82
2016	\$490,400.00	\$3,919.04	\$623,200.00	\$4,983.12	\$519,830.00	\$4,333.50	\$452,680.00	\$4,504.24
2015	\$404,710.00	\$3,816.18	\$525,650.00	\$4,852.39	\$431,700.00	\$4,219.86	\$367,040.00	\$4,153.88
2014	\$380,080.00	\$3,758.56	\$493,110.00	\$4,779.30	\$405,440.00	\$4,156.29	\$344,940.00	\$4,091.30
2013	\$326,590.00	\$3,671.22	\$460,480.00	\$4,668.15	\$348,400.00	\$4,059.75	\$296,930.00	\$3,996.28
2012	\$305,690.00	\$3,321.06	\$429,460.00	\$4,223.03	\$325,970.00	\$3,672.77	\$278,280.00	\$3,615.19
2011	\$297,690.00	\$3,195.97	\$358,480.00	\$3,524.24	\$317,970.00	\$3,534.52	\$270,280.00	\$3,479.03
2010	\$317,630.00	\$3,032.42	\$380,870.00	\$3,343.88	\$338,690.00	\$3,353.70	\$272,700.00	\$3,070.13
2009	\$323,610.00	\$2,953.14	\$388,910.00	\$3,256.39	\$345,300.00	\$3,265.97	\$232,080.00	\$2,462.85
2008	\$347,500.00	\$2,786.85	\$381,150.00	\$3,072.89	\$371,720.00	\$3,082.02	\$291,230.00	\$2,324.15
2007	\$322,060.00	\$2,778.53	\$289,930.00	\$2,240.61	\$302,330.00	\$2,494.20	\$269,350.00	\$2,317.32
2006	\$292,170.00	\$2,495.14	\$252,910.00	\$2,012.09	\$277,310.00	\$2,239.76	\$244,940.00	\$2,081.10
2005	\$249,440.00	\$2,383.18	\$212,100.00	\$1,921.84	\$235,250.00	\$2,139.33	\$205,570.00	\$1,987.73
2004	\$224,270.00	\$2,595.75	\$189,710.00	\$2,093.17	\$201,010.00	\$2,329.99	\$184,790.00	\$2,165.06
2003	\$209,650.00	\$2,538.47	\$176,120.00	\$2,047.03	\$187,700.00	\$2,278.65	\$176,310.00	\$2,117.18
2002	\$179,140.00	\$2,331.35	\$162,850.00	\$1,880.07	\$160,740.00	\$2,092.60	\$149,360.00	\$1,944.37

	2354 SE 46TH AVE		2355 SE 47TH AVE		2342 SE 46TH AVE		2343 SE 47TH AVE	
2001	\$159,940.00	\$2,223.01	\$129,030.00	\$1,792.74	\$143,510.00	\$1,995.42	\$133,360.00	\$1,853.96
2000	\$149,480.00	\$2,171.37	\$120,590.00	\$1,751.09	\$134,130.00	\$1,948.88	\$124,630.00	\$1,810.80
1999	\$148,000.00	\$2,019.04	\$119,400.00	\$1,628.18	\$132,800.00	\$1,812.17	\$123,400.00	\$1,683.76
1998	\$139,600.00	\$1,987.39	\$112,600.00	\$1,602.73	\$125,300.00	\$1,783.77	\$116,400.00	\$1,657.45
1997	\$134,200.00	\$1,389.72	\$108,300.00	\$1,514.45	\$120,500.00	\$1,685.44	\$111,900.00	\$1556.08
	(1990) 66500		(2000) 100000		(2001) 157000		(2008) 225000	

Stumptown Coffee

	2334 SE 46TH AVE		2335 SE 47TH AVE		2322 SE 46TH AVE		2325 SE 47TH AVE	
2022	\$582,290.00	\$4,875.05	\$538,910.00	\$4,459.02	\$663,650.00	\$5,507.06	\$598,130.00	\$4,422.97
2021	\$530,760.00	\$4,792.66	\$491,650.00	\$4,383.57	\$604,380.00	\$5,414.02	\$545,050.00	\$4,348.18
2020	\$478,630.00	\$4,396.68	\$445,490.00	\$4,021.39	\$541,390.00	\$4,966.59	\$490,740.00	\$3,988.93
2019	\$470,670.00	\$4,235.04	\$441,410.00	\$3,873.59	\$543,210.00	\$4,784.03	\$489,520.00	\$3,842.39
2018	\$470,670.00	\$4,110.63	\$441,410.00	\$3,759.67	\$543,210.00	\$4,643.46	\$489,520.00	\$3,729.54
2017	\$460,670.00	\$3,939.77	\$431,420.00	\$3,603.39	\$533,210.00	\$4,450.58	\$479,520.00	\$3,574.64
2016	\$446,710.00	\$3,605.70	\$418,000.00	\$3,297.76	\$517,960.00	\$4,073.00	\$465,210.00	\$3,271.36
2015	\$367,980.00	\$3,511.12	\$338,880.00	\$3,211.33	\$432,980.00	\$3,966.06	\$381,800.00	\$3,185.52
2014	\$346,020.00	\$3,458.25	\$318,640.00	\$3,162.92	\$406,820.00	\$3,906.39	\$358,710.00	\$3,137.50
2013	\$298,320.00	\$3,377.95	\$274,750.00	\$3,089.30	\$350,050.00	\$3,815.52	\$288,440.00	\$3,064.67
2012	\$279,790.00	\$3,055.98	\$257,810.00	\$2,794.90	\$327,720.00	\$3,451.73	\$265,280.00	\$2,772.63
2011	\$271,790.00	\$2,941.01	\$249,810.00	\$2,689.56	\$319,720.00	\$3,321.67	\$257,280.00	\$2,668.14
2010	\$290,550.00	\$2,790.43	\$267,790.00	\$2,551.90	\$340,380.00	\$3,151.55	\$275,550.00	\$2,531.70
2009	\$295,500.00	\$2,717.40	\$272,050.00	\$2,485.15	\$346,950.00	\$3,069.14	\$280,070.00	\$2,465.48
2008	\$315,250.00	\$2,564.30	\$289,080.00	\$2,345.16	\$373,200.00	\$2,896.20	\$298,180.00	\$2,326.69
2007	\$292,050.00	\$2,556.77	\$267,350.00	\$2,338.30	\$340,250.00	\$2,887.56	\$275,880.00	\$2,319.72
2006	\$265,590.00	\$2,296.06	\$243,150.00	\$2,099.81	\$308,970.00	\$2,593.18	\$250,790.00	\$2,083.26
2005	\$225,040.00	\$2,193.06	\$203,910.00	\$2,005.56	\$264,910.00	\$2,476.79	\$211,030.00	\$1,989.90
2004	\$203,020.00	\$2,388.77	\$182,960.00	\$2,184.45	\$239,350.00	\$2,697.73	\$189,870.00	\$2,167.29
2003	\$189,590.00	\$2,336.01	\$178,140.00	\$2,136.32	\$220,160.00	\$2,638.03	\$177,110.00	\$2,119.44
2002	\$164,730.00	\$2,145.38	\$150,810.00	\$1,961.94	\$202,580.00	\$2,422.74	\$149,480.00	\$1,946.51

	2334 SE 46TH AVE		2335 SE 47TH AVE		2322 SE 46TH AVE		2325 SE 47TH AVE	
2001	\$147,080.00	\$2,045.81	\$134,650.00	\$1,870.84	\$151,370.00	\$2,071.41	\$133,460.00	\$1,856.06
2000	\$137,470.00	\$1,998.11	\$125,840.00	\$1,827.35	\$139,280.00	\$2,023.25	\$124,730.00	\$1,812.91
1999	\$136,100.00	\$1,857.94	\$124,600.00	\$1,699.03	\$137,900.00	\$1,881.20	\$123,500.00	\$1,685.58
1998	\$128,400.00	\$1,828.94	\$117,500.00	\$1,672.51	\$130,100.00	\$1,851.71	\$116,500.00	\$1,659.28
1997	\$123,500.00	\$1,882.22	\$113,500.00	\$1,580.33	\$125,100.00	\$1,749.61	\$112,000.00	\$1,567.86
					(1991) 74850		(1995) 116000	

Stumptown Coffee

	2314 SE 46TH AVE		2315 SE 47TH AVE		2305 SE 47TH AVE		2302 SE 46TH AVE	
2022	\$552,960.00	\$4,860.91	\$857,610.00	\$8,436.07	\$719,730.00	\$7,903.91	\$780,290.00	\$7,019.24
2021	\$504,320.00	\$4,778.60	\$781,820.00	\$8,293.20	\$654,690.00	\$7,770.04	\$713,020.00	\$6,900.50
2020	\$456,230.00	\$4,383.87	\$693,850.00	\$7,607.92	\$583,650.00	\$7,127.91	\$636,340.00	\$6,330.35
2019	\$452,830.00	\$4,222.91	\$707,740.00	\$7,328.23	\$588,300.00	\$6,865.65	\$645,940.00	\$6,097.66
2018	\$452,830.00	\$4,098.72	\$710,130.00	\$7,112.68	\$588,300.00	\$4,969.08	\$505,330.00	\$5,918.48
2017	\$442,810.00	\$3,928.31	\$583,130.00	\$5,424.86	\$578,300.00	\$4,762.53	\$495,330.00	\$5,672.48
2016	\$429,200.00	\$3,595.11	\$511,630.00	\$4,539.83	\$562,140.00	\$4,358.53	\$480,720.00	\$5,191.29
2015	\$349,070.00	\$3,500.73	\$424,010.00	\$4,420.85	\$469,930.00	\$4,244.21	\$395,910.00	\$5,055.07
2014	\$328,150.00	\$3,447.92	\$398,100.00	\$4,354.25	\$432,650.00	\$4,180.31	\$371,870.00	\$4,729.89
2013	\$282,790.00	\$3,367.84	\$341,820.00	\$4,253.02	\$370,970.00	\$4,083.11	\$319,680.00	\$4,619.90
2012	\$265,210.00	\$3,046.76	\$319,710.00	\$3,847.47	\$346,630.00	\$3,693.92	\$299,260.00	\$4,179.37
2011	\$257,210.00	\$2,932.04	\$311,710.00	\$3,702.58	\$338,630.00	\$2,895.53	\$279,150.00	\$4,021.99
2010	\$275,510.00	\$2,781.94	\$332,260.00	\$3,513.15	\$360,310.00	\$2,747.30	\$264,210.00	\$3,816.14
2009	\$275,820.00	\$2,709.13	\$338,720.00	\$3,421.34	\$367,720.00	\$2,675.43	\$268,350.00	\$3,716.29
2008	\$293,380.00	\$2,556.50	\$364,610.00	\$3,228.52	\$397,470.00	\$2,524.84	\$284,920.00	\$3,506.92
2007	\$271,370.00	\$2,548.93	\$338,100.00	\$3,219.01	\$362,380.00	\$2,517.32	\$270,960.00	\$3,496.40
2006	\$246,750.00	\$2,289.02	\$306,530.00	\$2,890.86	\$300,730.00	\$2,260.59	\$246,390.00	\$2,829.38
2005	\$209,240.00	\$2,186.34	\$264,140.00	\$2,761.15	\$259,590.00	\$2,159.15	\$208,920.00	\$2,702.41
2004	\$187,610.00	\$2,381.43	\$239,630.00	\$3,007.31	\$234,620.00	\$2,351.80	\$188,020.00	\$2,943.44
2003	\$182,380.00	\$2,328.91	\$222,530.00	\$2,940.85	\$218,570.00	\$2,299.89	\$184,300.00	\$2,878.35
2002	\$164,380.00	\$2,138.80	\$207,460.00	\$2,700.73	\$203,110.00	\$2,112.31	\$162,320.00	\$2,643.49

	2314 SE 46TH AVE		2315 SE 47TH AVE		2305 SE 47TH AVE		2302 SE 46TH AVE	
2001	\$146,760.00	\$2,039.53	\$185,230.00	\$2,575.41	\$181,340.00	\$2,014.12	\$144,920.00	\$2,520.62
2000	\$137,160.00	\$1,992.02	\$173,120.00	\$2,515.39	\$169,480.00	\$1,967.31	\$135,450.00	\$2,461.96
1999	\$135,800.00	\$1,852.31	\$171,400.00	\$2,338.86	\$167,800.00	\$1,829.24	\$134,100.00	\$2,289.10
1998	\$128,100.00	\$1,823.45	\$161,700.00	\$2,302.29	\$158,300.00	\$1,800.67	\$126,500.00	\$2,253.25
1997	\$123,200.00	\$1,722.88	\$155,000.00	\$2,175.29	\$152,200.00	\$1,701.50	\$121,600.00	\$2,129.11
			(1990) 89000					

Stumptown Coffee

	2376 SE 45TH AVE		2364 SE 45TH AVE		2365 SE 46TH AVE		2356 SE 45TH AVE	
2022	\$613,210.00	\$5,001.34	\$496,970.00	\$3,828.84	\$576,230	\$4,418.14	\$597,710.00	\$4,841.13
2021	\$558,060.00	\$4,916.80	\$453,540.00	\$3,764.16	\$525,000	\$4,343.58	\$544,380.00	\$4,759.15
2020	\$500,850.00	\$4,510.59	\$412,740.00	\$3,453.24	\$473,300	\$3,984.85	\$489,710.00	\$4,366.02
2019	\$500,650.00	\$4,344.77	\$406,790.00	\$3,326.40	\$471,160	\$3,838.37	\$488,620.00	\$4,205.64
2018	\$500,650.00	\$4,217.03	\$406,790.00	\$3,228.60	\$471,160	\$3,725.47	\$488,620.00	\$4,082.02
2017	\$490,650.00	\$4,041.87	\$396,800.00	\$3,094.38	\$461,160	\$3,570.63	\$478,610.00	\$3,912.29
2016	\$476,010.00	\$3,699.10	\$383,970.00	\$2,831.88	\$447,130	\$3,267.85	\$464,260.00	\$3,580.49
2015	\$391,080.00	\$3,602.19	\$307,670.00	\$2,757.73	\$365,110	\$3,182.19	\$384,900.00	\$3,486.56
2014	\$366,970.00	\$3,547.95	\$289,310.00	\$2,716.26	\$342,910	\$3,134.36	\$361,410.00	\$3,434.00
2013	\$314,600.00	\$3,465.55	\$249,520.00	\$2,653.25	\$294,780	\$3,061.57	\$310,380.00	\$3,354.33
2012	\$294,130.00	\$3,135.12	\$232,220.00	\$2,400.25	\$276,060	\$2,769.73	\$290,450.00	\$3,034.62
2011	\$286,130.00	\$3,016.99	\$224,220.00	\$2,310.00	\$268,060	\$2,665.51	\$282,450.00	\$2,920.22
2010	\$305,870.00	\$2,862.53	\$241,240.00	\$2,191.89	\$263,800	\$2,529.07	\$301,920.00	\$2,770.84
2009	\$311,630.00	\$2,787.75	\$244,700.00	\$2,134.51	\$268,020	\$2,462.85	\$307,440.00	\$2,698.39
2008	\$334,720.00	\$2,630.81	\$258,510.00	\$2,014.33	\$284,950	\$2,324.15	\$329,590.00	\$2,546.47
2007	\$309,720.00	\$2,623.07	\$244,800.00	\$2,008.35	\$270,960	\$2,317.32	\$305,110.00	\$2,538.89
2006	\$280,480.00	\$2,355.56	\$222,640.00	\$1,803.53	\$246,080	\$2,081.10	\$276,650.00	\$2,279.94

