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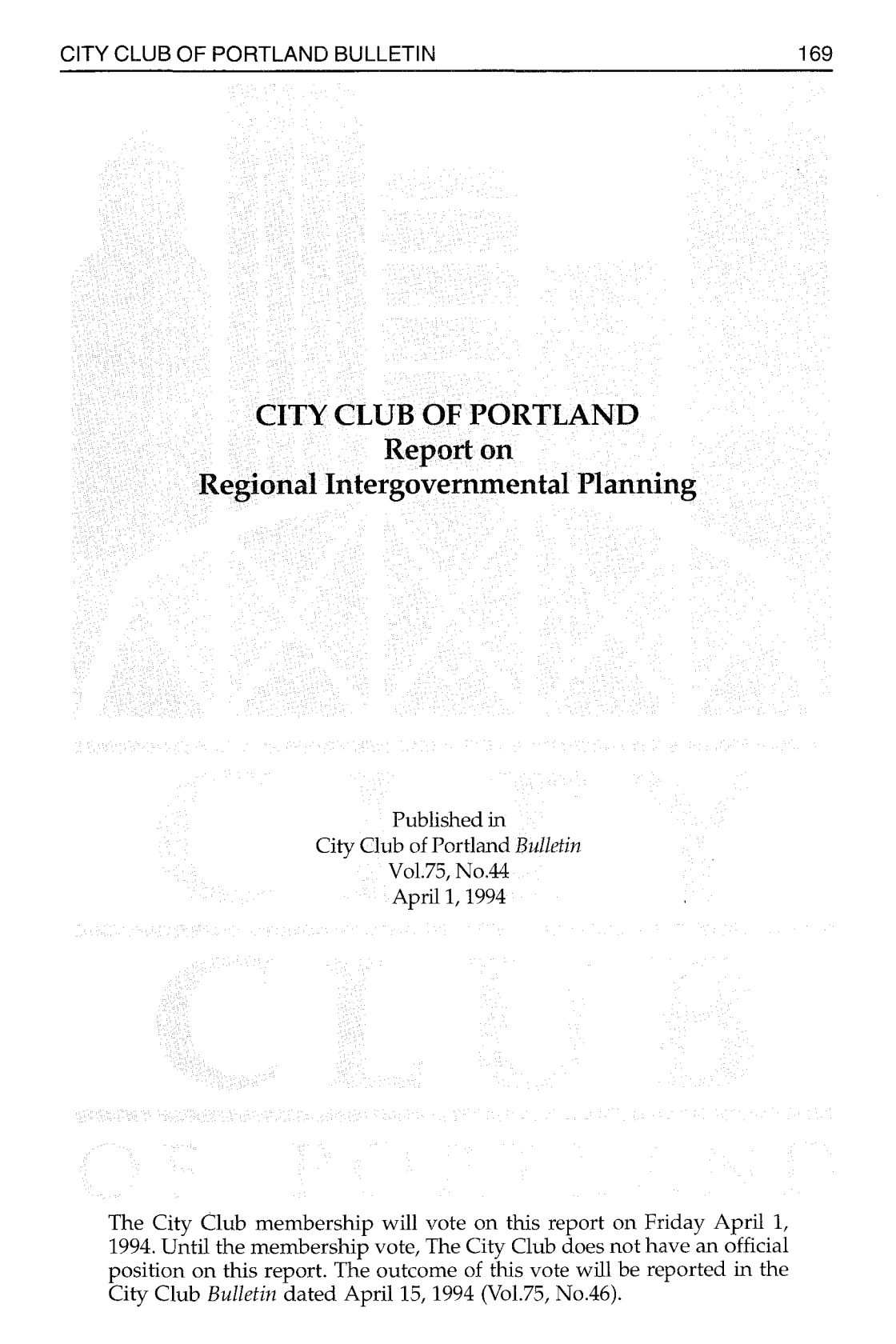
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CITY CLUB OF PORTLAND

Report on

Regional Intergovernmental Planning

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The City Club membership will vote on this report on Friday April 1, 1994. Until the membership vote, The City Club does not have an official position on this report. The outcome of this vote will be reported in the City Club *Bulletin* dated April 15, 1994 (Vol.75, No.46).

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I. SUMMARY OF REPORT

The Portland metropolitan area is a very attractive place to live, and preserving the region's high quality of life is important to its citizens. Ironically, the attributes of the region continue to draw population growth which threatens the very things that make the area so attractive. Many of the most undesirable effects of this growth do not respect jurisdictional boundaries; they require regional responses.

Although there have been various regional approaches to planning and growth management in the metropolitan area over the years, this report addresses an important aspect of these efforts which has not been given sufficient attention by regional policy-makers, citizens, media, and other institutions: namely, the fact that the Portland metropolitan area is a bi-state region comprising the counties of Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas in Oregon and Clark in the state of Washington.

These four counties have become one geographic, economic and environmental region. What they have not become is one political region. Increasingly, the Oregon-Washington political boundary at the Columbia River is an obstacle to resolving regional problems that threaten the area's quality of life.

This report provides historical background on regional planning agencies and the laws and regulations governing regional coordination. Despite legal mechanisms mandating cooperation, coordinated bi-state decision-making in practice has been limited and bi-state intergovernmental communication has been lacking. The report contains information on the current structure, authorities, and degree of cooperation in a number of policy areas, including growth management, transportation, land use, air quality, and communications.

The report addresses the factors which have contributed to successful bi-state cooperative efforts between agencies and jurisdictions and also discusses the problems which have often hindered a more cooperative and rational approach.

The role of Metro, the Oregon government agency charged with "regional" planning, is critical to this analysis. In the past, however, there has been no formal representation from Clark County in the governing body of Metro or its primary committees. The recent evolution of Metro and the efforts to include or exclude Washington officials in its planning processes is examined, including the requirement in the new Metro Charter which mandates coordination with Clark County.

The increasing importance of integrated planning in responding to growth-related problems in the bi-state area is demonstrated by discussing the dilemmas faced by planning officials confronted with increasingly complex and expensive solutions. For example, regional planners are trying to determine how to prevent the gridlock on the I-5 Interstate Bridge and the I-205 Glenn Jackson Bridge, which is forecast by the year 2000 if the metro area's population reaches the level projected.

Is the current state of affairs in bi-state regional planning in the Portland metro area simply an annoyance to "good government" advocates, or is it a serious problem threatening the region's quality of life which needs immediate attention? Can obstacles to a more rational and comprehensive approach to bi-state planning in the region be overcome? The recommendations in the report respond to these questions by identifying actions which should be taken by elected officials and policy-makers, the media, and organizations such as the City Club.

II. INTRODUCTION

The Portland metropolitan area includes Multnomah, Washington and Clackamas counties in Oregon and Clark County in the state of Washington.* The region is a very attractive place in which to live, and preserving the high quality of life is of paramount importance to the local citizenry.¹ Because of the high quality of life, the area's population has continued to grow significantly.

Residents of the Portland metropolitan area have watched with increasing concern the effects of explosive growth in the Los Angeles basin, San Francisco Bay area, and Puget Sound. The fundamental question: How can we grow, yet maintain our quality of life?

Regional officials suggest the concept of "managed growth" can be applied to maintain quality of life while still allowing growth and development. But successful managed growth demands considerable long-range planning and cooperation, particularly regarding important issues that transcend jurisdictional boundaries. One jurisdictional boundary presents an especially formidable challenge to the development of the comprehensive planning and coordination required to effectively manage growth: the Oregon-Washington state line at the Columbia River which separates the Portland tri-county area from Clark County.

