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City Club of Portland Report: Planning for Urban Growth in the Portland Metropolitan Area

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Planning for Urban Growth in the Portland Metropolitan Area

Submitted March 29, 1996

The City Club Membership will vote on this report on Friday, March 29, 1996. Until the membership vote, the City Club of Portland does not have an official position on the recommendations included with this report. The outcome of this vote will be reported in the City Club Bulletin dated April 12, 1996.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Estimates predict that the Portland metropolitan area will grow by anywhere from 400,000 to 750,000 people by the year 2040, an increase of as much as 70 percent. Accommodating this growth will create many challenges for the area’s vaunted land use planning efforts. Citizens of the region will have to make difficult choices. This study examines the urban forms required to accommodate the expected population increase, the desires of residents regarding how to achieve these desirable forms of development, and the suitability of existing land use planning policies and systems for encouraging these desired urban forms.

The information gathered by the committee indicated broad acceptance of the state land use planning system put into effect in 1973 under Senate Bill 100. The committee did hear, however, that the structure created under SB 100 was not necessarily intended to address development patterns within urban areas, and that refinements to the system are needed to address current challenges. The committee heard that the key challenge for the region is to adapt to increased population density without losing the amenities that make the region a desirable place to live.

In 1992, in anticipation of the expected population growth, Metro, the Portland region’s elected regional government, began the ambitious Region 2040 regional planning effort. One of the major initial focus points for Region 2040 has been whether expansion of the urban growth boundary (UGB) is necessary to create room for the projected additional residents. Although regional debate is continuing about the size of an incremental expansion of the UGB, the Region 2040 Growth Concept adopted by Metro is generally based on accommodating growth primarily through increased density within the UGB, rather than a major expansion of the UGB.

This City Club study focuses on how planning for urban growth within the UGB is performed, and how the form of our neighborhoods and local communities might be altered to accommodate increased population density. Portland was a forerunner among the nation’s cities in establishing a UGB. The UGB has been widely recognized to have limited urban sprawl in the Portland area.

Increased density is often equated in people’s minds with images of tightly-packed, high-rise apartments, Manhattan-style, a highly negative perception for many residents of the Portland region. In reality, the recommended alternative developed by Metro is much less draconian, and is based on a mixture of density scenarios.

Urban planners across the nation have identified general characteristics of what they believe to be a desirable urban form, often called “new urbanism.” These include neighborhoods with a variety of housing types and designs and a mixture of residential, retail and commercial uses, a density which is higher than the typical suburban
subdivision, and a reduced reliance upon automobiles as the sole mode of travel.

The committee concluded that it is possible to create the kind of neighborhoods and local communities that the region's residents want for themselves and their children while accommodating the projected growth in population. Among the key conclusions reached by the committee are:

- There is a critical need to increase the overall level of understanding by the average citizen about urban planning issues, the impacts of increased density, the implications of the failure to accommodate increased density, and the interrelationships between these matters and their daily lives.

- Effective planning is needed to accommodate greater density while maintaining the quality of life that makes the Portland region an attractive place in which to live. This planning effort will have a greater chance for success with active involvement of informed citizens at the neighborhood or local community level.

- This planning effort must include a balance of "top-down" leadership, from Metro and local governments, with "bottom-up" involvement by citizens at the grass roots level. Neighborhood involvement must occur within a framework that considers goals and policies developed on a regional or local government level.

- Pro-active involvement of citizens and neighborhood groups early in the development approval process will encourage developments which better complement existing neighborhoods and reduce subsequent challenges and appeals.

- Transportation and land use planning strategies must be developed and implemented as an integrated, coordinated whole. Significant population growth will inevitably result in increasing traffic congestion. Measures to encourage alternatives to automobile travel and to improve road capacity will help manage congestion, but will not prevent it.

- Housing affordability is a critical factor in the area's planning needs. The increasing shortage of housing affordable to a wide range of citizens will have a significant negative effect on the region's ability to attract and maintain industry and jobs.

- Increases in population density will require a greater emphasis on design. It is necessary to plan neighborhoods as multi-dimensional, dynamic, living organisms, addressing a broad range of elements, including highly subjective factors such as the "look" and "feel" of the neighborhood.

- A multi-dimensional approach to planning requires that the necessary elements for a successful neighborhood be assembled, and that these elements are designed and related in ways that are acceptable, attractive and functional.
The committee recognizes that successful accommodation of the population increases projected for the region will require actions over a broad range of public policy areas. The committee has therefore recommended many small steps which are interrelated and supportive of one another. The overall objective of the recommendations is to facilitate an increase in population density while preserving the existing qualities and values that make the region desirable. This will require more emphasis on planning and design issues.