	2376 SE 45TH AVE		2364 SE 45TH AVE		2365 SE 46TH AVE		2356 SE 45TH AVE	
2005	\$237,520.00	\$2,249.84	\$184,580.00	\$1,722.62	\$206,420	\$1,987.73	\$234,500.00	\$2,177.61
2004	\$213,560.00	\$2,450.45	\$164,460.00	\$1,876.34	\$184,520	\$2,165.06	\$210,240.00	\$2,371.85
2003	\$198,510.00	\$2,396.32	\$156,850.00	\$1,834.97	\$176,810	\$2,117.18	\$196,270.00	\$2,319.40
2002	\$169,090.00	\$2,200.75	\$129,510.00	\$1,685.23	\$149,360	\$1,944.37	\$163,650.00	\$2,130.13
2001	\$150,970.00	\$2,098.47	\$115,630.00	\$1,606.98	\$133,350	\$1,853.96	\$146,110.00	\$2,031.21
2000	\$141,100.00	\$2,049.65	\$108,070.00	\$1,569.66	\$124,630	\$1,810.80	\$136,550.00	\$1,983.87
1999	\$139,700.00	\$1,905.86	\$107,000.00	\$1,459.47	\$123,400	\$1,683.76	\$135,200.00	\$1,844.70
1998	\$131,800.00	\$1,876.12	\$100,900.00	\$1,436.72	\$116,400	\$1,657.45	\$127,500.00	\$1,815.90
1997	\$126,700.00	\$1,772.75	\$97,000.00	\$1,357.64	\$111,900	\$1,566.08	\$122,600.00	\$1,715.77
	4.839857932	2.821232548	5.123402062	2.820217436	5.14950849	2.821232548	5.123402062	2.820217436
	(2002) 120000		(1994) 28000					

Stumptown Coffee

	2355 SE 46TH AVE		2344 SE 45TH AVE		2345 SE 46TH AVE		2334 SE 45TH AVE	
2022	\$704,720.00	\$5,707.89	\$651,770.00	\$5,713.50	\$777,730.00	\$7,685.69	\$866,360.00	\$8,342.87
2021	\$641,160.00	\$5,611.36	\$596,070.00	\$5,616.77	\$707,240.00	\$7,555.63	\$786,910.00	\$8,201.57
2020	\$572,180.00	\$5,147.72	\$536,320.00	\$5,152.57	\$628,550.00	\$6,931.45	\$730,940.00	\$7,523.86
2019	\$576,100.00	\$4,958.65	\$540,160.00	\$4,963.24	\$635,880.00	\$6,676.57	\$679,510.00	\$7,247.38
2018	\$576,100.00	\$4,813.00	\$540,160.00	\$4,817.30	\$635,880.00	\$6,480.25	\$696,930.00	\$7,034.39
2017	\$566,100.00	\$4,612.92	\$427,140.00	\$3,428.30	\$625,890.00	\$6,211.02	\$686,960.00	\$6,742.05
2016	\$550,180.00	\$4,221.58	\$413,790.00	\$3,137.46	\$608,890.00	\$5,684.07	\$648,220.00	\$6,170.01
2015	\$459,050.00	\$4,110.83	\$335,070.00	\$3,055.25	\$478,920.00	\$5,076.59	\$548,190.00	\$6,008.05
2014	\$430,800.00	\$4,048.84	\$315,080.00	\$3,009.13	\$449,520.00	\$4,999.99	\$514,000.00	\$5,917.31
2013	\$369,420.00	\$3,954.76	\$271,760.00	\$2,939.19	\$385,600.00	\$4,883.62	\$461,690.00	\$5,779.73
2012	\$345,200.00	\$3,577.62	\$255,030.00	\$2,659.06	\$360,320.00	\$4,417.98	\$430,370.00	\$5,228.60
2011	\$305,570.00	\$2,880.79	\$247,030.00	\$2,558.93	\$352,320.00	\$4,251.55	\$448,210.00	\$5,031.64
2010	\$292,000.00	\$2,733.38	\$264,900.00	\$2,427.98	\$374,470.00	\$4,033.91	\$474,420.00	\$4,774.06
2009	\$297,090.00	\$2,661.89	\$269,060.00	\$2,364.54	\$382,300.00	\$3,928.42	\$462,800.00	\$4,649.17
2008	\$317,440.00	\$2,512.07	\$285,700.00	\$2,231.35	\$413,620.00	\$3,707.18	\$505,110.00	\$4,387.35
2007	\$293,930.00	\$2,504.64	\$264,190.00	\$2,224.65	\$383,660.00	\$3,696.13	\$453,160.00	\$4,374.30
2006	\$266,940.00	\$2,249.25	\$240,300.00	\$1,997.77	\$347,540.00	\$3,319.21	\$409,590.00	\$3,928.20

	2355 SE 46TH AVE		2344 SE 45TH AVE		2345 SE 46TH AVE		2334 SE 45TH AVE	
2005	\$226,090.00	\$2,148.45	\$201,260.00	\$1,908.16	\$296,450.00	\$3,170.28	\$372,970.00	\$3,751.83
2004	\$204,520.00	\$2,339.99	\$181,140.00	\$2,078.25	\$267,830.00	\$3,452.93	\$216,520.00	\$2,324.88
2003	\$191,840.00	\$2,288.27	\$174,150.00	\$2,032.48	\$242,530.00	\$3,376.70	\$199,620.00	\$2,273.44
2002	\$178,340.00	\$2,101.51	\$143,310.00	\$1,866.53	\$238,090.00	\$3,101.12	\$178,310.00	\$2,087.90
2001	\$146,060.00	\$2,003.93	\$127,950.00	\$1,779.86	\$212,570.00	\$2,957.14	\$143,190.00	\$1,991.03
2000	\$134,630.00	\$1,957.27	\$119,580.00	\$1,738.55	\$198,670.00	\$2,888.33	\$133,820.00	\$1,944.67
1999	\$133,300.00	\$1,819.79	\$118,400.00	\$1,616.56	\$196,700.00	\$2,685.57	\$132,500.00	\$1,808.17
1998	\$125,800.00	\$1,791.30	\$111,700.00	\$1,591.34	\$185,600.00	\$2,643.62	\$125,000.00	\$1,779.92
1997	\$121,000.00	\$1,692.61	\$107,400.00	\$1,503.75	\$178,500.00	\$2,497.90	\$120,200.00	\$1,681.91
	5.824132231	3.372241686	6.068621974	3.799501247	4.357030812	3.076860563	7.20765391	4.960354597
			(1988) 31000					

Stumptown Coffee

	2324 SE 45TH AVE		2323 SE 46TH AVE		2314 SE 45TH AVE		2311 SE 46TH AVE	
2022	\$948,160.00	\$8,623.26	\$605,100.00	\$5,313.49	\$511,220.00	\$4,347.66	\$828,070.00	\$8,396.81
2021	\$860,660.00	\$8,477.31	\$551,580.00	\$5,223.65	\$466,680.00	\$4,274.12	\$752,390.00	\$8,254.83
2020	\$798,650.00	\$7,776.79	\$496,650.00	\$4,792.14	\$424,330.00	\$3,920.96	\$666,430.00	\$7,572.68
2019	\$741,830.00	\$7,490.97	\$495,650.00	\$4,615.97	\$418,920.00	\$3,776.76	\$676,300.00	\$7,294.30
2018	\$761,830.00	\$7,270.80	\$495,650.00	\$4,480.29	\$418,920.00	\$3,665.68	\$527,910.00	\$5,291.11
2017	\$751,850.00	\$6,968.67	\$485,640.00	\$4,293.96	\$408,920.00	\$3,513.34	\$541,700.00	\$5,071.14
2016	\$708,900.00	\$6,377.48	\$471,260.00	\$3,929.62	\$395,920.00	\$3,215.29	\$526,210.00	\$4,641.01
2015	\$603,340.00	\$6,210.22	\$390,540.00	\$3,826.57	\$318,830.00	\$3,130.92	\$437,260.00	\$4,519.25
2014	\$368,660.00	\$3,198.66	\$367,230.00	\$3,768.86	\$299,920.00	\$3,083.75	\$410,470.00	\$4,451.09
2013	\$309,000.00	\$3,124.28	\$316,610.00	\$3,681.31	\$258,950.00	\$3,012.11	\$352,260.00	\$4,347.68
2012	\$289,430.00	\$2,826.34	\$296,870.00	\$3,330.31	\$243,220.00	\$2,724.96	\$329,370.00	\$3,933.16
2011	\$281,430.00	\$2,719.90	\$288,870.00	\$3,204.88	\$235,220.00	\$2,622.47	\$321,370.00	\$3,785.04
2010	\$300,720.00	\$2,580.66	\$308,250.00	\$3,040.92	\$252,580.00	\$2,488.34	\$342,310.00	\$3,591.31
2009	\$306,110.00	\$2,513.09	\$313,690.00	\$2,961.43	\$256,320.00	\$2,423.32	\$349,110.00	\$3,497.34
2008	\$327,680.00	\$2,371.50	\$335,530.00	\$2,794.70	\$271,280.00	\$2,286.81	\$376,380.00	\$3,300.30
2007	\$298,850.00	\$2,364.44	\$310,730.00	\$2,786.39	\$250,680.00	\$2,280.06	\$349,110.00	\$3,290.55
2006	\$271,370.00	\$2,123.39	\$282,510.00	\$2,502.16	\$228,210.00	\$2,047.61	\$316,400.00	\$2,955.00

	2324 SE 45TH AVE		2323 SE 46TH AVE		2314 SE 45TH AVE		2311 SE 46TH AVE	
2005	\$229,550.00	\$2,028.20	\$240,950.00	\$2,389.90	\$191,990.00	\$1,955.77	\$273,110.00	\$2,822.44
2004	\$206,020.00	\$2,209.12	\$218,150.00	\$2,603.12	\$172,530.00	\$2,130.08	\$247,440.00	\$3,074.10
2003	\$186,400.00	\$2,160.26	\$204,170.00	\$2,545.59	\$165,100.00	\$2,083.14	\$230,920.00	\$3,006.10
2002	\$171,470.00	\$1,984.01	\$179,620.00	\$2,337.91	\$146,950.00	\$1,913.19	\$212,060.00	\$2,760.74
2001	\$136,060.00	\$1,891.86	\$160,370.00	\$2,229.26	\$131,190.00	\$1,824.40	\$189,340.00	\$2,632.46
2000	\$127,160.00	\$1,847.88	\$149,880.00	\$2,177.46	\$122,620.00	\$1,781.91	\$176,960.00	\$2,571.12
1999	\$125,900.00	\$1,718.27	\$148,400.00	\$2,024.65	\$121,400.00	\$1,656.88	\$175,200.00	\$2,390.64
1998	\$118,800.00	\$1,691.43	\$140,000.00	\$1,993.09	\$114,500.00	\$1,631.00	\$165,300.00	\$2,353.14
1997	\$114,200.00	\$1,598.16	\$134,600.00	\$1,883.23	\$110,100.00	\$1,541.15	\$158,900.00	\$2,223.52
	8.30262697	5.3957426	4.49554235	2.82147693	4.643233424	2.82104922	5.21126495	3.77635911
	(1993) 80995		(1988) 40000					

Stumptown Coffee

	2304 SE 45TH AVE		2303 SE 46TH AVE	
2022	\$602,240.00	\$4,528.96	\$624,660.00	\$5,573.59
2021	\$548,760.00	\$4,452.25	\$568,970.00	\$5,479.42
2020	\$493,880.00	\$4,084.47	\$511,010.00	\$5,026.67
2019	\$492,860.00	\$3,934.44	\$511,070.00	\$4,841.81
2018	\$492,860.00	\$3,818.74	\$511,070.00	\$4,699.47
2017	\$482,850.00	\$3,660.20	\$501,060.00	\$4,504.11
2016	\$468,470.00	\$3,349.65	\$486,350.00	\$4,122.07
2015	\$383,330.00	\$3,261.92	\$401,030.00	\$4,013.86
2014	\$360,140.00	\$3,212.82	\$376,660.00	\$3,953.39
2013	\$309,760.00	\$3,138.08	\$323,700.00	\$3,861.33
2012	\$290,130.00	\$2,838.93	\$294,370.00	\$3,493.07
2011	\$282,130.00	\$2,732.11	\$286,370.00	\$3,361.56
2010	\$301,450.00	\$2,592.25	\$305,870.00	\$3,189.51
2009	\$306,860.00	\$2,524.48	\$308,430.00	\$3,106.03
2008	\$328,540.00	\$2,382.33	\$330,310.00	\$2,931.07
2007	\$299,570.00	\$2,375.33	\$281,650.00	\$2,645.07
2006	\$272,020.00	\$2,133.12	\$255,950.00	\$2,375.35

	2304 SE 45TH AVE		2303 SE 46TH AVE	
2005	\$232,100.00	\$2,037.34	\$217,280.00	\$2,268.68
2004	\$209,450.00	\$2,218.94	\$195,440.00	\$2,470.90
2003	\$193,070.00	\$2,169.86	\$181,330.00	\$2,416.25
2002	\$194,560.00	\$2,089.21	\$172,690.00	\$2,219.18
2001	\$124,390.00	\$1,729.42	\$95,960.00	\$1,334.98
2000	\$116,260.00	\$1,689.28	\$89,690.00	\$1,303.98
1999	\$115,100.00	\$1,570.80	\$88,800.00	\$1,212.48
1998	\$108,600.00	\$1,546.18	\$83,800.00	\$1,193.46
1997	\$104,400.00	\$1,460.99	\$80,600.00	\$1,127.80
	5.76858238	3.09992539	7.75012407	4.94200213
			(1996) 34910	