Historically, the communities on opposite sides of the Columbia River have seen themselves not as members of a single region, but as separate entities. This perception has changed in recent years. The I-205 bridge across the Columbia was completed in 1982. In 1990, Oregon voters approved planning for a light rail line linking Vancouver to Portland's downtown. In November 1992, voters approved a new charter for Metro mandating—among other things—the adoption of a Regional Framework Plan addressing coordination of growth management and land use planning policies including Clark County.

These and other less tangible new linkages between the Oregon and Washington components of the metropolitan area require new thinking about the responsibilities of the region's governments and about resolving the complications that arise because the Columbia River serves as a boundary between the two states. Consequently, the study committee was asked to address this challenge confronting regional planning governance to ascertain the level and effectiveness of current bi-state planning and to recommend steps for improvement.

Specifically, the committee was given the following charge:

- Identify the existing level of intergovernmental coordination between the tri-county Portland metropolitan area in Oregon and Clark County, Washington.
- Evaluate the effectiveness of the intergovernmental planning and coordination to date, and determine how it could be improved.
- Recommend how to achieve increased governmental coordination between Oregon's three counties in the Portland metropolitan area and Clark County, specifically addressing whether an interstate compact would facilitate that coordination.

* Other counties such as Yamhill and Columbia in Oregon and Skamania in Washington could also be considered part of the Portland metropolitan area. However, this report will focus on the area defined by the four counties listed above.

- Identify obstacles to greater coordination, the costs associated with the committee's recommendations, and the consequences of the failure to achieve them.
- Investigate specifically those governmental concerns that influence regional economic development, specifically including land use and transportation planning, housing, environmental protection (including parks and greenspaces), port activities, and higher education.

The committee examined a number of areas in which coordinated regional planning would be beneficial, and decided to focus on land use, transportation, and air quality. It did so for two basic reasons. First, federal laws and regulations in those areas already require some cooperative planning without regard to state boundaries. Second, witnesses identified planning needs in these areas as closely interrelated and particularly significant to the region's economic development and to the maintenance of its quality of life. For example, land use is directly related to developing and expanding transportation corridors. Expanded transportation, in turn, has implications for air quality in the region and because of federal air quality laws, for the region's ability to expand its industrial base.

The committee also recognized that differences between the tax structures of Oregon and Washington have played an important role in the development of the region. This issue is so complex, controversial and potentially subject to change that the committee decided it could not study it in adequate detail and reach meaningful conclusions along with the other major topics the committee addressed.

Similarly, the committee elected not to try to estimate the costs of its recommendations. Any cost figures were certain to be speculative. Moreover, witnesses thought that long-term cost savings were likely to offset the additional costs of implementing greater regional coordination.

III. HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

A. Clark County: 1970-1993

In 1970, Clark County's population numbered 128,454.² Its economy was largely based on processing wood products, aluminum, and other natural resources. Fully 98 percent of the work force in the county earned a wage equal to or better than the national average.³ Although some 20,000 Clark County residents crossed the Interstate 5 bridge each day to work in Portland,⁴ that bridge was the only transportation link between the communities. To a large degree, residents on the two sides of the Columbia River existed in relative isolation from one another.

The Glenn Jackson Bridge, completed in 1982, provided a new link. Interstate 205 crosses the river close to the Portland International Airport, and continues north through eastern Clark County. It provides the most visible evidence of how the communities on the two sides of the river have become increasingly interdependent. Before the bridge was completed, land along the I-205 corridor was largely undeveloped. Since completion of the bridge, the metropolitan area has experienced considerable growth in population, and the accessibility provided by I-205 and the new interstate bridge have had dramatic effects on where that growth has occurred. East Clark County and the eastern and southern edges of Portland near I-205 have lost their rural character. Instead, residential developments, shopping malls, industrial parks and office complexes now predominate.

Several factors, including differences in the tax structures between the two states, have spurred the economic development along I-205. Clark County has benefitted from much lower property taxes and, until recently, lower housing costs than the Oregon side. Clark County's zoning regulations have been less restrictive than those in Oregon, allowing for more rapid and less expensive development. Many Oregonians have moved across the Columbia River to Clark County to find more affordable housing and take advantage of lower taxes. The committee was told that as many as 50 percent of new Clark County residents are former tri-county Oregonians. Not surprisingly, new and expanded retail businesses have rushed to serve this population. Washington businesses have also lured Oregon residents with sales tax waivers and discount prices based on lower overhead costs.

The Oregon side of the I-205 corridor also has experienced new growth and development. Retail stores and malls have cropped up, enabling Washingtonians to avoid their state's sales tax. Witnesses testified that Clark County residents, make up an estimated 15 percent of the customer base of the Clackamas Town Center, and account for fully 40 percent of its sales volume. Multnomah County businesses, particularly those in the Jantzen Beach and Delta Park retail complexes, also have benefitted from their proximity to Washington residents.

Nor is it all a matter of retail trade. The number of Clark County residents commuting to work in Oregon every weekday has doubled from 20,000 in 1970 to 40,000 today,⁵ more than 3,000 of them to the Portland International Airport alone.⁶ More than 1,400 students at Mt. Hood Community College came from north of the Columbia River before Measure 5 forced an end to out-of-state tuition reciprocity.⁷ More than 30 percent of Clark County's workers hold relatively high-wage jobs in Oregon,⁸ where they pay \$55 million annually in Oregon income taxes.⁹

On the other hand, nearly 10,000 Oregonians commute north to Clark County daily, many to work in the businesses that are now established there: Sharp Electronics, Linear Technologies, America Kotoboki Electronic Industries, Underwriter Laboratories, Hewlett Packard, Tektronix, Kyocera Industrial Ceramic, Kyocera AVX, and many others.

In the process, Clark County has become an increasingly important segment of the Portland media market. Except for limited cable television service transferring Puget Sound news and a local AM radio station, Clark County depends on Portland's electronic media. *The Oregonian* delivers a special edition in Clark County, where it competes with *The Columbian*, Vancouver's afternoon newspaper.

Today, Clark County's population is estimated to be 270,000,¹⁰ more than double the 1970 figure. Planners expect it will increase to as much as 400,000 by the year 2010. This estimate—which some observers believe to be conservative—signifies the fastest growth rate of any county in the region. If realized, it would impose a serious strain on services and housing. Transportation gridlock on the Glenn Jackson Bridge and the I-205 corridor is forecast to occur, perhaps before the turn of the century.

B. Competition For Economic Development in the Region

Local economic development agencies in the two states have seldom cooperated in their efforts to attract new industry. Witnesses said the lack of coordination has allowed competition to develop between Oregon and Washington that has hurt both states. An example from recent years was the decision of Kyocera Industrial Ceramic to build a plant in Clark County after a bidding war between the jurisdic-

tions in the two states. Portland and Multnomah County offered a package of property tax abatements and industrial revenue bonds. Vancouver and the state of Washington's joint (50/50) offer of greater long-term tax deferrals and extension of urban services without cost to the company proved even more attractive. The resulting 300 jobs paying an average of approximately \$6.00 per hour—well below an adequate level to support a family—have led local development officials on both sides of the river to question whether the community investment effort was justified.

Similarly, Sharp Microelectronics played off competing governments in both states, ultimately deciding to locate in an unincorporated area of Clark County in a former prune orchard. Sharp persuaded the city of Camas to annex its plant site in order to provide costly sewerage and water services to the plant. Camas says it will “eventually” recover the cost of the extended services from new tax revenues, but observers wonder whether the competition to attract this new firm perhaps went too far.*

C. Past Regional Government

1. Columbia Region Association of Governments: (CRAG 1966 - 1978)

Clark County's significance as part of the greater Portland area has been recognized by government agencies for some time. In 1960, the county was included in the U.S. Department of Commerce's definition of the Portland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), the federal government's designation of all counties making up a single urban center. In 1974, the City of Vancouver and Clark County became associate members of the Columbia Region Association of Governments, which often is viewed as the predecessor to Metro.