The committee's recommended approach includes preserving the basic concepts of Oregon's land use planning system, which have established a successful framework for managing growth issues. The committee's recommendations propose fine tuning the existing system. Among the committee's key recommendations are:

- Local governments and other entities should implement an explicit and coordinated campaign to increase the level of understanding among the general public about the importance of land use planning issues and their relevance to individuals and their neighborhoods. It should be implemented broadly throughout the community by addressing and engaging citizens through schools, social groups, neighborhood groups, churches, and the work place in addition to using more traditional media and approaches. Metro should proactively encourage the initiation of this effort and coordinate its ongoing implementation throughout the region.

- Local governments should revise zoning and development codes to stimulate development and redevelopment methods that support efforts to reduce the number of vehicle miles travelled. All levels of state, regional and local government should place greater emphasis on supporting a variety of transportation options, auto and non-auto, in order to help slow the growth in vehicle miles travelled.

- Metro and local governments should modify the regional comprehensive planning process to include citizen-developed plans for all neighborhoods or local communities.

- Developers and neighborhood groups should interact during early stages of individual development proposals. Local governments should work with these parties to establish mechanisms for this interaction. The goal should be not to lengthen the average overall time for review and action on land use applications, but rather to place the emphasis on the early stages of the process.

- The committee strongly endorses Metro's approach of using consensus-building to develop and implement the Regional Framework Plan, because active participation by the affected parties increases the likelihood of a successful outcome and results in a better overall plan. However, the committee recommends that Metro selectively utilize its authority to make decisions on disputed issues when the consensus-building process fails to effectively resolve key regional objectives in a timely manner.
• The state legislature should resist efforts to erode the framework of the existing land use planning system. Effective planning for urban growth depends on the unified statewide policies and strong enforcement system established under the authority of SB 100.

• Regional and neighborhood plans must encourage a mixture of housing types and densities (e.g. attached, detached, townhouses, row houses, apartments, etc.) within a neighborhood or local community. Local governments must modify zoning codes to allow placement of a mixture of housing types and densities within neighborhoods or local communities.

• Governments at all levels must assume a more active role in addressing housing affordability.

• Metro should aggressively pursue its “fair share” strategy to establish specific goals for low- and moderate-income and market-rate housing for each city and county in the region. The goal should be to ensure that sufficient and affordable housing is available to households of all income levels. Metro must ensure that comprehensive plans prepared by local governments adequately address these goals.

• In consultation with local jurisdictions, Metro should consider placing a regional bond issue on the ballot to finance purchase of land parcels throughout the region which can be made available for development of affordable housing.

• All jurisdictions must make design an integral part of their planning and permit review activities. Recognized standards for form, balance and proportion should be used to evaluate individual buildings, elements such as streets, sidewalks, street trees and open spaces, and the relationship of these elements within a neighborhood.

• Jurisdictions should be prepared to offer design suggestions to neighborhoods or local communities, or the development industry. This may include providing a selection of plans for residences or other buildings that support desirable development goals, and making them available to the private sector on a low-cost or no-cost basis.

• Jurisdictions should make planning staff resources available to proactively assist developers with design considerations at the early stages of project planning.

• Local governments should implement a process to develop and apply design and compatibility standards. All of the stakeholders (government, developers, neighborhood groups, etc.) should be included in this process.
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I. INTRODUCTION

Oregon, and particularly the Portland area, has a national reputation for a desirable quality of life. The region has placed emphasis on maintaining the vitality of the central city. In recent years, Oregon's economy has grown and diversified while economic downturns have plagued some neighboring states. These factors have contributed to a steady growth in the population of the Portland metropolitan area over the past 10 years. Planners have projected that this trend will continue. Various estimates suggest additional growth of anywhere from 400,000 to 750,000 people in the three-county metropolitan area by the year 2040, an increase of as much as 70 percent. Including Clark County, Washington, the increase is expected to be as much as 1.1 million additional residents.

This study considers the type of land use planning and growth management the Portland metropolitan area needs to address the challenges of rapid population growth. More specifically, the study examines the urban form for neighborhoods and local communities that people in the region want for themselves and for their children. The study also evaluates the suitability of existing land use planning policies and systems to encourage these desired urban forms.