Fresh Pot

	4001 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4013 N MICHIGAN AVE		4027 N MICHIGAN AVE		4047 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2022	\$1,916,350	\$6,470.22	\$623,200.00	\$4,348.20	\$801,120.00	\$3,113.48	\$665,470.00	\$4,177.87
2021	\$1,725,510	\$6,360.85	\$556,850.00	\$4,274.64	\$713,090.00	\$3,060.91	\$593,660.00	\$4,107.28
2020	\$1,751,480	\$5,835.20	\$512,680.00	\$3,921.50	\$645,850.00	\$2,808.12	\$548,870.00	\$3,767.92
2019	\$1,637,840	\$5,620.66	\$502,680.00	\$3,777.28	\$635,850.00	\$2,704.91	\$538,870.00	\$3,629.52
2018	\$1,637,840	\$5,455.55	\$506,250.00	\$3,666.19	\$624,100.00	\$2,625.55	\$538,870.00	\$3,522.75
2017	\$1,250,270	\$5,228.71	\$475,460.00	\$3,513.84	\$581,360.00	\$2,516.59	\$502,180.00	\$3,376.54
2016	\$1,136,610	\$4,694.25	\$461,620.00	\$3,215.73	\$559,180.00	\$2,303.08	\$483,760.00	\$3,090.07
2015	\$896,000.00	\$4,571.26	\$401,420.00	\$3,131.39	\$507,590.00	\$1,885.65	\$418,190.00	\$3,009.13
2014	\$810,000.00	\$4,502.20	\$350,590.00	\$3,084.24	\$444,610.00	\$1,857.19	\$363,080.00	\$2,963.84
2013	\$810,000.00	\$4,397.55	\$310,400.00	\$3,012.56	\$381,430.00	\$1,814.12	\$318,360.00	\$2,895.07
2012	\$810,000.00	\$3,978.36	\$277,810.00	\$2,725.42	\$338,860.00	\$1,641.32	\$282,690.00	\$2,619.07
2011	\$615,950.00	\$3,828.46	\$277,040.00	\$2,622.67	\$335,070.00	\$1,579.57	\$279,870.00	\$2,520.39
2010	\$671,630.00	\$3,632.49	\$293,920.00	\$2,488.55	\$365,490.00	\$1,498.77	\$301,100.00	\$2,391.38
2009	\$671,630.00	\$3,537.56	\$293,860.00	\$2,423.54	\$360,370.00	\$1,459.63	\$298,620.00	\$2,328.95
2008	\$672,850.00	\$3,338.30	\$305,240.00	\$2,287.01	\$346,030.00	\$1,377.49	\$310,770.00	\$2,197.81
2007	\$637,780.00	\$3,328.48	\$269,600.00	\$2,280.28	\$297,350.00	\$1,373.59	\$266,370.00	\$2,191.29

	4001 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		4013 N MICHIGAN AVE		4027 N MICHIGAN AVE		4047 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2006	\$467,050.00	\$2,989.08	\$179,760.00	\$1,526.99	\$241,230.00	\$1,233.53	\$216,980.00	\$1,967.92
2005	\$351,120.00	\$2,855.00	\$155,500.00	\$1,458.54	\$227,610.00	\$1,178.20	\$197,740.00	\$1,879.57
2004	\$299,230.00	\$3,109.52	\$136,740.00	\$1,588.58	\$200,800.00	\$1,283.46	\$174,140.00	\$2,047.31
2003	\$276,630.00	\$3,040.87	\$132,280.00	\$787.34	\$164,250.00	\$799.01	\$148,560.00	\$2,002.20
2002	\$288,680.00	\$2,792.60	\$142,270.00	\$723.14	\$146,110.00	\$733.95	\$129,180.00	\$716.36
2001	\$102,730.00	\$875.14	\$128,170.00	\$689.55	\$131,630.00	\$699.98	\$116,380.00	\$683.13
2000	\$67,380.00	\$854.81	\$123,240.00	\$673.58	\$126,560.00	\$683.86	\$111,900.00	\$667.28
1999	\$60,700.00	\$794.92	\$118,500.00	\$626.42	\$121,700.00	\$635.84	\$107,600.00	\$620.58
1998	\$54,700.00	\$782.54	\$106,800.00	\$738.21	\$109,600.00	\$625.91	\$96,900.00	\$610.86
1997	\$49,700.00	\$739.40	\$99,800.00	\$644.18	\$102,400.00	\$591.51	\$90,600.00	\$577.25
	38.5583501	8.75063565	6.24448898	6.74997671	7.8234375	5.26361346	7.34514349	7.23754006
	(1991) 68000				(1994) 79000		(1989) 21000	

Fresh Pot

	4055 N MICHIGAN AVE		4065 N MICHIGAN AVE		4054 N MISSOURI AVE		4066 N MISSOURI AVE	
2022	\$512,280.00	\$1,222.42	\$320,000.00	\$698.79	\$581,870.00	\$1,676.11	\$598,670.00	\$1,833.88
2021	\$459,150.00	\$1,201.83	\$290,000.00	\$687.03	\$520,260.00	\$1,647.94	\$535,000.00	\$1,802.85
2020	\$416,500.00	\$1,102.60	\$250,000.00	\$630.25	\$476,630.00	\$1,511.90	\$491,140.00	\$1,653.87
2019	\$406,500.00	\$1,062.27	\$240,000.00	\$607.28	\$466,630.00	\$1,456.35	\$446,220.00	\$1,593.24
2018	\$406,500.00	\$1,031.00	\$240,000.00	\$589.64	\$466,630.00	\$1,413.63	\$446,220.00	\$1,546.38
2017	\$379,500.00	\$988.25	\$225,000.00	\$565.29	\$435,220.00	\$1,354.98	\$416,320.00	\$1,482.32
2016	\$367,070.00	\$904.46	\$220,000.00	\$517.54	\$420,070.00	\$1,240.18	\$367,050.00	\$935.10
2015	\$313,590.00	\$880.87	\$281,940.00	\$782.96	\$361,110.00	\$1,207.69	\$313,580.00	\$910.64
2014	\$267,690.00	\$867.66	\$238,600.00	\$771.22	\$311,030.00	\$1,189.58	\$251,410.00	\$896.94
2013	\$238,020.00	\$847.58	\$213,130.00	\$753.46	\$274,520.00	\$1,162.01	\$224,320.00	\$876.27
2012	\$211,140.00	\$766.79	\$188,700.00	\$681.78	\$243,640.00	\$1,051.27	\$198,930.00	\$792.87
2011	\$209,580.00	\$738.00	\$187,490.00	\$656.15	\$241,510.00	\$1,011.68	\$197,580.00	\$763.18
2010	\$219,100.00	\$700.31	\$193,750.00	\$622.73	\$256,340.00	\$959.91	\$205,110.00	\$724.21
2009	\$219,980.00	\$682.11	\$195,530.00	\$606.50	\$255,670.00	\$934.84	\$206,040.00	\$705.48
2008	\$226,720.00	\$643.85	\$200,750.00	\$572.48	\$264,890.00	\$882.30	\$211,820.00	\$665.74
2007	\$201,560.00	\$641.97	\$181,020.00	\$570.88	\$232,520.00	\$879.67	\$189,470.00	\$663.79
2006	\$166,230.00	\$576.65	\$149,810.00	\$512.71	\$190,480.00	\$790.02	\$156,760.00	\$596.23

	4055 N MICHIGAN AVE		4065 N MICHIGAN AVE		4054 N MISSOURI AVE		4066 N MISSOURI AVE	
2005	\$145,930.00	\$550.78	\$129,260.00	\$489.70	\$170,810.00	\$754.59	\$136,360.00	\$569.44
2004	\$126,300.00	\$600.07	\$112,270.00	\$533.54	\$148,990.00	\$822.00	\$117,570.00	\$620.30
2003	\$124,440.00	\$586.88	\$104,460.00	\$521.90	\$138,690.00	\$803.90	\$108,670.00	\$606.66
2002	\$100,130.00	\$539.04	\$75,520.00	\$479.46	\$109,130.00	\$738.39	\$80,200.00	\$557.28
2001	\$90,200.00	\$514.01	\$68,040.00	\$457.35	\$98,310.00	\$704.16	\$72,250.00	\$531.50
2000	\$86,730.00	\$502.22	\$65,410.00	\$446.90	\$94,530.00	\$687.81	\$69,470.00	\$519.17
1999	\$83,400.00	\$467.09	\$62,900.00	\$415.54	\$90,900.00	\$639.65	\$66,800.00	\$482.75
1998	\$75,100.00	\$459.92	\$56,700.00	\$409.08	\$81,900.00	\$629.79	\$60,200.00	\$475.21
1997	\$70,200.00	\$434.72	\$53,000.00	\$386.63	\$76,500.00	\$595.07	\$56,300.00	\$448.97
	7.2974359	2.81197092	6.03773585	1.80738691	7.60614379	2.81666022	10.6335702	4.08463817
	(1991) 68000				(1994) 79000		(1989) 21000	

Fresh Pot

	3973 N MICHIGAN AVE		3965 N MICHIGAN AVE		3955 N MICHIGAN AVE		3945 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2022	\$551,030.00	\$3,861.14	\$631,040.00	\$2,452.08	\$585,630.00	\$1,595.19	\$465,950.00	\$1,268.62
2021	\$493,170.00	\$3,795.79	\$563,730.00	\$2,410.62	\$523,550.00	\$1,568.17	\$418,460.00	\$1,247.25
2020	\$449,970.00	\$3,482.35	\$519,460.00	\$2,211.64	\$479,870.00	\$1,438.84	\$376,460.00	\$1,144.23
2019	\$439,970.00	\$3,354.27	\$509,460.00	\$2,130.30	\$469,870.00	\$1,385.90	\$366,460.00	\$1,102.30
2018	\$439,970.00	\$3,255.72	\$509,460.00	\$2,067.83	\$469,870.00	\$1,345.19	\$366,460.00	\$1,070.06
2017	\$410,520.00	\$3,120.41	\$475,100.00	\$1,982.06	\$438,230.00	\$1,289.44	\$342,390.00	\$1,025.57
2016	\$396,580.00	\$2,855.70	\$432,050.00	\$1,499.99	\$422,930.00	\$1,180.08	\$331,770.00	\$938.63
2015	\$340,050.00	\$2,780.90	\$372,090.00	\$1,460.65	\$363,660.00	\$1,149.23	\$281,950.00	\$914.21
2014	\$291,810.00	\$2,739.03	\$321,260.00	\$1,438.87	\$313,350.00	\$1,132.03	\$238,830.00	\$900.56
2013	\$258,340.00	\$2,675.44	\$283,540.00	\$1,405.54	\$276,480.00	\$1,105.82	\$213,730.00	\$879.65
2012	\$218,990.00	\$2,420.50	\$251,940.00	\$1,271.63	\$247,230.00	\$1,000.41	\$189,490.00	\$795.79
2011	\$217,300.00	\$2,329.39	\$249,720.00	\$1,223.84	\$245,120.00	\$962.86	\$188,320.00	\$765.82
2010	\$228,100.00	\$2,210.18	\$265,510.00	\$1,161.39	\$260,540.00	\$913.75	\$194,290.00	\$726.61
2009	\$228,590.00	\$2,152.43	\$264,570.00	\$1,131.04	\$259,150.00	\$889.85	\$186,270.00	\$707.68
2008	\$235,910.00	\$2,031.33	\$274,220.00	\$1,067.45	\$268,590.00	\$839.83	\$190,690.00	\$667.84
2007	\$206,980.00	\$2,025.34	\$229,350.00	\$956.20	\$232,890.00	\$837.37	\$172,320.00	\$665.97
2006	\$170,470.00	\$1,818.88	\$188,420.00	\$858.80	\$190,770.00	\$752.10	\$143,320.00	\$598.19

	3973 N MICHIGAN AVE		3965 N MICHIGAN AVE		3955 N MICHIGAN AVE		3945 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2005	\$149,740.00	\$1,737.31	\$167,960.00	\$820.24	\$170,760.00	\$718.45	\$122,560.00	\$571.46
2004	\$129,760.00	\$1,892.17	\$145,050.00	\$893.43	\$148,940.00	\$782.58	\$104,980.00	\$622.58
2003	\$124,860.00	\$1,850.43	\$140,100.00	\$873.88	\$141,190.00	\$765.38	\$101,670.00	\$608.88
2002	\$131,940.00	\$1,699.40	\$133,620.00	\$802.65	\$121,500.00	\$702.99	\$76,000.00	\$559.20
2001	\$118,870.00	\$1,620.52	\$120,380.00	\$765.37	\$109,460.00	\$670.39	\$68,460.00	\$533.36
2000	\$114,290.00	\$1,582.87	\$115,750.00	\$747.54	\$105,240.00	\$654.91	\$65,830.00	\$521.05
1999	\$109,900.00	\$1,471.69	\$111,300.00	\$695.23	\$101,200.00	\$608.94	\$63,300.00	\$484.54
1998	\$99,000.00	\$1,448.75	\$100,300.00	\$684.51	\$91,200.00	\$599.48	\$57,000.00	\$477.03
1997	\$92,500.00	\$1,368.92	\$93,700.00	\$646.76	\$85,200.00	\$566.56	\$53,300.00	\$450.75
	5.957081081	2.82057388	6.73468517	3.79132909	6.87359155	2.81557117	8.74202627	2.81446478
	(1988) 16000		(1996) 65000		(1989) 26545		1992) 19000	

Fresh Pot

	3933 N MICHIGAN AVE		3927 N MICHIGAN AVE		1036 N SHAVER ST		3956 N MISSOURI AVE	
2022	\$911,560.00	\$6,636.87	\$688,690.00	\$2,906.81	\$447,280.00	\$801.34	\$701,900.00	\$4,780.26
2021	\$818,480.00	\$6,524.69	\$615,820.00	\$2,857.59	\$408,540.00	\$787.87	\$625,560.00	\$4,699.37
2020	\$752,240.00	\$5,985.68	\$572,150.00	\$2,621.60	\$360,820.00	\$722.96	\$565,120.00	\$4,311.06
2019	\$750,020.00	\$5,765.65	\$563,590.00	\$2,525.46	\$350,820.00	\$696.49	\$555,620.00	\$4,152.64
2018	\$737,920.00	\$5,595.90	\$565,030.00	\$2,451.24	\$350,820.00	\$676.00	\$545,940.00	\$4,030.51
2017	\$407,570.00	\$2,680.63	\$527,940.00	\$2,349.47	\$318,160.00	\$648.09	\$508,810.00	\$3,863.04
2016	\$395,760.00	\$2,453.23	\$509,650.00	\$2,150.29	\$308,610.00	\$593.21	\$489,920.00	\$3,535.42
2015	\$341,180.00	\$2,388.85	\$442,790.00	\$2,093.99	\$260,500.00	\$577.69	\$441,510.00	\$3,442.78
2014	\$294,570.00	\$2,352.83	\$386,780.00	\$2,062.55	\$220,000.00	\$569.03	\$386,500.00	\$3,390.81
2013	\$262,220.00	\$2,298.26	\$339,570.00	\$2,014.68	\$203,250.00	\$555.73	\$350,010.00	\$3,312.06
2012	\$235,210.00	\$2,079.07	\$302,630.00	\$1,822.54	\$179,900.00	\$502.83	\$319,700.00	\$2,996.41
2011	\$235,610.00	\$2,000.85	\$300,280.00	\$1,753.87	\$178,840.00	\$483.88	\$316,250.00	\$2,883.47
2010	\$251,900.00	\$1,898.52	\$325,390.00	\$1,664.13	\$183,650.00	\$459.15	\$343,540.00	\$2,735.99
2009	\$254,090.00	\$1,848.94	\$322,870.00	\$1,620.64	\$185,850.00	\$447.21	\$339,300.00	\$2,664.53
2008	\$263,090.00	\$1,744.89	\$337,440.00	\$1,529.33	\$190,400.00	\$422.15	\$354,290.00	\$2,514.41
2007	\$107,000.00	\$104.22	\$288,270.00	\$1,524.90	\$172,620.00	\$421.09	\$331,770.00	\$2,507.04
2006	\$90,000.00	\$93.79	\$235,690.00	\$1,369.49	\$143,230.00	\$378.22	\$268,170.00	\$2,251.50