CRAG was formed in 1966 in response to a then-existing federal law that required formation of a Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) in every metropolitan area to determine how federal monies should be spent. Each such MPO was required to represent the metropolitan areas's governments with at least 90 percent of the region's population. CRAG operated as the MPO for the Portland metropolitan area that coordinated housing, human services, law enforcement and, to a lesser extent, transportation and land use planning programs among its constituent local entities. CRAG was structured as a “council of governments” with a general assembly composed of all the region's cities and counties. A smaller executive board was invested with primary decision-making authority.

The structure of CRAG changed dramatically in 1974 as a result of new state legislation. Membership became mandatory rather than voluntary for the three Oregon counties and their cities. Associate membership was extended to the city of Vancouver and Clark County, as mentioned, but also to Oregon and Washington, other nearby cities and counties, Tri-Met and the Port of Portland. The city of Portland's influence increased significantly through the adoption of voting weighted by population in the CRAG general assembly. Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt and his planning and development staff assumed a dominant role in CRAG decision-making.¹¹ The importance of the agency also increased significantly in the area of transportation planning when federal funds initially earmarked for the Mt. Hood Freeway became available for a multimodal transportation plan which laid the foundation for Tri-Met's subsequent light rail projects. The current urban growth boundary in the Oregon portion of the region is also an outgrowth of CRAG's land use policies.

* Some experts argue that these kinds of concessions, standing alone, rarely alter corporate site location decisions. Neal Peirce column; *The Oregonian*; April 19, 1993.

Controversy followed these changes to CRAG's operations and structure. One reaction was an unsuccessful ballot measure to consolidate Portland and Multnomah County in 1974. That same year, the City Club of Portland criticized the agency, calling for greater public involvement and citizen input into CRAG decisions.¹²

In 1977, the Oregon Legislature authorized formation of a new directly-elected regional government in the Oregon portion of the metropolitan area, the Metropolitan Service District (MSD). In 1978, Oregon tri-county voters approved MSD and formally abolished CRAG, thereby effectively eliminating the Clark County area's direct participation in regional decision-making.

2. Metropolitan Service District: 1970-1992

The MSD (commonly known as "Metro") formed in 1978, was essentially a combination of the planning functions of CRAG and the administrative responsibilities of a pre-existing tri-county organization in Oregon, also called the "Metropolitan Service District." This first MSD was authorized by the Oregon Legislature in 1969 and approved by tri-county voters in 1970. It was a special service district governed by a board of seven members. The seven members comprised elected officials representing each of the three Oregon counties, the cities of each of the three counties, and the city of Portland. The board members elected their own chair.

The MSD formed in 1970 originally was created to administer solid waste disposal in the tri-county region. In 1976, tri-county voters added the Washington Park Zoo to the MSD's functions and approved an initial five-year operating levy to administer specific services, including solid waste disposal, land use planning and open spaces within the Portland urban growth boundary.

When the MSD was reconstituted in 1978, it became the nation's first popularly-elected regional government. It was governed by an executive officer elected by the voters of the tri-county area and by twelve popularly-elected councilors who represented districts throughout the tri-county area. The councilors chose a presiding officer from among their ranks. Unlike CRAG, however, the MSD did not include representatives of Clark County. The 1989 Oregon Legislature increased the number of councilors to thirteen effective January 1, 1993.¹³

3. Metro: 1993-Present

In November 1992, tri-county voters approved a new Metro Charter establishing a home rule metropolitan government on the Oregon side of the Columbia River. Officially named "Metro", this new regional government retained the basic structure of the pre-existing MSD, comprising a popularly-elected executive officer, a popularly-elected Metro Council representing districts, and a presiding officer of the Council elected by the councilors. The Metro Charter did reduce the number of councilors from thirteen to seven, however, effective January 1995. The charter made no provision for inclusion of representatives of Clark County in regional decision-making.

The new home rule Metro Charter took effect on January 1, 1993. It charges that Metro's "most important service" is regional planning. It establishes three basic planning requirements to achieve this goal: (1) adoption of a 50-year "Future Vision," a non-binding "conceptual statement" indicating population levels and settlement patterns for the region taking into account "the carrying capacity of the land, water and air resources of the region, and its industrial and economic resources, and . . . a desired quality of life"; (2) adoption of a legally-binding Regional

Framework Plan for the region addressing nine specified policy areas including transportation, greenspaces and parks, housing densities, urban design and water supply; and (3) implementation of the Regional Framework Plan through mandatory changes to local plans.

Metro's fifty-year planning effort, "Region 2040," was initiated prior to the adoption of the Metro Charter. Initially scheduled to be completed in December 1993, Region 2040 has been extended to coordinate Metro's planning efforts under the Charter. Region 2040 is thus serving as the principal planning process for the tri-county metropolitan area.

4. Metro Future Vision Commission

As required by the Metro Charter, in 1993 the Metro Council named a Future Vision Commission comprised of citizens representing government, private, and academic interests. The Commission is charged with preparing a "Future Vision" for the bi-state region that looks at least fifty years ahead, and will be updated at fifteen - year intervals. The Future Vision document will be comprehensive in nature and will include discussions of all issues affecting the region's quality of life. The Metro Council will adopt the Future Vision between January and July of 1995. It is intended that the Future Vision will be integrated with the Regional Framework Plan.

5. Metro Policy Advisory Committee

The Metropolitan Policy Advisory Committee (MPAC) was also created by the new Metro Charter. MPAC's membership is made up of city, county and special district elected or policy officials from throughout the tri-county region, plus a representative of the state of Oregon and three citizen members. MPAC's primary purpose is to consult with the Metro Council and advise it with respect to all aspects of the Regional Framework Plan. While MPAC's decisions generally are advisory only, any takeover or new regulation of local services by Metro requires the support of MPAC unless approved by the region's voters.

6. Bi-State Policy Advisory Committee

The Bi-State Policy Advisory Committee was created in 1982 by a joint resolution of the MSD Council and Clark County's Regional Planning Council. Its purpose was to advise those bodies regarding the bi-state implications of their decisions. The Committee includes five representatives from the Clark County area and five representatives from Multnomah County, including a representative from the Metro Council. The Committee remained moribund until 1989, when a mission statement and bylaws were adopted. It is not expressly authorized by the Metro Charter and therefore has uncertain authority and duration.

7. Joint Policy Advisory Committee for Transportation (JPACT)

The successor organization to CRAG for transportation planning was the Joint Policy Advisory Committee for Transportation. Originally formed in 1979 as the MPO for the Portland region under federal highway legislation, JPACT was and is a bi-state organization made up of elected and appointed officials involved in transportation issues at both the local and state levels. It includes, among others, representatives of tri-county cities, the three counties, Tri-Met, the Oregon Department of Transportation, representatives of the city of Vancouver, Clark County and the Washington State Department of Transportation, with an alternate from C-Tran, the Clark County transit system. Washington jurisdictions are represented on JPACT

because Clark County is part of the Portland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Operating on a consensus basis—with substantial funds left over from the canceled Mt. Hood Freeway—to spend on regional transportation planning, JPACT achieved national recognition for its work in the 1980s.

Washington has recently adopted a Growth Management Act, which requires the coordination of land use planning with transportation planning. Under the Act, Clark County must incorporate the north-south corridors of both I-5 and I-205 in its comprehensive planning efforts. This effort is being aided by bi-state planning through JPACT, involving officials and staff of Metro, Tri-Met, Clark County, and C-Tran.

D. Federal Mandates for Regional Coordination

Historically, it has been the federal government that has required regional cooperation, thereby forcing the inclusion of Clark County into some aspects of the regional planning process. Over the years, five major federal laws have operated to cause that result:

1. The Housing Act of 1954, as amended.

Section 701 of this Act provided for comprehensive community development planning. It included a "prior consent" law which required consensus of all affected communities within a metropolitan area concerning how federal dollars were to be used. Before its repeal in the early 1980s, this Act spawned the creation of numerous urban regional councils, including the Metropolitan Planning Commission in Portland, (formed in 1957 to receive and use federal funds made available for regional planning), and later CRAG. Many regional councils across the country were bi-state, and many continue to exist and function effectively, *e.g.*, in the Philadelphia, Kansas City and Cincinnati metropolitan areas. The Mid-American Council of Governments involving Cincinnati, Ohio and the nearby communities of Newport and Covington, Kentucky is seen as a particularly effective example of a bi-state inter-governmental commission.

2. The Federal Aid-Highways Act of 1962.

This Act forced the creation of JPACT as a Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) in 1979 and, with it, the inclusion of representatives from Clark County and the state of Washington in the regional transportation decision-making process. In 1991, this Act was amended by Congressional passage of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA or "Ice Tea"). ISTEA maintains the requirement that expenditures of federal transportation dollars be approved by MPOs. ISTEA monies can be spent for highways or transit projects, and witnesses indicated that the availability of these funds is playing a pivotal role in bi-state transportation planning in the metropolitan area.

3. The Economic Development Act of 1964.

This Act was the first federal law to require the establishment of an MPO to funnel dollars earmarked for federal grant programs. The Act funded programs that were part of the "war on poverty" launched by President Johnson. Until its demise, CRAG served as the local MPO under the Act. The Act served as the catalyst for as many as 33 bi-state regional commissions throughout the nation. Although the Act was repealed during the Reagan administration, the requirement of an MPO has continued under subsequent federal laws such as ISTEA.

4. The Clean Air Act of 1990.

While this Act does not literally require bi-state coordination, it does provide incentives for such cooperation. The Act ignores state boundaries and regards Portland's "airshed" as including the tri-county Oregon area plus all of Clark County, as well as parts of adjacent Cowlitz and Skamania Counties in Washington and Marion County in Oregon. Some 85 percent of the airshed is the responsibility of Oregon; 15 percent is Washington's responsibility. The 1990 amendments mandate efforts to reduce pollutants throughout the airshed, threatening to reduce or cut off ISTEA monies for the region if air quality goals are not met.

5. Clean Water Act Amendments of 1990.

This Act also contains prior consent laws that encourage bi-state coordination to achieve federal water quality standards in water bodies that constitute borders or are included in more than one state, such as the Columbia river. Given the importance of the Columbia river to the region's economy, witnesses indicated that recent amendments to the Act could effectively force Oregon and Washington to coordinate their land use planning in order to ensure compliance with federal clean water law and thereby prevent the imposition of federal constraints on regional economic development.

E. Interstate Compacts

A common technique for facilitating coordination of government policies between states is to create an interstate compact. Interstate compacts are agreements between states to cooperate in the administration of specified governmental functions. Compacts are created by legislation in the participating states and also constitute a contract between the states. They can be single purpose or multi-purpose, addressing several different governmental functions. The United States Constitution specifically allows for the formation of interstate compacts.* It is well established law that compacts between states for the purposes of coordinating bi-state metropolitan governmental planning do not require specific federal consent.

Because no state can constitutionally impair the obligation of contracts, a state cannot unilaterally renounce an interstate compact once it is formed, nor can it adopt laws which conflict with provisions of the compact. Consequently, a compact is appropriate only when two states seek a binding relationship.

Frequently, interstate compacts are used to establish advisory groups of public officials involved in the joint administration of a common subject matter. For example, the Northwest Power Planning Council and the Pacific States Marine Fisheries Commission are regional advisory bodies involving the states of Oregon and Washington that were formed via interstate compacts.¹⁴

Interstate compacts are particularly useful in providing for regional cooperation in metropolitan areas encompassing two or more states. In these circumstances, state legislation must authorize the bi-state cooperation and the specific compact itself can be between cities and counties in the region. Laws enacted by various states, including Oregon and Washington, already give local governments broad authority to negotiate and adopt cooperative agreements in certain areas which then have the status of interstate compacts.¹⁵

* "No State shall, without the consent of Congress...enter into agreement or compact with another State...." *United States Constitution*, Article I, Section 10, Clause 3.

One of the key attractions of interstate compacts is their flexibility. Because they are essentially contracts between participating jurisdictions, they can be drafted to limit, condition, or extend the scope of their application in many ways—subject only to the constraints imposed by state and federal law. Numerous examples illustrate successful interstate compacts in a wide variety of subject areas. In the Rock Island, Illinois/Davenport, Iowa area, the Bi-State Regional Commission involves all local counties and municipalities. The committee was told that communities participating in this compact have experienced benefits ranging from improved communication to greater efficiencies and shared financial support and technical assistance.

The transportation planning commissions for both the New York City and Philadelphia metropolitan areas—initially established by compacts—have become successful interstate metropolitan planning agencies. In the New York City area, the Tri-State Transportation Commission has developed regional planning documents providing guidelines for land use as well as for transportation in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. The Philadelphia agency has evolved into the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, with responsibilities for land use, open spaces, water supply and water pollution, highway and public transportation planning. Planning in each of these subject areas is considered by the Delaware Valley Commission to “represent the first steps the major governments of this region have taken towards establishing any comprehensive regional planning process...the beginning of what must be a comprehensive, continuous and coordinated effort to develop practical guidelines for the planned and orderly growth of a greater metropolitan community.”¹⁶

Similarly, California and Nevada enacted the Tahoe Regional Planning Compact in 1969 after several years of conflict between the two states over the protection and development of Lake Tahoe. The Compact promotes both orderly development and protection of scenic and recreational uses for the lake, with voting membership by all affected communities. A comprehensive land use development plan—the cornerstone of the Tahoe compact—is viewed as a major step toward intergovernmental regional zoning.

BI-STATE FRAMEWORK IN SELECTED POLICY AREAS

Policy Area	OREGON Portland/Metro/ Oregon Authority	WASHINGTON Vancouver/Clark/ Washington Authority	Cooperating Agreement/ Structure
Comprehensive Long-Range Planning	Metro (Future Vision; Regional Framework Plan)	Clark County (2020 Plan)	Liaison memberships on Future Vision Commission and MPAC
Transportation	Metro; Tri-Met; Oregon Department of Transportation	Clark County; C-Tran; Washington Department of Transportation	JPACT and Southwest Washington Regional Transportation Commission
Land Use	Metro	Clark County	Liaison Membership on MPAC
Air Quality	Oregon Department of Environmental Quality	Southwest Washington Air Pollution Authority; Washington Department of Ecology	Informal
Water Quality	Oregon Department of Environmental Quality	Washington Department of Ecology	Limited to Bi-State Estuary Study agreement
Ports	Port of Portland (state body)	Port of Vancouver	Recent cooperation; historically competitive
Higher Education	Portland State University; Oregon State Board of Higher Education	Washington State University Vancouver Campus; Board of Regents	Reciprocity agreement; informal contacts between administrators; information sharing
Economic Development	Portland Development Commission	Columbia River Economic Development Commission	Informal
Greenspaces and Parks	City of Portland; Multnomah County; Metro	City of Vancouver; Clark County	Bi-state inventory for 1992 greenspaces initiative

IV. DISCUSSION

Since the completion of the Glenn Jackson Bridge, development along the I-205 Corridor—both north and south of the bridge—has been extensive. While Oregonians can easily see the evidence of this growth, they may not realize the impacts in Clark County, where what was once a relatively isolated community has become the fastest growing part of the metropolitan region.