	3933 N MICHIGAN AVE		3927 N MICHIGAN AVE		1036 N SHAVER ST		3956 N MISSOURI AVE	
2005	\$68,000.00	\$89.67	\$215,240.00	\$1,308.15	\$119,860.00	\$361.27	\$250,340.00	\$2,150.41
2004	\$57,420.00	\$97.71	\$189,180.00	\$1,424.77	\$103,410.00	\$393.54	\$142,570.00	\$1,171.90
2003	\$53,000.00	\$95.71	\$182,110.00	\$1,393.34	\$96,220.00	\$384.94	\$139,610.00	\$1,146.04
2002	\$23,770.00	\$88.04	\$144,120.00	\$954.87	\$70,950.00	\$353.52	\$111,530.00	\$1,052.65
2001	\$21,420.00	\$83.92	\$97,470.00	\$546.07	\$63,930.00	\$337.18	\$100,480.00	\$1,003.84
2000	\$20,590.00	\$82.14	\$86,010.00	\$533.42	\$61,460.00	\$329.36	\$96,610.00	\$980.53
1999	\$19,800.00	\$76.45	\$82,700.00	\$495.98	\$59,100.00	\$306.38	\$92,900.00	\$911.68
1998	\$17,800.00	\$75.26	\$74,500.00	\$488.19	\$53,200.00	\$301.67	\$83,700.00	\$897.48
1997	\$16,600.00	\$71.27	\$69,600.00	\$461.45	\$49,700.00	\$285.08	\$78,200.00	\$848.08
	54.913253	93.1229129	9.89497126	6.2992957	8.99959759	2.81093027	8.97570332	5.6365673
			(1992) 12900		(1985) 8000			

Fresh Pot

	4076 N MISSOURI AVE		3936 N MISSOURI AVE		3926 N MISSOURI AVE	
2022	\$518,720.00	\$1,560.48	\$542,360.00	\$2,183.71	\$551,340.00	\$2,149.54
2021	\$464,800.00	\$1,534.13	\$485,560.00	\$2,146.79	\$493,450.00	\$2,113.27
2020	\$422,060.00	\$1,407.40	\$442,490.00	\$1,969.44	\$450,250.00	\$1,938.79
2019	\$412,060.00	\$1,355.80	\$432,490.00	\$1,897.11	\$440,250.00	\$1,867.46
2018	\$412,060.00	\$1,316.06	\$432,490.00	\$1,841.33	\$440,250.00	\$1,812.69
2017	\$384,650.00	\$1,261.45	\$403,590.00	\$1,764.93	\$410,780.00	\$1,737.41
2016	\$393,160.00	\$1,154.60	\$389,980.00	\$1,615.31	\$396,810.00	\$1,590.05
2015	\$336,990.00	\$1,124.40	\$334,140.00	\$1,573.02	\$340,250.00	\$1,548.45
2014	\$289,020.00	\$1,107.55	\$286,410.00	\$1,549.44	\$292,000.00	\$1,525.23
2013	\$256,000.00	\$1,081.92	\$253,780.00	\$1,513.41	\$258,510.00	\$1,489.77
2012	\$227,140.00	\$978.83	\$225,200.00	\$1,369.23	\$236,960.00	\$1,347.87
2011	\$225,290.00	\$942.15	\$223,390.00	\$1,317.70	\$234,960.00	\$1,297.19
2010	\$237,440.00	\$893.91	\$181,850.00	\$593.99	\$248,710.00	\$1,230.86
2009	\$237,540.00	\$870.61	\$184,130.00	\$578.52	\$248,350.00	\$1,198.78
2008	\$245,490.00	\$821.57	\$188,570.00	\$545.91	\$257,060.00	\$1,131.41
2007	\$216,780.00	\$819.25	\$178,960.00	\$544.49	\$223,750.00	\$1,128.03
2006	\$178,150.00	\$735.78	\$148,190.00	\$489.13	\$183,600.00	\$1,013.10

	4076 N MISSOURI AVE		3936 N MISSOURI AVE		3926 N MISSOURI AVE	
2005	\$157,870.00	\$702.79	\$127,320.00	\$467.27	\$162,990.00	\$967.67
2004	\$137,670.00	\$765.45	\$110,210.00	\$509.06	\$141,860.00	\$1,053.95
2003	\$135,010.00	\$748.56	\$63,870.00	\$497.91	\$134,250.00	\$1,030.78
2002	\$106,970.00	\$687.51	\$57,030.00	\$457.41	\$124,860.00	\$946.82
2001	\$96,370.00	\$655.63	\$51,380.00	\$436.30	\$112,480.00	\$902.84
2000	\$92,660.00	\$640.46	\$49,400.00	\$426.16	\$108,160.00	\$881.83
1999	\$89,100.00	\$595.50	\$47,500.00	\$396.28	\$104,000.00	\$820.04
1998	\$80,300.00	\$586.26	\$42,800.00	\$390.15	\$93,700.00	\$807.18
1997	\$75,000.00	\$554.11	\$40,000.00	\$368.79	\$87,600.00	\$762.73
	6.91626667	2.81619173	13.559	5.92128312	6.29383562	2.81821877
	(1993) 8100				(2006) 225000	

Proud Mary

	4926 NE 20TH AVE		4916 NE 20TH AVE		4904 NE 20TH AVE		4834 NE 20TH AVE	
2022	\$718,850.00	\$4,999.75	\$621,260.00	\$2,683.05	\$566,240.00	\$2,204.26	\$767,470.00	\$4,056.92
2021	\$675,070.00	\$4,915.14	\$584,660.00	\$2,637.79	\$533,690.00	\$2,167.08	\$713,440.00	\$3,988.32
2020	\$610,160.00	\$4,509.06	\$528,450.00	\$2,419.80	\$482,390.00	\$1,988.09	\$656,880.00	\$3,658.84
2019	\$601,330.00	\$4,343.24	\$514,350.00	\$2,331.08	\$465,300.00	\$1,915.14	\$650,910.00	\$3,524.34
2018	\$594,650.00	\$4,215.54	\$509,330.00	\$2,262.70	\$461,230.00	\$1,858.81	\$643,330.00	\$3,420.66
2017	\$574,660.00	\$4,040.38	\$489,330.00	\$2,168.66	\$441,230.00	\$1,781.70	\$623,320.00	\$3,278.48
2016	\$547,890.00	\$3,697.66	\$469,270.00	\$1,984.76	\$424,910.00	\$1,630.61	\$611,490.00	\$3,000.46
2015	\$451,020.00	\$3,600.79	\$385,420.00	\$1,932.69	\$348,450.00	\$1,587.92	\$504,440.00	\$2,921.85
2014	\$419,490.00	\$3,546.53	\$356,410.00	\$1,903.48	\$320,840.00	\$1,564.05	\$485,820.00	\$2,877.89
2013	\$342,020.00	\$3,464.09	\$289,780.00	\$1,859.23	\$260,320.00	\$1,527.88	\$397,390.00	\$2,811.00
2012	\$317,520.00	\$3,133.79	\$268,900.00	\$1,682.04	\$241,480.00	\$1,382.28	\$369,260.00	\$2,543.03
2011	\$317,520.00	\$3,015.87	\$268,900.00	\$1,618.84	\$241,480.00	\$1,330.17	\$369,260.00	\$2,447.28
2010	\$358,200.00	\$2,861.39	\$300,680.00	\$1,536.05	\$268,240.00	\$1,262.25	\$418,930.00	\$2,322.14
2009	\$367,120.00	\$2,786.62	\$307,380.00	\$1,495.89	\$273,680.00	\$1,229.38	\$391,540.00	\$1,910.79
2008	\$376,020.00	\$2,629.73	\$314,050.00	\$1,411.71	\$279,100.00	\$1,160.27	\$401,290.00	\$1,803.26
2007	\$345,180.00	\$2,621.94	\$281,970.00	\$1,407.57	\$251,270.00	\$1,156.84	\$358,420.00	\$1,797.93

	4926 NE 20TH AVE		4916 NE 20TH AVE		4904 NE 20TH AVE		4834 NE 20TH AVE	
2006	\$295,070.00	\$2,354.56	\$242,200.00	\$1,264.01	\$216,510.00	\$1,038.93	\$306,500.00	\$1,614.56
2005	\$260,980.00	\$2,248.84	\$209,590.00	\$1,207.30	\$185,610.00	\$992.30	\$244,810.00	\$1,542.08
2004	\$228,290.00	\$2,449.30	\$184,050.00	\$1,315.02	\$161,820.00	\$1,080.87	\$219,310.00	\$1,679.60
2003	\$205,300.00	\$2,395.21	\$166,100.00	\$1,285.96	\$145,020.00	\$1,057.01	\$208,550.00	\$1,642.61
2002	\$184,270.00	\$2,199.66	\$144,310.00	\$1,180.97	\$122,340.00	\$970.81	\$179,250.00	\$1,508.58
2001	\$162,810.00	\$2,097.42	\$130,010.00	\$1,126.09	\$110,220.00	\$925.74	\$161,480.00	\$1,438.49
2000	\$116,590.00	\$1,492.57	\$125,010.00	\$1,099.94	\$105,980.00	\$904.28	\$155,270.00	\$1,404.97
1999	\$112,100.00	\$1,387.81	\$120,200.00	\$1,022.86	\$101,900.00	\$840.86	\$149,300.00	\$1,306.35
1998	\$101,000.00	\$1,366.16	\$108,300.00	\$1,006.93	\$91,800.00	\$827.72	\$134,500.00	\$1,286.03
1997	\$94,400.00	\$1,290.88	\$101,200.00	\$951.42	\$85,800.00	\$782.15	\$125,700.00	\$1,215.12
	7.614936441	3.873133057	6.138932806	2.820047928	6.5995338	2.818206226	6.105568815	3.338699059
	(1996) 16500		(1990) 33500		(1994) 40000		(1993) 44500	

Proud Mary

	4824 NE 20TH AVE		4814 NE 20TH AVE	
2022	\$577,360.00	\$2,435.28	\$662,670.00	\$3,647.79
2021	\$543,990.00	\$2,394.19	\$623,020.00	\$3,586.25
2020	\$491,700.00	\$2,196.55	\$563,120.00	\$3,289.91
2019	\$475,220.00	\$2,115.82	\$551,260.00	\$3,169.00
2018	\$470,950.00	\$2,053.64	\$545,530.00	\$3,075.77
2017	\$450,950.00	\$1,968.29	\$525,530.00	\$2,948.05
2016	\$433,870.00	\$1,801.31	\$502,620.00	\$2,697.96
2015	\$355,940.00	\$1,754.15	\$413,260.00	\$2,627.22
2014	\$328,030.00	\$1,727.70	\$383,160.00	\$2,587.66
2013	\$266,280.00	\$1,687.70	\$311,940.00	\$2,527.48
2012	\$247,030.00	\$1,526.84	\$289,540.00	\$2,286.46
2011	\$247,030.00	\$1,469.50	\$289,540.00	\$2,200.34
2010	\$274,790.00	\$1,394.24	\$325,070.00	\$2,087.74
2009	\$280,490.00	\$1,357.85	\$332,710.00	\$2,033.16
2008	\$286,180.00	\$1,281.31	\$340,340.00	\$1,918.54
2007	\$257,470.00	\$1,277.63	\$316,180.00	\$1,912.81
2006	\$221,690.00	\$1,147.44	\$270,820.00	\$1,717.84

	4824 NE 20TH AVE		4814 NE 20TH AVE	
2005	\$190,620.00	\$1,096.04	\$237,420.00	\$1,640.71
2004	\$166,030.00	\$1,193.94	\$208,670.00	\$1,787.13
2003	\$148,270.00	\$1,167.57	\$187,950.00	\$1,747.74
2002	\$125,940.00	\$1,072.38	\$168,270.00	\$1,605.10
2001	\$113,460.00	\$1,022.59	\$148,160.00	\$1,530.53
2000	\$109,100.00	\$998.73	\$104,000.00	\$1,494.85
1999	\$104,900.00	\$928.76	\$100,000.00	\$1,390.03
1998	\$94,500.00	\$914.36	\$90,100.00	\$1,368.38
1997	\$88,300.00	\$864.11	\$84,200.00	\$0.00
	\$577,360.00	\$2,435.28	\$662,670.00	\$3,647.79
			(1989) 13000	

Proud Mary

	4923 NE 21ST AVE		4911 NE 21ST AVE		4903 NE 21ST AVE		4835 NE 21ST AVE	
2022	\$597,320.00	\$4,167.43	\$725,910.00	\$5,051.27	\$608,970.00	\$3,037.94	\$985,790.00	\$7,781.06
2021	\$562,660.00	\$4,097.01	\$560,640.00	\$3,071.18	\$573,270.00	\$2,986.55	\$905,750.00	\$7,649.45
2020	\$508,810.00	\$3,758.50	\$506,740.00	\$2,817.60	\$518,160.00	\$2,739.93	\$920,350.00	\$7,017.25
2019	\$493,280.00	\$3,620.12	\$491,240.00	\$2,714.03	\$503,390.00	\$2,639.27	\$944,260.00	\$6,759.22
2018	\$353,530.00	\$1,823.86	\$486,660.00	\$2,634.41	\$498,580.00	\$2,561.69	\$914,980.00	\$6,363.20
2017	\$412,010.00	\$1,748.17	\$466,650.00	\$2,525.09	\$478,580.00	\$2,455.30	\$894,990.00	\$6,098.69
2016	\$397,980.00	\$1,599.96	\$448,360.00	\$2,310.84	\$459,340.00	\$2,247.17	\$552,770.00	\$2,764.70
2015	\$325,980.00	\$1,558.13	\$368,000.00	\$2,250.29	\$377,160.00	\$2,188.31	\$390,150.00	\$2,692.22
2014	\$299,230.00	\$1,534.77	\$339,640.00	\$2,216.33	\$348,460.00	\$2,155.41	\$370,340.00	\$2,651.72
2013	\$242,430.00	\$1,499.20	\$275,890.00	\$2,164.74	\$283,200.00	\$2,105.42	\$295,710.00	\$2,590.22
2012	\$224,830.00	\$1,356.37	\$280,020.00	\$1,958.39	\$262,770.00	\$1,904.64	\$268,660.00	\$2,343.35
2011	\$224,830.00	\$1,305.46	\$280,020.00	\$1,884.72	\$262,770.00	\$1,833.01	\$266,310.00	\$2,255.15
2010	\$248,540.00	\$1,238.70	\$313,810.00	\$1,788.25	\$293,430.00	\$1,739.25	\$308,050.00	\$2,139.79
2009	\$253,210.00	\$1,206.44	\$321,010.00	\$1,741.48	\$299,850.00	\$1,693.84	\$320,080.00	\$2,083.79
2008	\$257,890.00	\$1,138.59	\$328,210.00	\$1,643.39	\$306,240.00	\$1,598.55	\$311,540.00	\$1,966.55
2007	\$229,530.00	\$1,135.22	\$297,390.00	\$1,638.52	\$275,120.00	\$1,593.81	\$299,040.00	\$1,960.82
2006	\$198,320.00	\$1,019.54	\$232,380.00	\$1,197.26	\$236,460.00	\$1,431.42	\$265,950.00	\$1,760.99