Many witnesses nonetheless perceived a continuing separation or isolation of Clark County when addressing key regional issues. Witnesses from Clark, Clackamas, and Washington Counties shared the concern that the single electronic news market and the zoned editions of *The Oregonian* limit reporting on “county” issues to the county in question, and minimize reporting on those issues affecting more than one county. For example, the *Oregonian*’s zone coverage of major local stories such as the Washington Growth Management Act planning process and the issues created for Clark County voters are generally only published in the newspaper’s “North Metro” edition, despite their regional impact.

The lack of regional coordination also has been evident in regional economic development. Development officials from both states cited the detrimental impact of their past competition in their testimony. Officials from both states say that they are now working together—albeit informally—to attract new employers to the region on either side of the Columbia. Oregon’s Airport Way development, for example, benefitted from cooperation with Clark County’s Columbia River Economic Development Council (CREDC). Officials noted that while many of the employees at the Airport Way complex will live in Clark County, the Oregon side of the Columbia will derive benefits because the Clark County residents working at the site will pay Oregon income taxes and shop in Oregon. The Port of Portland, meanwhile, assisted CREDC in attracting Linear Technologies to Clark County. Both states can benefit from such cooperation by eliminating costly bidding wars between the states and by cooperatively marketing the region as a single competitor against other metropolitan areas.

A. Bi-State Regional Cooperation in Key Policy Areas

1. Transportation

Regional planners see transportation planning as central to coordination in other areas of public policy, *e.g.*, land use and air quality, water quality, education, waste disposal, cultural development, etc. Both I-5 and I-205 are important routes for interstate haulers as well as regional commuters and shoppers. Forecasts of impending gridlock on both these major arterials are therefore a source of great concern to the region’s planners and public officials. All witnesses agreed that the construction of a third interstate bridge across the Columbia River is politically “dead.” Accordingly, a significant increase in the use of mass transit is seen as the only practical way to avoid transportation gridlock.

Presently, only 3.3 percent of travelers in the metropolitan area use mass transit (light rail or bus), and the trend has been downward. By comparison, Vancouver, B.C. commands 10 percent mass transit ridership and Toronto—cited in many surveys as the most liveable of North American cities—claims 25 percent, although the actual region-wide ridership is considerably less. Tri-Met’s and C-Tran’s present goal is 10 percent.

Witnesses agreed—and studies have demonstrated—that mass transit ridership depends on high-population densities, especially near transit corridors. Presently, 70 percent of new housing construction in the Oregon portion of the metropolitan area is “underbuilt,” *i.e.*, housing density is below the level permitted by zoning. Even lower densities are being built in Clark County. Given these low densities, the region’s ability to attract federal dollars for light rail and other transit could be limited.

Regional transportation planning faces other serious obstacles. Witnesses testified that JPACT is losing its effectiveness as federal funding dries up and political leadership changes hands. Although it includes voting members from the city of Vancouver, Clark County and the Washington State Department of Transportation, JPACT is an organization with only limited authority because its recommendations must be approved by Metro in order to satisfy the federal MPO requirements for Oregon. At the same time, the Southwest Washington Regional Transportation Council is designated the MPO for Clark County. Its board includes representatives of Metro and the Oregon Department of Transportation. But because of these two separate MPOs for transportation decision-making in the bi-state region, witnesses warned, the region may be in technical violation of federal MPO requirements, thus jeopardizing its ability to attract federal transportation funding in the future.

Another source of controversy is the light rail corridor into Clark County. All witnesses agreed that the proposed light rail line into Clark County offers the region an enormous opportunity to integrate southwestern Washington in the regional intergovernmental planning process. However, the project is imperilled by such factors as expected difficulties in securing adequate federal funds, as well as the continuing debate over exactly where the south-north light rail line should be located, and which direction should be given funding priority—north to Vancouver or south to Milwaukie. Testimony indicated that Clackamas County representatives will not support a priority for the Clark County line. Witnesses stated that the passage of Measure 5 in Oregon has seriously limited the ability of local communities in Oregon to satisfy federal matching funds requirements; even if federal funds were allocated. C-Tran, on the other hand, has been very successful in attracting monies for the local matching requirement for the light rail extension into Vancouver. Washington State’s considerable influence in the Congressional appropriations process was also cited as an argument in favor of building the Clark County extension.

2. Land Use

Whatever the region’s success in coordinating transportation decision-making, others point out that transportation planning does not, by itself, constitute complete planning for the quality of life in the Portland metropolitan area. As a recent commentary in *The Oregonian* noted, “Transportation-driven planning programs do not increase our water supply, protect natural areas or help create affordable housing.”¹⁷ In light of new challenges from possible expansion of the light rail system and its effects on patterns of regional growth, witnesses raised concerns about the absence of broader coordination between Clark County and the Oregon tri-county governments. Witnesses recited numerous examples of how officials on both sides of the river have not fully considered that population growth changes the entire region. The failure of each state to include the other in its land use planning process—despite the fact that both states have now required comprehensive land use planning in their portions of the region—was a major concern.

Witnesses uniformly indicated that where to locate transportation corridors and what type of development to promote along these corridors should be at the core of land use planning aimed at preventing urban sprawl. Despite such concerns, Oregon's Land Conservation and Development Commission has only recently adopted a transportation goal that incorporates maximum use of mass transit and encourages high population density within the Oregon portion of the metropolitan area. Meanwhile, Clark County growth has until recently been fairly unrestricted and unmanaged. This lack of management had negative implications for the area as I-205 opened new areas of Clark County to development. Witnesses told the committee that the relative lack of land use restrictions in Clark County permitted continued low-density development in the metropolitan region for far too long.

In 1990, the state of Washington passed its own state land use law, the Growth Management Act, which mandated comprehensive land use planning in fast growing areas such as Clark County. This Act was looked on in Clark County to provide firmer guidelines for development and to redress the perceived imbalance over the past two decades of rapid residential development at the expense of industrial development. The Act gave the Clark County Commission primary responsibility for land use planning in the Washington portion of the metropolitan area, just as Metro is primarily responsible on the Oregon side. However, the committee was told that as the deadline for implementation of the Act approached, the Clark County Commission approved several zoning changes to allow smaller-lot residential use for tracts that had industrial and commercial potential. Rezoning to residential uses meant a relatively quick infusion of new property tax dollars to Clark County, but at the expense of the permanent loss of prime industrial and commercial properties. The loss of prime industrial property in the county may later frustrate its ambitions for a higher-wage employment base.

According to Clark County's Columbia River Economic Development Council, only 87 percent of the work force in Clark County earns at or above the national average wage, compared to 98 percent twenty years ago.¹⁸ If the supply of industrial land diminishes, CREDC has concluded, an employment base that is already largely service-oriented will have to rely even more on low-wage industries. Oregon's comparatively higher wages paid by manufacturing industries¹⁹ will continue to lure almost one-third of Clark County workers across the Columbia River, aggravating the region's transportation problem. A region-wide perspective might have headed this problem off, witnesses contended.

Metro presently is engaged in its Region 2040 long-range planning effort, projecting the Oregon tri-county area's land use needs for the next 50 years. Clark County, meanwhile, is involved in a parallel effort, its 2020 Plan. While some coordination between the two efforts has occurred at the staff level, long-range planning for the most part has been pursued separately in the two states, where political leaders have been slow to seek each other's cooperation. Given the interdependence and cross-jurisdictional impacts, witnesses indicated there is a real danger of inconsistent or contradictory plans being prepared.

3. Air Quality

The committee was told that the federal Clean Air Act is a significant factor in the future of economic development in the Portland metropolitan region, including the Washington side of the Columbia. Clark County and even portions of Cowlitz and Skamania counties are all part of the greater Portland airshed. The geography

of the region—a large flat valley between two mountain ranges—serves to concentrate airborne contaminants, particularly the carbon monoxide and ozone from automobile combustion which create smog.

The region has been designated a federal “non-attainment” area because of these two pollutants. Despite the fact that motor vehicles are easily the biggest cause of our air pollution problems, such a designation imposes significant restrictions on industrial development because of the need to reduce pollutant emissions. The stricter regulations will inhibit business expansion and discourage new industry from locating in the region if compliance with federal standards is not achieved. Noncompliance with the Act also threatens the loss of federal highway funds.

To encourage intergovernmental cooperation, the Act requires “conformity” among air quality regulations in states sharing the same airshed. To achieve conformity, the Oregon Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) is collaborating with the Washington Department of Ecology (DOE) and Southwest Washington Air Pollution Control Authority (SWAPCA, the local air pollution authority in Clark County), to prepare and enforce long-term measures to control air pollution, with particular emphasis on cutting down vehicle emissions.

Officials in both states worry that if population and traffic in the region grow as projected, the metropolitan area may not be able to comply with the Clean Air Act. Growth in traffic volume in the metropolitan area is the real villain. Currently, it exceeds population growth by a ratio of 4:1. For that reason, both Oregon and Washington state governments have taken actions to reduce commuting trips.

In Oregon, the Land Conservation and Development Commission’s Transportation Planning Rule²⁰ requires significant reductions in per capita miles traveled in Oregon metropolitan areas during coming decades, and a 1993 state statute²¹ directs DEQ to promulgate employer trip reduction and parking limitation programs to reduce air pollution in the Portland area. In Washington, a new statute²² requires employers to substantially reduce the amount of driving by their employees, or face significant penalties.

While Oregon’s DEQ has worked cooperatively with its Washington counterpart, DOE, the committee heard that DEQ has not worked as closely with SWAPCA. SWAPCA is one of Washington’s six regional pollution control authorities, and it has responsibility for regulating most industrial polluters in southwest Washington. SWAPCA will likely continue to exist as a regional authority. DEQ’s failure to include SWAPCA representatives in relevant regional discussions and decisions was cited as threatening the region’s ability to comply with the increasingly stringent Clean Air Act standards. Because recent amendments to the Act tie federal transportation funding to compliance with the Act and require regional consensus, the case for modifying the current decision-making process to make SWAPCA a full partner is strong.

4. Regional Communication

In trying to understand the status of cooperation between Clark County and Metro and the three Oregon counties, the committee heard one witness after another describe difficulties in finding out what was going on in different parts of the region. Part of the problem appears to arise simply out of the large number and different levels of jurisdictions throughout the region. Involved are two state governments, one regional government, four counties, one large and several moderately sized

cities, a number of smaller incorporated towns, and many special purpose districts. Witnesses explained that just informing all interested parties of relevant decisions is in itself a monumental task.

The problem of communication is exacerbated by the dominance of Portland in the media. *The Oregonian* regularly prepares special news sections for specific areas in the region, but it distributes them only in those areas. Consequently, local events of regional impact often do not get reported to all of *The Oregonian's* readers. Worse than this, witnesses indicated, area news that is carried in all editions tends to focus on crime and accidents.

The television and radio markets also focus mostly on Portland. Because Clark County is located in a different state, it is often ignored by the Portland-based media in ways not experienced by Clackamas and Washington counties. The consequence cited is that policymakers on the Oregon side of the River frequently ignore Clark County as a regional player.

5. Governance: Metro

Of particular significance to the committee's study is the fact that Metro's legally binding Regional Framework Plan, required by the Metro Charter to be adopted in 1997, must under the Charter address "coordination to the extent feasible of Metro growth management and land use planning policies with those of Clark County, Washington." What is not spelled out in the Charter is exactly what this new bi-state coordination mandate means for Metro or Clark County. Metro officials acknowledge the vagueness of the provision, and there has been little discussion and no consensus as to how to respond to it.

Also of interest are the bi-state aspects of Metro's new Future Vision Commission. Under the Charter, at least one member of the Commission is required to reside outside the area of Metro's jurisdiction. The "region" to be studied by the Commission is to be the area within Metro's jurisdiction plus "adjacent areas". As appointed by the Metro Council, the Commission includes Clark County Commissioner John Magnano who was named by Washington Governor Mike Lowry. And as conceived by the Commission to date, the "region" under study includes Clark County and other parts of southwestern Washington.

In September 1993, the Metro Council approved the addition of representatives from Clark County and the City of Vancouver as "liaison" members of MPAC. Clark County and Vancouver had requested full membership, but were turned down by Metro "in light of the relationship MPAC has to Metro's planning and service delivery functions."²³ Officials from the Clark County area remain hopeful that the liaison relationship will eventually lead to full membership and increased involvement in Metro decision-making. Several witnesses identified MPAC as the preferred forum in which to discuss regional bi-state concerns—primarily because it is made up of elected officials from throughout the tri-county region. They recommended including elected representatives from the Clark County area as full voting members of MPAC as an appropriate first step toward eventual full participation in Metro.

The Bi-State Policy Advisory Committee might seem to be the logical forum to achieve the bi-state coordination required under the new Metro Charter, but there was general agreement from witnesses that the committee has been largely ineffectual and that it suffers from lack of legitimacy and interest. Due to severe funding

constraints and the belief that other forums could be better used to achieve bi-state coordination, the Committee restricts itself in its bi-monthly meetings to monitoring bi-state cooperation. More importantly—because the committee is not expressly authorized by the 1992 Charter—it has no specific authority or duration. Finally, the committee does not include representatives from Washington or Clackamas counties, whose County Commissioners were rebuffed when they requested membership on the grounds that their counties share no common border with Clark County.

While Clark County's future role in Metro remains uncertain, it is clear to all that Metro's decisions under the new Charter will affect all local governments throughout the region in Oregon. This increasing authority of Metro has made the agency particularly unpopular with officials from Washington and Clackamas counties, who expressed concerns over increased participation in Metro by Clark County representatives in discussions and votes that may not directly affect Clark County. At present, Clark County does not and cannot contribute funds to Metro. There is no mechanism in place for creating a truly regional tax base, nor for cooperative bonding authority if the two states want to finance particular regional facilities.

Additional criticism of Metro came, in particular, from representatives of Washington and Clackamas counties, who protested both Metro's refusal to grant their constituencies membership in the Bi-State Advisory Committee and what they saw as Portland's and Multnomah County's domineering role in regional policy making. Indeed, Washington County has already begun a serious effort to consolidate its communities—especially those adjacent to Multnomah County—into one unit that would become Oregon's second largest city, with much enhanced clout in regional affairs. A Clackamas County Commissioner suggested that a new single consolidated urban county be formed covering the entire area within the urban growth boundary.*

However, all tri-county officials interviewed by the committee believed that an appropriately structured involvement of Clark County in bi-state regional government would confer greater authority on local government decisions, produce greater efficiency within government, encourage building a single regional database and regional benchmarks, and lead public policymakers in the region to consider the full regional impacts of their decisions.

B. Other Bi-State Regional Cooperation

1. Metropolitan Greenspaces Program

Perhaps the most successful example of true interstate cooperation in the region was the Metropolitan Greenspaces Program. Beginning in 1989, Oregon and Washington officials cooperated in developing a metropolitan parks and open space plan called "Metropolitan Greenspaces." This four-county effort mapped all natural areas, open space, parks, trails, greenways and wildlife corridors throughout the region and then prepared a Master Plan to protect and preserve this interconnected system of natural and scenic resources. Metro was the lead agency in developing and implementing the Greenspaces Master Plan. The Plan was very much a bi-state effort and contemplated a regional general obligation bond measure on both sides of the Columbia to fund acquisition of land and conservation easements that would protect open space.

* See recommendation for establishing "Willamette County" in March 21, 1986 City Club *Report on Regional Government*.

Although the bond measures were defeated in both states in 1992, this unparalleled grassroots effort on both sides of the Columbia demonstrated that Clark County is increasingly looked upon as an integral part of the metropolitan region, and that citizens from both states can collaborate in support of a common goal to help improve the quality of life throughout the region.