	4923 NE 21ST AVE		4911 NE 21ST AVE		4903 NE 21ST AVE		4835 NE 21ST AVE	
2005	\$168,060.00	\$973.82	\$200,300.00	\$1,143.69	\$193,920.00	\$1,247.86	\$280,430.00	\$1,681.97
2004	\$146,040.00	\$1,060.82	\$174,600.00	\$1,245.79	\$168,920.00	\$1,359.10	\$242,830.00	\$1,832.11
2003	\$129,290.00	\$1,037.54	\$154,650.00	\$1,218.22	\$154,600.00	\$1,329.19	\$227,710.00	\$1,791.70
2002	\$105,050.00	\$952.99	\$135,710.00	\$1,118.82	\$129,190.00	\$1,220.83	\$175,890.00	\$1,645.58
2001	\$94,640.00	\$908.88	\$111,300.00	\$1,066.93	\$116,380.00	\$1,164.22	\$158,450.00	\$1,569.08
2000	\$91,000.00	\$887.71	\$107,020.00	\$1,042.11	\$111,910.00	\$1,137.24	\$152,360.00	\$1,532.57
1999	\$87,500.00	\$825.45	\$102,900.00	\$969.09	\$107,600.00	\$1,057.37	\$146,500.00	\$1,424.95
1998	\$78,800.00	\$812.65	\$92,700.00	\$723.55	\$96,900.00	\$1,040.90	\$132,000.00	\$1,402.77
1997	\$73,600.00	\$767.89	\$86,600.00	\$683.77	\$90,600.00	\$983.49	\$123,300.00	\$1,325.57
	8.11576087	5.427118467	8.382332564	7.387381722	6.721523179	3.088938373	7.995052717	5.869972917
	(1994) 40600		(1995) 75000		(1990) 11000			

Proud Mary

	4823 NE 21ST AVE		4813 NE 21ST AVE		4807 NE 21ST AVE	
2022	\$695,700.00	\$5,247.00	\$815,460.00	\$6,139.14	\$741,380.00	\$4,280.92
2021	\$648,070.00	\$5,158.49	\$764,580.00	\$6,035.30	\$611,290.00	\$3,129.31
2020	\$595,870.00	\$4,732.35	\$691,040.00	\$5,536.59	\$552,760.00	\$2,870.75
2019	\$585,960.00	\$4,558.46	\$687,450.00	\$5,333.03	\$540,070.00	\$2,765.22
2018	\$579,620.00	\$4,424.56	\$679,110.00	\$5,176.33	\$534,600.00	\$2,684.10
2017	\$555,110.00	\$4,240.74	\$659,110.00	\$4,961.09	\$514,600.00	\$2,572.58
2016	\$545,340.00	\$3,881.07	\$625,750.00	\$4,540.31	\$492,730.00	\$2,354.48
2015	\$449,290.00	\$3,779.28	\$329,300.00	\$2,058.73	\$405,430.00	\$2,292.86
2014	\$486,770.00	\$3,722.34	\$302,410.00	\$2,027.74	\$375,730.00	\$2,258.34
2013	\$398,190.00	\$3,635.96	\$282,580.00	\$1,980.60	\$306,210.00	\$2,205.79
2012	\$369,980.00	\$3,289.36	\$262,200.00	\$1,791.73	\$284,390.00	\$1,995.47
2011	\$369,980.00	\$3,165.41	\$262,200.00	\$1,724.21	\$284,390.00	\$1,920.38
2010	\$419,770.00	\$3,003.42	\$292,740.00	\$1,636.01	\$318,520.00	\$1,822.24
2009	\$430,970.00	\$2,924.92	\$299,120.00	\$1,593.34	\$325,810.00	\$1,774.68
2008	\$442,170.00	\$2,760.28	\$305,500.00	\$1,503.62	\$330,450.00	\$1,674.82
2007	\$399,020.00	\$2,752.12	\$274,460.00	\$1,499.17	\$259,270.00	\$1,180.60
2006	\$340,470.00	\$2,471.54	\$235,910.00	\$1,346.33	\$223,200.00	\$1,060.31

	4823 NE 21ST AVE		4813 NE 21ST AVE		4807 NE 21ST AVE	
2005	\$237,830.00	\$1,609.16	\$204,340.00	\$1,285.96	\$190,010.00	\$1,012.73
2004	\$207,840.00	\$1,752.62	\$178,160.00	\$1,400.70	\$148,370.00	\$1,103.11
2003	\$187,260.00	\$1,713.89	\$159,110.00	\$1,369.79	\$138,500.00	\$1,078.79
2002	\$167,690.00	\$1,574.09	\$136,750.00	\$1,258.13	\$103,130.00	\$990.74
2001	\$138,870.00	\$1,352.07	\$123,200.00	\$1,199.81	\$92,910.00	\$944.70
2000	\$133,540.00	\$1,320.55	\$118,460.00	\$1,172.00	\$89,340.00	\$922.68
1999	\$128,400.00	\$1,227.93	\$113,900.00	\$1,089.88	\$85,900.00	\$857.94
1998	\$115,700.00	\$1,208.69	\$102,600.00	\$1,072.79	\$77,400.00	\$844.59
1997	\$108,100.00	\$1,142.07	\$95,900.00	\$1,013.77	\$72,300.00	\$798.20
	6.435707678	4.594289317	8.503232534	6.055752291	10.25421853	5.363217239
	(1996) 26000				(2003) 164600	

Proud Mary

	4926 NE 21ST AVE		4916 NE 21ST AVE		4904 NE 21ST AVE		4832 NE 21ST AVE	
2022	\$731,830.00	\$4,085.72	\$574,900.00	\$2,697.47	\$530,750.00	\$2,044.61	\$561,980.00	\$3,848.88
2021	\$680,980.00	\$4,016.67	\$541,710.00	\$2,651.84	\$500,800.00	\$2,009.97	\$509,040.00	\$3,783.89
2020	\$626,580.00	\$3,684.87	\$489,640.00	\$2,432.85	\$452,670.00	\$1,844.01	\$486,400.00	\$3,471.34
	4926 NE 21ST AVE		4916 NE 21ST AVE		4904 NE 21ST AVE		4832 NE 21ST AVE	
2019	\$618,660.00	\$3,549.42	\$473,020.00	\$2,343.49	\$433,670.00	\$1,776.23	\$474,420.00	\$3,343.88
2018	\$611,690.00	\$3,445.23	\$468,800.00	\$2,274.60	\$430,190.00	\$1,724.00	\$455,410.00	\$3,245.55
2017	\$591,680.00	\$3,301.97	\$442,730.00	\$2,180.17	\$410,190.00	\$1,652.38	\$410,730.00	\$3,110.66
2016	\$580,800.00	\$3,021.95	\$426,300.00	\$1,995.34	\$396,300.00	\$1,512.27	\$437,780.00	\$2,846.72
2015	\$478,890.00	\$2,942.64	\$349,600.00	\$1,943.10	\$324,600.00	\$1,472.74	\$368,620.00	\$2,772.16
2014	\$460,020.00	\$2,898.34	\$321,960.00	\$1,913.86	\$297,890.00	\$1,450.63	\$355,540.00	\$2,730.42
2013	\$376,030.00	\$2,831.11	\$261,230.00	\$1,869.35	\$241,310.00	\$1,416.88	\$292,060.00	\$2,666.97
2012	\$349,370.00	\$2,561.25	\$242,340.00	\$1,691.23	\$223,790.00	\$1,281.76	\$281,930.00	\$2,412.86
2011	\$349,370.00	\$2,464.93	\$242,340.00	\$1,627.53	\$223,790.00	\$1,233.44	\$278,690.00	\$2,322.01
2010	\$395,380.00	\$2,338.67	\$269,250.00	\$1,544.31	\$247,320.00	\$1,170.32	\$305,230.00	\$2,203.21
2009	\$405,630.00	\$2,277.59	\$274,730.00	\$1,503.99	\$251,940.00	\$1,139.78	\$301,510.00	\$2,145.65
2008	\$415,890.00	\$2,149.35	\$280,210.00	\$1,419.31	\$237,490.00	\$1,075.75	\$245,670.00	\$2,024.72
2007	\$411,800.00	\$2,143.14	\$252,220.00	\$1,415.23	\$214,370.00	\$1,072.64	\$237,750.00	\$2,018.82

	4926 NE 21ST AVE		4916 NE 21ST AVE		4904 NE 21ST AVE		4832 NE 21ST AVE	
2006	\$296,890.00	\$1,924.57	\$204,920.00	\$1,161.75	\$185,630.00	\$963.29	\$212,190.00	\$1,813.03
2005	\$262,610.00	\$1,838.33	\$174,250.00	\$1,109.73	\$155,650.00	\$920.04	\$238,280.00	\$1,731.78
2004	\$231,280.00	\$2,002.37	\$151,530.00	\$1,208.85	\$135,070.00	\$1,002.06	\$197,890.00	\$1,886.17
2003	\$208,410.00	\$1,958.05	\$131,690.00	\$1,182.14	\$121,830.00	\$979.92	\$168,530.00	\$1,844.58
2002	\$187,200.00	\$1,798.25	\$108,180.00	\$1,085.69	\$88,850.00	\$899.98	\$147,310.00	\$1,694.11
2001	\$140,830.00	\$1,328.71	\$97,450.00	\$1,035.28	\$80,040.00	\$858.26	\$132,720.00	\$1,615.52
2000	\$135,410.00	\$1,297.92	\$93,710.00	\$1,011.29	\$76,960.00	\$838.24	\$127,600.00	\$1,578.04
1999	\$130,200.00	\$1,206.85	\$90,100.00	\$940.40	\$74,000.00	\$779.49	\$122,700.00	\$1,467.28
1998	\$117,300.00	\$1,187.97	\$81,200.00	\$925.77	\$66,700.00	\$767.30	\$110,500.00	\$1,444.27
1997	\$109,600.00	\$1,122.45	\$75,900.00	\$874.81	\$62,300.00	\$725.16	\$103,300.00	\$1,364.77
	6.677281022	3.640001782	7.574440053	3.083492415	8.519261637	2.819529483	5.440271055	2.820167501
	(1991) 25,000		(1993) 29,000				(1987) 50,846	

Proud Mary

	4824 NE 21ST AVE		4814 NE 21ST AVE		4806 NE 21ST AVE	
2022	\$656,240.00	\$2,858.23	\$695,430.00	\$3,245.38	\$765,480.00	\$5,455.81
2021	\$617,070.00	\$2,810.02	\$653,370.00	\$3,190.42	\$711,940.00	\$5,363.45
2020	\$557,740.00	\$2,577.96	\$590,550.00	\$2,926.92	\$655,710.00	\$4,920.11
2019	\$545,530.00	\$2,483.43	\$580,460.00	\$2,819.49	\$645,550.00	\$4,443.65
2018	\$539,910.00	\$2,410.42	\$574,170.00	\$2,736.50	\$638,140.00	\$4,313.04
2017	\$519,900.00	\$2,310.24	\$554,180.00	\$2,622.91	\$618,130.00	\$4,133.92
2016	\$497,450.00	\$2,114.20	\$529,020.00	\$2,400.40	\$606,540.00	\$3,783.25
2015	\$408,950.00	\$2,058.73	\$435,270.00	\$2,337.51	\$500,940.00	\$3,684.01
2014	\$379,030.00	\$2,027.74	\$404,360.00	\$2,302.44	\$482,250.00	\$3,628.53
2013	\$308,490.00	\$1,980.60	\$329,490.00	\$2,248.98	\$395,040.00	\$3,544.21
2012	\$286,350.00	\$1,791.73	\$305,860.00	\$2,034.61	\$367,300.00	\$3,206.43
2011	\$286,350.00	\$1,724.21	\$305,860.00	\$1,958.04	\$367,300.00	\$3,085.62
2010	\$321,280.00	\$1,636.01	\$344,400.00	\$1,857.95	\$415,950.00	\$2,927.65
2009	\$326,150.00	\$1,593.34	\$352,780.00	\$1,809.41	\$426,860.00	\$2,851.12
2008	\$333,530.00	\$1,503.62	\$361,140.00	\$1,707.53	\$437,790.00	\$2,690.42
2007	\$299,090.00	\$1,499.17	\$326,860.00	\$1,702.42	\$401,140.00	\$2,682.36
2006	\$256,790.00	\$1,346.33	\$279,760.00	\$1,528.84	\$342,730.00	\$2,408.83

	4824 NE 21ST AVE		4814 NE 21ST AVE		4806 NE 21ST AVE	
2005	\$224,050.00	\$1,285.96	\$246,280.00	\$1,460.31	\$275,380.00	\$2,300.82
2004	\$194,340.00	\$1,400.70	\$215,270.00	\$1,590.60	\$235,930.00	\$2,370.95
2003	\$173,750.00	\$1,369.79	\$178,780.00	\$1,555.40	\$222,220.00	\$2,318.59
2002	\$152,600.00	\$1,258.13	\$160,060.00	\$1,428.42	\$195,800.00	\$2,129.25
2001	\$137,470.00	\$1,199.81	\$128,290.00	\$1,079.88	\$172,420.00	\$2,030.40
2000	\$132,190.00	\$1,172.00	\$114,610.00	\$1,054.69	\$110,860.00	\$1,203.02
1999	\$127,100.00	\$1,089.88	\$110,200.00	\$980.72	\$106,600.00	\$1,118.58
1998	\$114,500.00	\$1,072.79	\$99,300.00	\$965.42	\$96,000.00	\$1,101.11
1997	\$107,000.00	\$1,013.77	\$92,800.00	\$912.22	\$89,700.00	\$1,040.51
	6.133084112	2.819406769	7.493857759	3.557672491	8.533779264	5.243399871
	(2003) 19,7000		(1990) 13,700		(2000) 85,000	