2. Port Authority Cooperation

An example of public agencies working together to provide a positive economic impact for the region is the recent cooperation between the Port of Portland and the Port of Vancouver. In 1992, the Port of Portland was so successful in attracting shipments of foreign-made automobiles that it needed more dock space for unloading. Wanting to both keep some of its riverfront acreage available for use in attracting more overseas customers and to avoid losing a major automobile manufacturer to another West Coast port, the Port of Portland worked closely with the Port of Vancouver in securing a cooperative docking agreement with Subaru of America, a subsidiary of the Japanese auto firm.

The Port of Portland also manages the Portland International Airport. Being close to the I-205 corridor and east Clark County, the Airport gets credit for much of the explosive growth and development along the freeway corridor in both states. Because Port of Portland officials recognize the importance of the Airport to Clark County, they have worked cooperatively with economic development officials on both sides of the Columbia River. Further, the fee structure adopted by the Port of Portland for managing the Airport is designed to ensure that users in both states share equitably the costs of supporting regional economic development.

3. Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies

Support for regionally-oriented research comes from the Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies of Portland State University, which includes board representatives from Clark County as well as Oregon's tri-county area. The Institute, which is primarily oriented toward academic studies, provides a forum for discussing and perhaps resolving issues of regional concern. Although it is constrained at present by inadequate funding, the Institute is highly regarded and was pointed to as a potentially important research center regarding regional governance questions, including jurisdictional, environmental, population, transportation, and economic issues.

4. Other Forums

Other forums exist for bi-state cooperation between Clark County and the Oregon tri-county area, but witnesses pointed to serious shortcomings in each. For example, the City Club of Portland has not held a program addressing issues in Clark County for years. Additionally, the Portland and Vancouver Chambers of Commerce are only now beginning to make contact with each other.

While not addressed specifically in this report, higher education is another area in which bi-state cooperation is taking place. Portland State University is cooperating with Washington State University's Clark County campus, with additional participation from the region's other universities and community colleges. Cooperation ranges from information-sharing to a reciprocity agreement which allows residents of the area to take courses in either state without paying out-of-state tuition.

C. Political Climate

Political leaders and policymakers currently find themselves pulled by several contradictory forces. To begin with, the committee was told, the overall political climate is one of distrust of public officials and cynicism about the effectiveness of government. Candidates feel that they must make a double promise to the public—to cut waste and to improve services. Both Oregon and Washington voters have approved tax limitation measures, yet there are few programs that they want to eliminate.

The more removed government is from the citizenry and the less visible it is, the less confidence people seem to have in it. Regional government as compared to local government is both bigger and less visible. In the Portland area, the committee was told, the one region-wide planning agency which does exist—Metro—operates with limited public awareness and is viewed with considerable distrust.

Witnesses stated that this anti-government, anti-tax climate both supports and undermines efforts at regional planning. On the other hand, the need for efficiencies can stimulate regional cooperation. For example, planning data developed by Metro are being used by the technical staff in Clark County in their land use planning process. The Port of Portland and Port of Vancouver look to each other for coordination and cooperation in order to make the best use of the resources they have. Metro has proposed new taxes to support its planning efforts mandated by the new Charter, but these proposals have been met with hostility on the part of interest groups, the public and the media.

Witnesses also testified that regional planning is now more complex than ever, and as a result it may take many years for locally-oriented officials to fully appreciate the regional aspects of their responsibilities. Battles over local versus regional control (e.g., the 1993 Multnomah County ballot measure concerning who should be in charge of county roads within east county area cities) can cause long-standing feuds. Local officials do not always have a regional perspective, nor do they need to have one to get elected. Witnesses testified that local officials are often elected on the basis of a single issue, and sometimes that issue is “anti-government”.

Even when local community leaders begin to understand the regional nature of the problems they face, they may still have little awareness of the interrelationships between Clark County and the Oregon tri-county area. Neither our political leaders or the media have succeeded in educating the public about the bi-state nature of our region. One witness suggested that to address this problem, the City Club should press all candidates for local office to articulate their agenda for the bi-state region and to take stands on specific regional issues that they can expect to face.

Almost all witnesses supported the notion of regional planning and coordination, and the sharing of regional technical expertise. By and large, the witnesses before the committee supported an emphasis on interstate compacts and intergovernmental agreements. Some spoke in terms of an expanded role for Metro, although discussion of that government also elicited considerable suspicion and hostility. A few witnesses suggested that instead of having a role in policymaking, Metro should restrict itself to calling meetings of involved officials and making sure that all relevant issues get a hearing.

Since the committee began its study, it has seen growing interest in integrating Clark County into the regional planning process. Most recently, MPAC and JPACT met at the Oregon Convention Center with Clark County leaders as invited guests.

Clark County Commissioner John Magnano reported at the meeting that his county was "ready to be considered as part of the Portland region in dealing with planning and growth." Metro's chief planner, Andy Cotugno, in turn suggested that in responding to the Metro Charter requirement for "coordination with Clark County" consideration should be given to the formation of an interstate compact or the development of intergovernmental agreements between communities in the two states.²⁴

At the federal level, the political lineup has changed substantially in recent years. In the past, the region's major transportation projects—*e.g.*, the MAX line, the Glenn Jackson Bridge and the expansion of the I-5 corridor—have received 75 percent to 90 percent of their funding from the federal government through the federal appropriations process. The key to this federal funding has been Oregon's representation on Congressional funding committees. Construction of further light rail lines in the region depends on continued federal funding on a substantial scale. Les AuCoin, who had attained seniority on the House Appropriations Committee, left Congress in 1992. In 1993, Mike Kopetski, a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, decided not to seek re-election. Senator Bob Packwood's clout as ranking minority member of the Senate Finance Committee has been diminished significantly as a result of alleged ethics violations. Senator Mark Hatfield is the only remaining Oregon politician with significant influence on Congressional funding committees, and he is a member of the party currently in the Senate minority.

This contrasts sharply with the considerable political influence of Washington's congressional delegation—Speaker of the House Tom Foley, Senators Patty Murray and Slade Gorton on the Senate Appropriations Committee, Representative Norm Dicks on the House Appropriations Committee, and Representatives Maria Cantwell and Jennifer Dunn on the House Public Works and Transportation Committee. Several witnesses argued that this situation provides Oregon with a powerful incentive for improving relations with Washington State. From this perspective, support of Washington political leaders is essential to the region's ability to attract federal transportation and other dollars, but such support is surely conditional on the inclusion of Clark County as an equal partner in the regional planning process.

V. CONCLUSIONS

1. Continued population growth in the Portland metropolitan area demands prompt regional solutions in order to maintain the region's traditional quality of life. Factors which affect our quality of life—transportation, housing, economic development, even the air we breathe and the water we drink—draw our attention, and they do not respect jurisdictional boundaries. Regional solutions are called for.
2. The four-county Portland metropolitan area (Washington, Clackamas, Multnomah and Clark Counties) functions substantially as one geographic, economic, and environmental unit. The existing political boundary at the Columbia River is increasingly an obstacle to resolving regional problems.
3. Bi-state regional cooperation as now practiced will not be adequate to solve the problems facing the region. Metro and Clark County are not effectively coordinating their respective Region 2040 and 2020 Plan growth management efforts. The Bi-State Policy Advisory Committee has been ineffective. The provision of 1992 Metro Charter requiring the Regional Framework Plan to address coordination of growth management and planning policies with Clark

County is significant, but its meaning has not been defined. The inclusion of Clark County officials on Metro's Future Vision Commission and as ex officio members of Metro's Metropolitan Policy Advisory Committee is laudable—as is the fact that the Future Vision Commission is including Clark County in its study area—but these are only partial, preliminary steps toward a truly regional approach. More defined and fully integrated bi-state cooperation is required to achieve the regional planning coordination needed to preserve the quality of life in the region.

4. Much of the present cooperation among governmental units and agencies in the region is attributable to federal legislation, in particular federal legislation requiring prior approval by a regional organization as a condition for receiving federal funding for specific projects. Such requirements have helped to promote the general goal of regional cooperation, but they have not produced a coherent or extensive pattern of cooperation. Each federal law has mandated its own regional sponsoring or watchdog agency, without reference to the other ones and without insisting that one regional body coordinate the various interrelated projects in different fields. Nor have these statutes encouraged the development of a cadre of regional policymakers and experts who, as generalists, can evaluate, prioritize and coordinate the various projects being drawn up in different technical areas that will inevitably compete for public attention, funding, and administrative support.
5. The Portland metropolitan area functions as one transportation system which will soon be inadequate in some locations. Gridlock is forecast for the I-5 and I-205 bridges across the Columbia River by the end of the century. Increased use of transit is the only likely solution to this gridlock. Increasing transit usage will require higher population densities on both sides of the Columbia, which will require well-coordinated planning especially along the new north-south light rail corridor into Clark County. Funding the light rail line into Clark County will require bi-state political collaboration.
6. Although comprehensive land use planning is now mandated on both sides of the Columbia River in this region, to date there has been minimal and inadequate coordination between the jurisdictions on the two sides of the River. Given that the four county area has become one market for real estate development, the metropolitan area very likely will not achieve its land use goals if policies and programs in the two states are not coordinated effectively.
7. Economic development on either side of the Columbia River is beneficial to the regional community as a whole. When there has been competition within the region to attract new industries, it has raised the taxpayer costs of locating industry and resulted in lost opportunities. The recent cooperation between the Ports of Portland and Vancouver should inspire other economic development agencies and groups to act accordingly.
8. The four-county Portland metropolitan area comprises one airshed which currently does not meet federal air quality standards. Failure to correct this deficiency will result in federal sanctions, including restrictions on automobile use and industry emissions, which would have adverse economic consequences. Historically, there have been divergent approaches to controlling air emissions in Washington and Oregon; these efforts need to be coordinated.
9. Existing law authorizes interstate compacts to provide for more formalized and effective coordination between the jurisdictions on the two sides of the

Columbia River in the Portland metropolitan area. Bi-state regional planning agencies elsewhere in the United States can serve as models for this region.

10. In the current political environment, the task of coordinating regional planning between Oregon & Washington will not be easy. The electorate seems unwilling to endorse new governmental structures or organizations. This is a period of diminishing government resources. Cynicism about the effectiveness of government is widespread. Many local jurisdictions still continue to ignore the regional consequences of their parochial decisions.
11. An existing large metropolitan planning agency such as Metro - with established technical expertise and an existing mandate to coordinate growth management and land use planning with Clark County - seems to be a logical body to draft and submit proposals for an interstate compact and to administer intergovernmental agreements dealing with regional planning.
12. Current media distribution and coverages act to sharpen divisions between the Oregon tri-county area and Clark County. Media coverage of local issues with regional impact is very limited. As a consequence, local policymakers are not easily made aware of each other's actions, they too often act in isolation from one another, and the electorate does not understand regional issues.
13. Regional public and private institutions such as the City Club, Portland and Vancouver Chambers of Commerce, the Ports of Portland and Vancouver, and the economic development organizations of Oregon and Washington do not give adequate attention to bi-state regional issues.
14. The Portland State University Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies has untapped potential for promoting understanding of bi-state regional concerns.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee's recommendations are based on one ultimate goal: that all public and private agencies treat the Portland four-county metropolitan area as one interdependent urban form, recognizing neither the Columbia River nor the political boundary it marks as appropriate dividing lines. The following recommendations are made to that end:

1. By the year 2000, the structure of Metro should be revised to reflect Clark County's position as an integral part of the Portland metropolitan region. This should be accomplished by seeking modifications to the Metro enabling legislation in Oregon, to the Metro Charter, and to Washington law as necessary. An interstate compact should be executed to bring Clark County within Metro's jurisdiction and to provide for truly comprehensive regional planning in the four-county metropolitan area.
2. In the short term, the jurisdictions in the Portland metropolitan area on both sides of the Columbia River should take steps to coordinate their planning efforts:
 - Metro and Clark County should test their respective Region 2040 and 2020 Plan efforts against each other for consistency and coordinate the two efforts to result in a single bi-state metropolitan growth plan.
 - Metro, Clark County and the City of Vancouver should enter into a memorandum of understanding to coordinate transportation, land use, air quality and water quality planning, at a minimum.

- Metro should include Clark County and the City of Vancouver officials as full voting members of Metro's Metropolitan Policy Advisory Committee, and Metro and Clark County should then dissolve the Bi-State Policy Advisory Committee.
3. The media of the region should modify their coverage and distribution to improve reporting of bi-state regional issues:
- *The Oregonian* should expand its coverage of those local issues of interest to the entire bi-state region and print such stories in all of its editions.
 - Portland area television and radio stations should place greater emphasis on issues of bi-state regional concern in their news programming.
 - The media throughout the region should focus on the bi-state regional agendas of candidates for public office, especially candidates running for Metro Executive, the Metro Council, and the various county commission, city council, and mayoral positions in the region. Editorial interviews should include a focus on bi-state regional problems and concerns.
4. Regional public and private institutions should promote the metropolitan community's understanding of bi-state regional issues:
- City Club programs and forums should occasionally feature bi-state regional governance issues. City Club candidate debates should include questions pertaining to bi-state regional governance.
 - The Chambers of Commerce of Portland and Vancouver, the Ports of Portland and Vancouver, and the economic development organizations from Oregon and Washington should initiate annual joint meetings.
 - Portland State University—in collaboration with Washington State University's Clark County campus—should seek support for expanding the Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies. The expansion should promote the Institute as a research center for all facets of truly regional government and as the repository for a regional academic database. Utilizing a bi-state approach, the Institute should sponsor:
 - ◆ Regular intergovernmental retreats for state and local officials involved in regional issues.
 - ◆ Development of measurable goals for progress or benchmarks towards improved regional coordination.
 - ◆ Citizen conferences regarding regional issues.

Respectfully submitted,

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Regina Hauser
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Gus Mattersdorff
Rhidian Morgan
Charles Shattuck
Thane Tienson, Chair

VII. APPENDIX

A. Endnotes

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B. Persons Interviewed

Nina Bell
Northwest Environmental Advocates

Earl Blumenauer
Portland City Commissioner

Jeff Boothe
Transportation Policy Lobbyist
Schwabe, Williamson & Wyatt
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John Bosley
General Counsel, National Association of Regional Councils

John Campbell
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Richard Carson
Metropolitan Greenspaces
Former Chief Planner, Metro

Ron Cease
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Hal Dengerinck
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Robert Elliott
Director, SW Washington Air Pollution Control Authority

John Epley
Executive Director, National Association
of Regional Councils

Richard Feeney
Tri-Met

Neil Goldschmidt
Former Mayor of Portland
Former Governor of Oregon

Bruce Hagensen
Mayor of Vancouver

Judie Hammerstad
Clackamas County Commissioner

Fred Hansen
Executive Director
Oregon Department of Environmental Quality

Bonnie Hays
Chair, Washington County Commission

Byron Hanke
Director, Port of Vancouver

Vera Katz
Mayor of Portland

Joe King
Former Washington State Speaker of the House

Patrick LaCrosse
Former Executive Director, Portland Development Commission

Robert Landauer
Editorial Page Editor, *The Oregonian*

Robert Levin
Director, Columbia River Economic Development Council

David Lohman
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Port of Portland

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John Magnano
Clark County Commissioner

Judith Ramaley
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