Proud Mary

	4925 NE 22ND AVE		4913 NE 22ND AVE		4907 NE 22ND AVE		4835 NE 22ND AVE	
2022	\$651,790.00	\$3,365.83	\$713,650.00	\$3,199.72	\$688,740.00	\$3,276.12	\$745,870.00	\$4,534.56
2021	\$608,080.00	\$3,308.87	\$670,250.00	\$3,145.56	\$647,180.00	\$3,220.73	\$700,210.00	\$4,457.93
2020	\$558,540.00	\$3,035.53	\$573,660.00	\$2,115.28	\$584,950.00	\$2,954.75	\$633,020.00	\$4,089.56
2019	\$546,220.00	\$2,923.88	\$562,470.00	\$2,037.57	\$574,500.00	\$2,846.33	\$625,580.00	\$3,939.24
2018	\$540,640.00	\$2,837.86	\$556,530.00	\$1,977.63	\$568,330.00	\$2,762.63	\$618,460.00	\$3,823.57
2017	\$522,280.00	\$2,719.94	\$536,540.00	\$1,895.49	\$548,320.00	\$2,647.90	\$598,470.00	\$3,664.67
2016	\$513,510.00	\$2,489.35	\$512,770.00	\$1,734.79	\$523,640.00	\$2,423.28	\$569,970.00	\$3,353.92
2015	\$422,760.00	\$2,424.02	\$421,710.00	\$1,689.37	\$430,800.00	\$2,359.76	\$469,680.00	\$3,265.92
2014	\$403,380.00	\$2,387.62	\$391,320.00	\$1,663.87	\$380,910.00	\$2,048.89	\$437,490.00	\$3,216.64
2013	\$329,120.00	\$2,332.26	\$318,670.00	\$1,625.16	\$310,060.00	\$2,001.37	\$357,170.00	\$3,141.93
2012	\$305,690.00	\$2,109.96	\$295,800.00	\$1,470.18	\$287,780.00	\$1,810.67	\$331,750.00	\$2,842.33
2011	\$305,690.00	\$2,030.48	\$295,800.00	\$1,414.83	\$287,780.00	\$1,742.50	\$331,750.00	\$2,735.21
2010	\$343,730.00	\$1,926.58	\$332,490.00	\$1,342.62	\$323,010.00	\$1,653.41	\$350,770.00	\$1,909.40
2009	\$351,990.00	\$1,876.28	\$340,410.00	\$1,307.58	\$330,570.00	\$1,610.17	\$359,350.00	\$1,859.43
2008	\$360,260.00	\$1,770.56	\$348,350.00	\$1,233.95	\$338,130.00	\$1,519.55	\$367,930.00	\$1,754.86
2007	\$334,380.00	\$1,765.43	\$312,110.00	\$1,230.30	\$303,110.00	\$1,515.11	\$329,000.00	\$1,749.69
2006	\$241,970.00	\$1,585.48	\$267,420.00	\$1,104.87	\$259,900.00	\$1,360.62	\$281,710.00	\$1,571.37

	4925 NE 22ND AVE		4913 NE 22ND AVE		4907 NE 22ND AVE		4835 NE 22ND AVE	
2005	\$209,760.00	\$1,514.46	\$234,070.00	\$1,055.40	\$213,380.00	\$1,299.61	\$247,990.00	\$1,501.04
2004	\$170,560.00	\$1,463.26	\$183,680.00	\$1,149.66	\$187,200.00	\$1,415.65	\$217,050.00	\$1,634.90
2003	\$157,310.00	\$1,430.97	\$161,640.00	\$1,124.32	\$167,400.00	\$1,384.34	\$189,480.00	\$1,598.89
2002	\$139,940.00	\$1,314.34	\$128,590.00	\$1,032.48	\$146,110.00	\$1,271.48	\$170,850.00	\$1,468.52
2001	\$106,110.00	\$1,079.88	\$115,840.00	\$984.71	\$131,630.00	\$1,212.51	\$153,910.00	\$1,400.38
2000	\$102,030.00	\$1,054.69	\$111,390.00	\$961.85	\$126,570.00	\$1,184.38	\$147,990.00	\$1,367.90
1999	\$98,100.00	\$980.72	\$107,100.00	\$894.47	\$121,700.00	\$1,101.29	\$142,300.00	\$1,271.87
1998	\$88,400.00	\$965.42	\$96,500.00	\$880.58	\$109,600.00	\$1,084.23	\$128,200.00	\$1,252.04
1997	\$82,600.00	\$912.22	\$90,200.00	\$832.03	\$102,400.00	\$1,024.46	\$119,800.00	\$1,183.02
	7.890920097	3.689713008	7.911862528	3.845678641	6.725976563	3.197899381	6.225959933	3.83303748
	(2001) 155,000		(1994) 34,700		(2003) 160,000		(1996) 101,900	

Proud Mary

	4827 NE 22ND AVE		4811 NE 22ND AVE #A		5025 NE 22ND AVE		5037 NE 22ND AVE	
2022	\$675,000.00	\$4,108.41	\$650,140.00	\$3,029.12	\$795,990.00	\$5,701.73	\$566,780.00	\$2,265.42
2021	\$634,440.00	\$4,038.87	\$611,420.00	\$2,977.89	\$747,590.00	\$5,605.41	\$534,180.00	\$2,227.11
2020	\$573,440.00	\$3,705.11	\$552,630.00	\$2,732.01	\$685,410.00	\$5,142.37	\$482,830.00	\$2,043.25
2019	\$562,240.00	\$3,568.93	\$540,090.00	\$2,631.63	\$685,120.00	\$4,953.32	\$465,780.00	\$1,968.35
2018	\$556,310.00	\$3,463.97	\$534,580.00	\$2,554.32	\$529,320.00	\$2,994.47	\$461,690.00	\$1,910.49
2017	\$536,310.00	\$3,320.00	\$514,580.00	\$2,448.33	\$467,470.00	\$2,372.24	\$441,700.00	\$1,831.21
2016	\$512,540.00	\$3,038.43	\$492,530.00	\$2,240.57	\$449,110.00	\$2,171.04	\$425,340.00	\$1,675.89
2015	\$421,550.00	\$2,958.74	\$404,840.00	\$2,181.96	\$368,630.00	\$2,114.06	\$348,820.00	\$1,631.90
2014	\$391,130.00	\$2,914.20	\$375,070.00	\$2,149.17	\$340,240.00	\$2,082.25	\$321,180.00	\$1,607.20
2013	\$318,540.00	\$2,846.53	\$305,250.00	\$2,099.37	\$276,380.00	\$2,033.95	\$260,610.00	\$1,569.86
2012	\$295,680.00	\$2,575.21	\$283,290.00	\$1,899.24	\$256,440.00	\$1,840.11	\$241,740.00	\$1,420.28
2011	\$295,680.00	\$2,478.30	\$283,290.00	\$1,827.64	\$256,440.00	\$1,770.82	\$241,740.00	\$1,366.96
2010	\$332,350.00	\$2,351.56	\$317,690.00	\$1,734.23	\$285,940.00	\$1,680.20	\$268,550.00	\$1,297.12
2009	\$339,910.00	\$2,290.03	\$320,640.00	\$1,689.04	\$292,050.00	\$1,636.38	\$274,000.00	\$1,263.24
2008	\$327,200.00	\$1,934.92	\$327,810.00	\$1,593.88	\$298,170.00	\$1,544.17	\$279,460.00	\$1,192.13
2007	\$293,520.00	\$1,929.22	\$291,720.00	\$1,589.24	\$250,120.00	\$1,325.40	\$254,590.00	\$1,188.62
2006	\$248,440.00	\$1,732.52	\$240,750.00	\$1,427.21	\$215,550.00	\$1,190.21	\$219,290.00	\$1,067.57

	4827 NE 22ND AVE		4811 NE 22ND AVE #A		5025 NE 22ND AVE		5037 NE 22ND AVE	
2005	\$215,390.00	\$1,654.76	\$208,510.00	\$1,363.11	\$188,130.00	\$1,136.91	\$187,890.00	\$1,019.68
2004	\$159,890.00	\$1,381.36	\$182,960.00	\$1,484.62	\$164,440.00	\$1,238.45	\$163,610.00	\$1,110.67
2003	\$146,810.00	\$1,350.96	\$165,170.00	\$1,451.79	\$146,610.00	\$1,211.08	\$147,000.00	\$1,086.20
2002	\$113,940.00	\$1,240.75	\$143,350.00	\$1,333.38	\$122,460.00	\$1,112.25	\$118,980.00	\$997.52
2001	\$102,650.00	\$1,183.16	\$129,140.00	\$1,271.49	\$110,320.00	\$1,060.72	\$107,190.00	\$951.14
2000	\$98,700.00	\$1,155.66	\$124,180.00	\$1,241.98	\$106,080.00	\$1,036.05	\$103,070.00	\$928.97
1999	\$94,900.00	\$1,074.62	\$119,400.00	\$1,154.89	\$102,000.00	\$963.27	\$99,100.00	\$863.73
1998	\$85,500.00	\$1,057.77	\$107,600.00	\$1,136.91	\$91,900.00	\$948.30	\$89,300.00	\$850.27
1997	\$79,900.00	\$999.53	\$100,600.00	\$1,074.35	\$85,900.00	\$896.17	\$83,500.00	\$803.54
	8.448060075	4.110341861	6.462624254	2.819490855	9.266472643	6.362330808	6.787784431	2.819299599
			(1986) 26500		(1997) 70500		(1991) 13500	

Proud Mary

	5115 NE 22ND AVE		5125 NE 22ND AVE		5133 NE 22ND AVE		2112 NE SUMNER ST	
2022	\$581,710.00	\$3,756.74	\$728,790.00	\$4,033.63	\$680,970.00	\$4,096.15	\$641,590.00	\$4,826.16
2021	\$548,200.00	\$3,693.34	\$628,110.00	\$2,770.50	\$642,370.00	\$4,026.98	\$606,970.00	\$4,744.55
2020	\$495,750.00	\$3,388.32	\$567,960.00	\$2,541.67	\$583,730.00	\$3,694.12	\$551,810.00	\$4,352.48
2019	\$479,370.00	\$3,263.78	\$556,240.00	\$2,448.39	\$552,060.00	\$3,082.51	\$542,350.00	\$4,192.42
2018	\$475,070.00	\$3,167.78	\$550,470.00	\$2,376.46	\$546,360.00	\$2,991.93	\$536,830.00	\$4,069.07
2017	\$455,070.00	\$3,036.08	\$530,470.00	\$2,277.69	\$526,360.00	\$2,867.76	\$333,560.00	\$1,748.17
2016	\$437,860.00	\$2,778.60	\$507,360.00	\$2,084.51	\$503,580.00	\$2,624.69	\$325,670.00	\$1,599.96
2015	\$359,680.00	\$2,705.71	\$417,640.00	\$2,029.89	\$414,480.00	\$2,555.78	\$265,690.00	\$1,558.13
2014	\$331,720.00	\$2,664.91	\$387,490.00	\$1,999.22	\$375,040.00	\$2,517.35	\$241,230.00	\$1,534.77
2013	\$269,770.00	\$2,603.01	\$302,180.00	\$1,952.88	\$305,200.00	\$2,458.90	\$194,390.00	\$1,499.20
2012	\$250,440.00	\$2,354.85	\$280,610.00	\$1,766.77	\$283,260.00	\$2,224.64	\$180,110.00	\$1,356.37
2011	\$250,440.00	\$2,266.09	\$280,610.00	\$1,700.40	\$283,260.00	\$2,140.82	\$180,110.00	\$1,305.46
2010	\$278,380.00	\$2,150.02	\$314,080.00	\$1,613.34	\$317,670.00	\$2,031.34	\$195,650.00	\$1,238.70
2009	\$284,120.00	\$2,093.87	\$321,200.00	\$1,571.30	\$325,010.00	\$1,978.26	\$198,280.00	\$1,206.44
2008	\$289,850.00	\$1,975.89	\$328,290.00	\$1,482.82	\$332,370.00	\$1,866.95	\$200,910.00	\$1,138.59
2007	\$260,490.00	\$1,969.98	\$294,300.00	\$1,478.44	\$308,750.00	\$1,861.34	\$182,530.00	\$1,135.22
2006	\$224,570.00	\$1,769.06	\$252,830.00	\$1,327.72	\$264,600.00	\$1,671.63	\$158,990.00	\$1,019.54

	5115 NE 22ND AVE		5125 NE 22ND AVE		5133 NE 22ND AVE		2112 NE SUMNER ST	
2005	\$192,900.00	\$1,689.65	\$219,630.00	\$1,268.25	\$231,370.00	\$1,596.64	\$130,110.00	\$973.82
2004	\$166,770.00	\$1,840.31	\$190,420.00	\$1,381.36	\$167,590.00	\$1,221.10	\$112,700.00	\$1,060.82
2003	\$144,630.00	\$1,799.76	\$179,540.00	\$1,350.96	\$150,850.00	\$1,194.25	\$100,220.00	\$1,037.54
2002	\$128,240.00	\$1,653.00	\$127,380.00	\$1,240.75	\$127,740.00	\$1,096.76	\$74,680.00	\$952.99
2001	\$116,920.00	\$1,003.84	\$114,760.00	\$1,183.16	\$115,080.00	\$1,045.93	\$67,280.00	\$908.88
2000	\$112,430.00	\$980.53	\$110,350.00	\$1,155.66	\$110,660.00	\$1,021.58	\$64,690.00	\$887.71
1999	\$108,100.00	\$911.68	\$106,100.00	\$1,074.62	\$106,400.00	\$949.81	\$62,200.00	\$825.45
1998	\$97,400.00	\$897.48	\$95,600.00	\$1,057.77	\$95,900.00	\$935.12	\$56,000.00	\$812.65
1997	\$91,000.00	\$848.08	\$89,300.00	\$999.53	\$89,600.00	\$883.71	\$52,300.00	\$767.89
	6.392417582	4.429700028	8.161142217	4.035526698	7.600111607	4.635174435	12.26749522	6.28496269
	(1991) 18101		(1995) 23750		(1986) 34000		(1994) 47500	

Proud Mary

	5115 NE 22ND AVE		5125 NE 22ND AVE		5133 NE 22ND AVE		2112 NE SUMNER ST	
2022	\$632,320.00	\$3,416.29	\$676,790.00	\$3,444.86	\$939,670.00	\$5,071.54	\$584,420.00	\$6,424.32
2021	\$594,910.00	\$3,358.61	\$636,110.00	\$3,386.68	\$879,220.00	\$4,985.72	\$550,530.00	\$6,315.72
2020	\$537,710.00	\$3,081.23	\$574,940.00	\$3,107.04	\$806,120.00	\$4,573.71	\$497,610.00	\$5,793.85
2019	\$524,200.00	\$2,968.03	\$563,840.00	\$2,992.83	\$779,980.00	\$4,405.59	\$481,510.00	\$5,580.88
2018	\$518,990.00	\$2,880.72	\$557,880.00	\$2,905.03	\$772,940.00	\$4,276.11	\$477,120.00	\$5,416.82
2017	\$498,980.00	\$2,760.96	\$537,850.00	\$2,784.46	\$740,630.00	\$4,098.39	\$457,120.00	\$5,191.75
2016	\$478,180.00	\$2,526.78	\$513,990.00	\$2,548.21	\$734,870.00	\$3,607.36	\$439,560.00	\$4,751.36
2015	\$392,860.00	\$2,460.47	\$422,750.00	\$2,481.51	\$585,370.00	\$3,512.78	\$360,670.00	\$4,626.82
2014	\$363,560.00	\$2,423.32	\$392,290.00	\$2,444.23	\$555,500.00	\$3,459.88	\$332,600.00	\$4,557.17
2013	\$295,700.00	\$2,367.03	\$319,510.00	\$2,387.52	\$460,380.00	\$3,379.42	\$270,050.00	\$4,385.18
2012	\$295,510.00	\$2,141.41	\$296,580.00	\$2,159.86	\$426,810.00	\$3,057.30	\$250,540.00	\$3,929.04
2011	\$295,510.00	\$2,060.80	\$296,580.00	\$2,078.63	\$426,810.00	\$2,942.08	\$235,180.00	\$3,632.99
2010	\$332,150.00	\$1,955.32	\$333,410.00	\$1,972.32	\$479,590.00	\$2,791.54	\$273,270.00	\$0.00
2009	\$340,060.00	\$1,904.23	\$341,350.00	\$1,920.86	\$490,900.00	\$2,718.51	\$278,900.00	\$0.00
2008	\$347,970.00	\$1,797.13	\$328,060.00	\$1,812.59	\$502,200.00	\$2,565.39	\$284,520.00	\$0.00
2007	\$315,060.00	\$1,791.83	\$304,720.00	\$1,807.31	\$461,240.00	\$2,557.83	\$256,030.00	\$0.00
2006	\$269,880.00	\$1,609.12	\$261,230.00	\$1,623.02	\$395,250.00	\$2,297.06	\$220,490.00	\$0.00

	5115 NE 22ND AVE		5125 NE 22ND AVE		5133 NE 22ND AVE		2112 NE SUMNER ST	
2005	\$236,830.00	\$1,536.93	\$228,220.00	\$1,550.24	\$309,750.00	\$2,194.05	\$188,910.00	\$0.00
2004	\$206,900.00	\$1,674.03	\$199,290.00	\$1,688.52	\$197,150.00	\$1,696.51	\$164,490.00	\$0.00
2003	\$167,840.00	\$1,348.71	\$172,350.00	\$1,651.34	\$181,090.00	\$1,658.96	\$146,780.00	\$0.00
2002	\$150,000.00	\$1,238.62	\$137,210.00	\$1,205.33	\$161,890.00	\$1,523.64	\$123,060.00	\$0.00
2001	\$116,170.00	\$1,181.09	\$117,250.00	\$1,149.38	\$142,340.00	\$1,452.87	\$110,870.00	\$1,663.62
2000	\$111,700.00	\$1,153.57	\$112,740.00	\$1,122.78	\$122,830.00	\$1,219.35	\$106,600.00	\$0.00
1999	\$107,400.00	\$1,072.61	\$108,400.00	\$1,043.94	\$118,100.00	\$1,133.84	\$102,500.00	\$0.00
1998	\$96,800.00	\$1,055.95	\$97,700.00	\$1,027.66	\$106,400.00	\$1,116.15	\$92,300.00	\$0.00
1997	\$90,500.00	\$997.74	\$91,300.00	\$971.02	\$99,400.00	\$1,054.76	\$86,300.00	\$0.00
	6.986961326	3.424028304	7.412814896	3.547671521	9.453420523	4.808240737	6.771958285	2.915890905
	(1997) 119500		(1994) 58000		(1994) 75000		(1990) 28991	

Red E Cafe

	1006 N Killingsworth St		5405 N MICHIGAN AVE		5333 N MICHIGAN AVE		5347-5349 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2022	\$2,956,920	\$12,182.93	\$672,440.00	\$3,130.58	\$739,790.00	\$3,433.10	\$326,620.00	\$4,127.66
2021	\$2,608,960	\$11,976.81	\$599,780.00	\$3,077.68	\$659,230.00	\$3,375.06	\$284,160.00	\$4,057.79
2020	\$2,656,270	\$10,987.07	\$554,890.00	\$2,823.51	\$595,500.00	\$3,096.31	\$321,440.00	\$3,722.48
2019	\$2,469,810	\$10,583.14	\$544,890.00	\$2,719.88	\$585,500.00	\$2,982.44	\$329,280.00	\$3,585.69
2018	\$2,469,810	\$10,271.88	\$544,890.00	\$2,640.00	\$575,270.00	\$2,894.88	\$329,280.00	\$3,480.24
2017	\$1,885,390	\$9,844.91	\$507,760.00	\$2,530.31	\$536,090.00	\$2,774.70	\$305,190.00	\$3,335.50
2016	\$1,713,980	\$9,009.66	\$489,070.00	\$2,315.80	\$516,140.00	\$2,539.30	\$223,460.00	\$3,052.59
2015	\$1,272,260	\$8,773.10	\$422,960.00	\$2,255.02	\$482,760.00	\$2,472.77	\$192,040.00	\$2,972.47
2014	\$1,106,100	\$8,640.78	\$367,410.00	\$2,221.11	\$421,220.00	\$2,435.57	\$173,260.00	\$2,927.59
2013	\$1,106,100	\$8,439.67	\$322,010.00	\$2,169.62	\$362,950.00	\$2,379.09	\$136,390.00	\$2,859.56
2012	\$987,030.00	\$7,634.97	\$285,930.00	\$1,962.87	\$322,760.00	\$2,152.21	\$114,400.00	\$2,586.89
2011	\$987,030.00	\$7,347.41	\$283,070.00	\$1,888.95	\$319,330.00	\$2,071.27	\$109,630.00	\$2,489.40
2010	\$1,082,400	\$6,971.15	\$304,840.00	\$1,792.41	\$346,530.00	\$1,965.33	\$139,220.00	\$2,361.99
2009	\$1,160,960	\$6,663.95	\$302,180.00	\$1,745.63	\$342,350.00	\$1,914.09	\$138,210.00	\$2,300.35
2008	\$872,070.00	\$5,965.70	\$314,610.00	\$1,647.40	\$357,290.00	\$1,806.26	\$152,050.00	\$2,170.85
2007	\$791,730.00	\$5,947.82	\$226,970.00	\$1,111.90	\$321,780.00	\$1,800.97	\$128,670.00	\$2,164.46

	1006 N Killingsworth St		5405 N MICHIGAN AVE		5333 N MICHIGAN AVE		5347-5349 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2006	\$704,700.00	\$5,341.26	\$185,800.00	\$998.56	\$261,040.00	\$1,617.39	\$103,910.00	\$1,943.71
2005	\$257,570.00	\$1,770.08	\$165,880.00	\$953.77	\$165,850.00	\$784.17	\$106,230.00	\$1,856.57
2004	\$217,570.00	\$1,928.05	\$145,360.00	\$1,038.80	\$143,940.00	\$854.05	\$97,850.00	\$2,022.19
2003	\$204,920.00	\$1,885.41	\$140,010.00	\$1,016.00	\$141,400.00	\$835.32	\$92,980.00	\$1,977.55
2002	\$186,040.00	\$1,731.61	\$112,610.00	\$933.05	\$104,690.00	\$767.24	\$109,610.00	\$1,816.26
2001	\$148,830.00	\$1,651.32	\$101,460.00	\$889.72	\$94,310.00	\$731.64	\$98,750.00	\$1,731.92
2000	\$127,200.00	\$1,613.05	\$97,550.00	\$869.05	\$90,680.00	\$714.66	\$94,950.00	\$1,691.61
1999	\$114,600.00	\$1,499.79	\$93,800.00	\$808.17	\$87,200.00	\$664.55	\$91,300.00	\$1,572.82
1998	\$103,200.00	\$1,476.41	\$84,500.00	\$795.57	\$78,600.00	\$654.19	\$82,300.00	\$1,548.20
1997	\$93,800.00	\$1,395.05	\$76,500.00	\$751.86	\$73,500.00	\$618.24	\$25,900.00	\$643.18
	31.52366738	8.732970144	8.790065359	4.16378	10.06517007	5.55302148	12.61081081	6.417581392
	(1993) 140000		(1998) 95000		(2005) 250000		(1997) 17900	

Red E Cafe

	5424 N MISSOURI AVE		5316 N MISSOURI AVE		5304 N MISSOURI AVE	
2022	\$598,810.00	\$1,626.44	\$571,830.00	\$1,535.66	\$694,440.00	\$3,286.21
2021	\$534,880.00	\$1,599.03	\$510,890.00	\$1,509.77	\$618,860.00	\$3,230.69
2020	\$490,990.00	\$1,466.95	\$467,340.00	\$1,385.17	\$557,470.00	\$2,963.74
2019	\$480,990.00	\$1,413.03	\$457,340.00	\$1,334.43	\$547,470.00	\$2,854.93
2018	\$480,990.00	\$1,371.56	\$457,340.00	\$1,295.33	\$596,140.00	\$2,770.99
2017	\$448,390.00	\$1,314.69	\$426,280.00	\$1,241.65	\$555,120.00	\$2,655.91
2016	\$432,500.00	\$1,203.15	\$411,340.00	\$1,136.42	\$514,780.00	\$2,199.30
2015	\$372,030.00	\$1,171.69	\$352,820.00	\$1,106.66	\$472,790.00	\$2,141.74
2014	\$320,810.00	\$1,154.10	\$303,060.00	\$1,090.03	\$412,710.00	\$2,109.58
2013	\$286,940.00	\$1,127.28	\$267,110.00	\$1,064.77	\$359,840.00	\$2,060.54
2012	\$254,980.00	\$1,019.78	\$236,550.00	\$963.33	\$319,400.00	\$1,864.16
2011	\$252,700.00	\$981.37	\$234,460.00	\$927.17	\$329,490.00	\$1,794.02
2010	\$268,770.00	\$931.16	\$248,880.00	\$879.71	\$358,900.00	\$1,702.21
2009	\$267,700.00	\$906.90	\$248,340.00	\$856.85	\$354,060.00	\$1,657.80
2008	\$277,570.00	\$855.99	\$257,340.00	\$808.60	\$370,050.00	\$1,564.38
2007	\$240,530.00	\$853.47	\$228,470.00	\$806.37	\$337,390.00	\$1,559.81
2006	\$197,300.00	\$766.42	\$186,540.00	\$724.26	\$212,550.00	\$662.16

	5424 N MISSOURI AVE		5316 N MISSOURI AVE		5304 N MISSOURI AVE	
2005	\$177,670.00	\$732.16	\$166,360.00	\$691.89	\$192,830.00	\$632.54
2004	\$156,370.00	\$797.50	\$145,660.00	\$753.71	\$168,460.00	\$689.12
2003	\$150,140.00	\$779.95	\$127,690.00	\$558.22	\$159,830.00	\$673.90
2002	\$104,690.00	\$716.36	\$94,970.00	\$512.73	\$139,990.00	\$619.01
2001	\$94,320.00	\$683.13	\$85,550.00	\$489.01	\$126,120.00	\$590.21
2000	\$90,690.00	\$667.28	\$82,260.00	\$477.69	\$121,260.00	\$576.57
1999	\$87,200.00	\$620.58	\$79,100.00	\$444.23	\$116,600.00	\$536.11
1998	\$78,600.00	\$610.86	\$71,300.00	\$437.36	\$105,000.00	\$527.85
1997	\$73,500.00	\$577.25	\$66,600.00	\$413.35	\$98,100.00	\$498.87
	8.14707483	2.817566046	8.586036036	3.7151566	7.078899083	6.587307315
			(1993) 6975			

Red E Cafe

	925 N EMERSON ST		915 N EMERSON ST		905 N EMERSON ST		5326 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2022	\$572,110.00	\$1,792.02	\$557,020.00	\$1,792.02	\$715,950.00	\$2,903.10	\$808,350.00	\$4,744.16
2021	\$511,680.00	\$1,761.77	\$498,430.00	\$1,761.77	\$637,990.00	\$2,854.06	\$719,130.00	\$4,663.98
2020	\$468,190.00	\$1,616.34	\$455,150.00	\$1,616.34	\$592,490.00	\$2,618.32	\$672,340.00	\$4,278.65
2019	\$458,190.00	\$1,556.98	\$445,150.00	\$1,556.98	\$582,490.00	\$2,522.16	\$662,340.00	\$4,121.49
2018	\$458,190.00	\$1,511.47	\$437,440.00	\$1,511.47	\$582,490.00	\$2,448.17	\$662,340.00	\$4,000.35
2017	\$427,390.00	\$1,448.78	\$408,170.00	\$1,448.78	\$542,620.00	\$2,346.48	\$616,610.00	\$3,834.25
2016	\$412,640.00	\$1,326.02	\$394,340.00	\$1,326.02	\$519,330.00	\$2,147.43	\$592,600.00	\$3,509.00
2015	\$354,430.00	\$1,291.37	\$338,040.00	\$1,291.37	\$450,330.00	\$2,091.13	\$515,740.00	\$3,417.02
2014	\$304,930.00	\$1,271.89	\$289,980.00	\$1,271.89	\$392,610.00	\$2,059.68	\$452,050.00	\$3,365.63
2013	\$269,400.00	\$1,242.43	\$256,810.00	\$1,242.43	\$343,630.00	\$2,011.76	\$394,280.00	\$3,287.44
2012	\$247,170.00	\$1,124.11	\$224,220.00	\$1,124.11	\$305,460.00	\$1,820.08	\$337,960.00	\$2,808.35
2011	\$244,980.00	\$1,081.88	\$222,420.00	\$1,081.88	\$302,290.00	\$1,751.61	\$334,190.00	\$2,702.73
2010	\$256,240.00	\$1,026.57	\$234,070.00	\$1,026.57	\$326,820.00	\$1,662.14	\$310,870.00	\$1,489.64
2009	\$255,590.00	\$999.75	\$234,320.00	\$999.75	\$323,400.00	\$1,618.67	\$314,590.00	\$1,450.67
2008	\$269,030.00	\$943.44	\$242,050.00	\$943.44	\$337,120.00	\$1,527.61	\$328,240.00	\$1,368.99
2007	\$233,260.00	\$940.73	\$211,850.00	\$940.73	\$287,290.00	\$1,523.13	\$291,440.00	\$1,365.06
2006	\$191,050.00	\$844.88	\$174,280.00	\$844.88	\$233,790.00	\$1,367.89	\$243,970.00	\$1,225.87

	925 N EMERSON ST		915 N EMERSON ST		905 N EMERSON ST		5326 N MICHIGAN AVE	
2005	\$171,240.00	\$807.00	\$154,390.00	\$807.00	\$204,940.00	\$1,306.55	\$225,120.00	\$1,170.88
2004	\$149,380.00	\$878.99	\$134,020.00	\$878.99	\$179,970.00	\$1,423.22	\$189,100.00	\$1,275.42
2003	\$143,620.00	\$859.55	\$127,050.00	\$859.55	\$174,370.00	\$1,391.75	\$182,210.00	\$1,247.41
2002	\$123,780.00	\$789.46	\$107,570.00	\$789.46	\$157,030.00	\$1,278.28	\$155,950.00	\$1,145.51
2001	\$111,510.00	\$752.86	\$96,910.00	\$752.86	\$141,480.00	\$1,218.96	\$140,500.00	\$1,092.34
2000	\$107,220.00	\$735.39	\$93,180.00	\$735.39	\$136,030.00	\$1,190.65	\$135,090.00	\$1,067.04
1999	\$103,100.00	\$683.80	\$89,600.00	\$683.80	\$130,800.00	\$1,107.13	\$129,900.00	\$992.15
1998	\$92,900.00	\$673.10	\$80,700.00	\$673.10	\$117,800.00	\$1,089.91	\$117,000.00	\$976.61
1997	\$86,800.00	\$636.05	\$75,400.00	\$636.05	\$110,100.00	\$1,029.81	\$109,300.00	\$922.91
	6.591129032	2.81742001	7.38753316	2.81742001	6.5027248	2.81906371	7.39569991	5.14043623
	(1990) 17000		(1987) 14000		(1988) 30000			

Red E Cafe

	5323 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		908 N KILLINGSWORTH		924 N KILLINGSWORTH		935 N EMERSON ST #A	
2022	\$520,590.00	\$2,495.86	\$539,970.00	\$2,818.16	\$976,480.00	\$4,428.04	\$809,210.00	\$3,482.26
2021	\$466,440.00	\$2,453.66	\$483,460.00	\$2,770.50	\$867,430.00	\$4,353.03	\$719,880.00	\$3,423.45
2020	\$423,670.00	\$2,250.95	\$440,420.00	\$2,541.67	\$818,370.00	\$3,993.55	\$652,040.00	\$3,140.73
2019	\$413,670.00	\$2,168.31	\$430,420.00	\$2,448.39	\$808,370.00	\$3,846.75	\$642,040.00	\$3,025.29
2018	\$413,670.00	\$2,104.57	\$430,420.00	\$2,376.46	\$808,370.00	\$3,733.60	\$519,060.00	\$1,981.71
2017	\$386,140.00	\$2,017.27	\$401,670.00	\$2,277.69	\$752,330.00	\$3,578.40	\$483,820.00	\$1,899.49
2016	\$373,390.00	\$1,846.36	\$388,160.00	\$2,084.51	\$721,980.00	\$3,274.94	\$466,290.00	\$1,738.38
2015	\$319,260.00	\$1,797.94	\$332,490.00	\$2,029.89	\$632,270.00	\$3,189.04	\$402,520.00	\$1,692.87
2014	\$267,900.00	\$1,770.85	\$284,920.00	\$1,999.22	\$558,830.00	\$3,141.07	\$348,800.00	\$1,667.45
2013	\$238,200.00	\$1,729.65	\$252,540.00	\$1,952.88	\$484,050.00	\$3,068.08	\$306,330.00	\$1,628.74
2012	\$211,300.00	\$1,564.86	\$224,070.00	\$1,766.77	\$430,880.00	\$2,775.54	\$271,980.00	\$1,473.57
2011	\$209,740.00	\$1,506.03	\$222,280.00	\$1,700.40	\$425,540.00	\$2,671.07	\$269,360.00	\$1,418.26
2010	\$219,400.00	\$1,429.08	\$233,920.00	\$1,613.34	\$470,130.00	\$2,534.26	\$293,170.00	\$1,345.64
2009	\$220,230.00	\$1,391.70	\$234,180.00	\$1,571.30	\$461,000.00	\$2,468.08	\$291,000.00	\$1,310.63
2008	\$226,870.00	\$1,313.40	\$241,900.00	\$1,482.82	\$484,010.00	\$2,329.03	\$299,630.00	\$1,236.91
2007	\$199,800.00	\$1,309.45	\$213,870.00	\$1,478.44	\$404,450.00	\$2,322.11	\$257,520.00	\$1,233.37
2006	\$164,860.00	\$1,176.10	\$175,860.00	\$1,327.72	\$326,190.00	\$2,085.32	\$210,060.00	\$1,107.72

	5323 N MISSISSIPPI AVE		908 N KILLINGSWORTH		924 N KILLINGSWORTH		935 N EMERSON ST #A	
2005	\$144,680.00	\$1,123.39	\$156,010.00	\$1,268.25	\$308,720.00	\$1,991.65	\$190,870.00	\$1,058.15
2004	\$125,700.00	\$1,223.77	\$135,690.00	\$1,381.36	\$275,100.00	\$2,169.30	\$167,280.00	\$1,152.52
2003	\$120,450.00	\$1,196.69	\$130,120.00	\$1,350.96	\$300,990.00	\$2,732.83	\$161,190.00	\$1,127.21
2002	\$90,040.00	\$1,099.09	\$126,060.00	\$1,240.75	\$180,560.00	\$1,948.39	\$134,580.00	\$1,035.26
2001	\$81,120.00	\$1,048.20	\$113,570.00	\$1,183.16	\$162,670.00	\$1,857.93	\$121,250.00	\$987.18
2000	\$78,000.00	\$1,023.88	\$109,200.00	\$1,155.66	\$156,420.00	\$1,814.79	\$116,580.00	\$964.19
1999	\$75,000.00	\$952.03	\$105,000.00	\$1,074.62	\$150,400.00	\$1,687.37	\$112,100.00	\$896.47
1998	\$67,600.00	\$937.15	\$94,600.00	\$1,057.77	\$135,500.00	\$1,661.11	\$101,000.00	\$882.43
1997	\$63,200.00	\$885.50	\$88,400.00	\$999.53	\$126,600.00	\$1,569.66	\$94,400.00	\$833.84
	8.237183544	2.818588368	6.108257919	2.819485	7.713112164	2.821018565	8.572139831	4.176172887
			(1995) 32000		(1987) 50000			

Red E Cafe

	5616 N MISSOURI AVE		5624 N MISSOURI AVE		5634 N MISSOURI AVE		5714 N MISSOURI AVE	
2022	\$559,040.00	\$3,636.33	\$623,300.00	\$4,141.79	\$668,250.00	\$4,764.24	\$497,320.00	\$2,584.49
2021	\$528,780.00	\$3,574.90	\$590,600.00	\$4,071.84	\$612,280.00	\$4,683.71	\$469,300.00	\$2,540.99
2020	\$468,860.00	\$3,279.48	\$523,590.00	\$3,735.52	\$542,480.00	\$4,296.76	\$415,920.00	\$2,331.19
2019	\$458,990.00	\$3,159.09	\$514,930.00	\$3,598.33	\$534,300.00	\$4,138.97	\$404,930.00	\$2,245.64
2018	\$458,990.00	\$3,066.18	\$514,930.00	\$3,492.60	\$525,970.00	\$4,017.33	\$404,930.00	\$2,179.59
2017	\$448,990.00	\$2,938.79	\$504,930.00	\$3,347.52	\$515,960.00	\$3,850.53	\$394,930.00	\$2,089.11
2016	\$409,580.00	\$2,689.48	\$463,300.00	\$3,063.65	\$473,790.00	\$3,523.89	\$357,580.00	\$1,911.86
2015	\$357,160.00	\$2,618.90	\$401,960.00	\$2,983.33	\$423,630.00	\$3,431.46	\$313,370.00	\$1,861.80
2014	\$324,130.00	\$2,579.52	\$365,880.00	\$2,938.38	\$385,930.00	\$3,379.76	\$283,150.00	\$1,833.70
2013	\$314,210.00	\$2,519.51	\$330,630.00	\$2,870.18	\$348,250.00	\$3,301.18	\$256,450.00	\$1,791.16
2012	\$292,730.00	\$2,279.23	\$307,640.00	\$2,596.58	\$333,500.00	\$2,986.46	\$240,100.00	\$1,620.41
2011	\$286,930.00	\$2,193.40	\$301,310.00	\$2,498.77	\$256,150.00	\$1,730.91	\$236,090.00	\$1,559.52
2010	\$309,390.00	\$2,081.17	\$325,280.00	\$2,370.94	\$275,650.00	\$1,642.33	\$253,440.00	\$1,479.86
2009	\$319,410.00	\$2,026.79	\$335,200.00	\$2,308.81	\$285,860.00	\$1,599.46	\$263,770.00	\$1,441.30
2008	\$317,490.00	\$1,912.62	\$333,100.00	\$2,178.89	\$284,270.00	\$1,509.37	\$262,430.00	\$1,360.10
2007	\$295,430.00	\$1,906.95	\$297,830.00	\$1,958.20	\$260,810.00	\$1,504.86	\$241,510.00	\$1,356.11
2006	\$263,760.00	\$1,712.55	\$210,320.00	\$1,117.16	\$233,350.00	\$1,351.33	\$216,560.00	\$1,217.81

	5616 N MISSOURI AVE		5624 N MISSOURI AVE		5634 N MISSOURI AVE		5714 N MISSOURI AVE	
2005	\$225,260.00	\$1,635.73	\$175,290.00	\$1,067.07	\$196,260.00	\$1,290.69	\$181,200.00	\$1,163.31
2004	\$198,590.00	\$1,781.55	\$153,340.00	\$1,162.34	\$172,720.00	\$1,405.83	\$158,810.00	\$1,267.14
2003	\$185,000.00	\$1,742.15	\$147,630.00	\$1,136.64	\$162,290.00	\$1,374.93	\$131,680.00	\$982.13
2002	\$138,430.00	\$1,278.28	\$118,260.00	\$1,043.96	\$136,990.00	\$1,262.82	\$100,250.00	\$902.09
2001	\$124,710.00	\$1,218.96	\$106,540.00	\$995.48	\$123,410.00	\$1,204.18	\$90,320.00	\$860.34
2000	\$119,920.00	\$1,190.65	\$102,440.00	\$972.33	\$118,670.00	\$1,176.20	\$86,840.00	\$840.33
1999	\$115,300.00	\$1,107.13	\$98,500.00	\$904.08	\$114,100.00	\$1,093.70	\$83,500.00	\$781.51
1998	\$103,900.00	\$1,089.91	\$88,700.00	\$889.97	\$102,800.00	\$1,076.69	\$75,200.00	\$769.34
1997	\$97,100.00	\$1,029.81	\$82,900.00	\$840.93	\$96,100.00	\$1,017.33	\$70,300.00	\$726.92
	5.757363543	3.531068838	7.518697226	4.9252494	6.953694069	4.683082186	7.074253201	3.555398118
	(1990) 27000		(1999) 60000		(2010) 60320		(1989) 19000	

Red E Cafe

	5726 N MISSOURI AVE		5734 N MISSOURI AVE		1024 N JARRETT ST		5804 N MISSOURI AVE	
2022	\$534,350.00	\$1,210.15	\$494,830.00	\$2,465.70	\$461,090.00	\$3,638.19	\$474,920.00	\$2,516.19
2021	\$505,010.00	\$1,189.64	\$466,900.00	\$2,424.18	\$434,520.00	\$3,576.78	\$447,840.00	\$2,473.66
2020	\$447,760.00	\$1,091.34	\$413,790.00	\$2,223.89	\$385,360.00	\$3,281.24	\$397,210.00	\$2,269.35
2019	\$437,430.00	\$1,051.36	\$402,760.00	\$2,142.24	\$361,940.00	\$3,160.65	\$385,750.00	\$2,186.07
2018	\$437,430.00	\$1,020.59	\$402,760.00	\$2,079.24	\$361,940.00	\$3,067.65	\$385,750.00	\$2,121.81
2017	\$427,430.00	\$978.24	\$392,760.00	\$1,992.82	\$367,430.00	\$2,940.28	\$376,630.00	\$2,033.83
2016	\$388,860.00	\$895.48	\$355,480.00	\$1,823.76	\$331,270.00	\$2,690.93	\$340,090.00	\$1,861.48
2015	\$311,090.00	\$872.14	\$311,630.00	\$1,775.92	\$291,760.00	\$2,620.38	\$299,220.00	\$1,812.83
2014	\$282,920.00	\$859.04	\$281,540.00	\$1,749.28	\$263,140.00	\$2,580.94	\$270,130.00	\$1,785.48
2013	\$243,970.00	\$839.14	\$255,000.00	\$1,708.62	\$238,790.00	\$2,520.99	\$259,990.00	\$1,744.14
2012	\$226,640.00	\$759.17	\$238,780.00	\$1,545.75	\$224,240.00	\$2,280.61	\$243,290.00	\$1,577.93
2011	\$222,300.00	\$730.61	\$234,810.00	\$1,487.53	\$220,880.00	\$2,194.73	\$239,170.00	\$1,518.51
2010	\$240,620.00	\$693.30	\$252,040.00	\$1,411.42	\$236,420.00	\$2,082.56	\$256,860.00	\$1,440.84
2009	\$250,910.00	\$675.29	\$260,540.00	\$1,374.66	\$245,520.00	\$2,028.09	\$267,180.00	\$1,403.27
2008	\$249,440.00	\$637.26	\$259,240.00	\$1,297.24	\$244,400.00	\$1,913.90	\$265,800.00	\$1,324.21
2007	\$236,140.00	\$635.43	\$239,010.00	\$1,293.54	\$222,140.00	\$1,908.26	\$242,860.00	\$1,320.40
2006	\$209,810.00	\$570.76	\$214,370.00	\$1,161.75	\$199,950.00	\$1,713.79	\$217,730.00	\$1,185.76

	5726 N MISSOURI AVE		5734 N MISSOURI AVE		1024 N JARRETT ST		5804 N MISSOURI AVE	
2005	\$184,690.00	\$545.26	\$178,410.00	\$1,109.73	\$165,580.00	\$1,636.93	\$182,130.00	\$1,132.53
2004	\$162,040.00	\$593.86	\$156,230.00	\$1,208.85	\$144,640.00	\$1,782.91	\$159,660.00	\$1,233.55
2003	\$152,430.00	\$580.88	\$153,170.00	\$1,182.14	\$135,980.00	\$1,743.50	\$149,280.00	\$1,206.35
2002	\$119,820.00	\$533.55	\$122,460.00	\$1,085.69	\$110,450.00	\$1,601.23	\$122,220.00	\$1,107.99
2001	\$107,950.00	\$508.79	\$110,320.00	\$1,035.28	\$99,500.00	\$1,527.00	\$110,110.00	\$1,056.53
2000	\$103,800.00	\$496.97	\$106,080.00	\$1,011.29	\$95,680.00	\$1,489.23	\$105,880.00	\$1,032.06
1999	\$99,800.00	\$462.07	\$102,000.00	\$940.40	\$92,000.00	\$1,386.84	\$101,800.00	\$959.67
1998	\$89,900.00	\$888.13	\$91,900.00	\$925.77	\$82,900.00	\$1,365.14	\$91,700.00	\$944.67
1997	\$84,000.00	\$839.18	\$85,900.00	\$874.81	\$77,500.00	\$1,279.78	\$85,700.00	\$892.62
	6.361309524	1.44206249	5.760535506	2.81855488	5.949548387	2.842824548	5.541656943	2.818881495
	(1991) 12100				(1989) 29000			

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