Accommodating the expected growth will require the region to address many challenges and choices. To establish a framework for managing the expected growth, Metro, the Portland area's elected regional government, initiated an ambitious planning process under the name Region 2040. Recently, there has been increasing attention nationwide to the adverse effects of the suburban style of development that has predominated in most urban areas, including Portland, during the past three decades. Several noted planners and authors have written and lectured about the need for a "new urbanism" with development patterns echoing the traditional "village." The new urbanism encourages a variety of housing types, retail and business services, and public spaces clustered in a denser, more compact urban form. Recently, the movement has begun to garner more notice in the popular press, as evidenced by a May 15, 1995 cover story in Newsweek "Bye-Bye Suburban Dream."

Oregon and the Portland area have often initiated pioneering endeavors in land-use planning. The Metro charter enacted by voters in 1992 gives broad powers and responsibility for land use planning to the only elected regional government in the nation. The Region 2040 planning process, which Metro began in 1992, is the most ambitious such undertaking anywhere in the country. The significance of the region's position at the forefront of this "new urbanism" movement prompted the City Club to undertake this study. Planning efforts now underway—and the development patterns which will result from their implementation over the next three decades—potentially represent a watershed period in the growth of the region and in other urban centers nationwide.
A. Study Objectives

The initial stages of the Region 2040 planning process have focussed on the magnitude of the projected population increase and the degree to which it can be accommodated within the UGB. This study attempts to go beyond this initial question, to address how the region’s local communities or neighborhoods will accommodate increased population and density. The study addresses the urban form—the physical environment—that is desired by citizens of the area, and assesses whether the existing system of state and local planning agencies, laws, codes and policies are sufficient to achieve this desired form. The study identifies problems in the current system that may impede efforts to achieve the desired urban forms, and makes specific recommendations regarding actions that may be taken to address these concerns.

B. The Study Charge

The study charge directed the committee to address four specific questions:

1. What form of neighborhoods and local communities do the residents of the Portland metropolitan area want?
2. What are the basic elements of the existing Portland metropolitan area’s land use planning and growth management system that affect the form of neighborhoods and local communities in the region?
3. Will the existing land use planning and growth management system in effect in the Portland metropolitan area ultimately result in the form of neighborhoods and local communities that the residents of the region want, or will it produce neighborhoods and local communities that look and function essentially like those elsewhere that we don’t want to emulate?
4. What changes, if any, should be made to the existing land use planning and growth management system in effect in the Portland metropolitan area in order to result in the kind of neighborhoods and local communities that the residents of the region want for themselves and for their children?

C. Discussion of Charge

Despite Oregon’s vaunted land-use planning system, the Portland region has developed many of the symptoms generally considered as the negative impacts of suburban-style development. These include traffic congestion (and related air quality concerns), sprawling low-density development, rising costs for provision of public infrastructure and services, and a perceived loss of community identity. Thus, it is an underlying assumption of this study that the existing land use system has not been completely successful in creating the types of urban forms that are necessary for the region’s long-term prosperity, or in preventing the ills that afflict other cities with less-elaborate planning processes.

Metro’s Region 2040 planning process and this City Club study were initiated in response to projections of continued rapid population growth
in the region. Predictions as to the pace and extent of that growth vary, depending upon the sources of the information. The committee assumes that continued, steady growth of the region's population will occur. The committee did not attempt to evaluate the accuracy of projected rates or levels of growth: we believe that although these factors may alter the timing of the region's evolution, they will not change the nature of the desirable urban forms or the land use planning system needed to help implement these urban forms.

The committee found that responses to the questions in the study charge require an understanding of a complex web of factors and topics. In addition to land use planning issues, these include demographic trends, economics, traffic engineering, air and water quality, cultural diversity, education, housing affordability, crime and public safety, industrial and commercial business trends, telecommunications, government finance, banking and lending policies, and a variety of social and cultural factors. Some of these matters are key to the land use planning and development process and are addressed in our report. Others are mentioned only briefly because, while they are important factors which influence this process, the committee had neither the time nor the resources to fully evaluate their relationship to land use planning and development.

The committee also chose to concentrate on planning related to residential areas because of the study charge's focus on the "form of neighborhood and local communities" that "residents" want. In addition to residential development and redevelopment, the provision of land, in adequate supply and appropriately located, for industrial and commercial development is a critically important issue for the overall growth and prosperity of the region. The committee believes that these matters must be comprehensively addressed, and that this must be done in concert with decisions about where to locate land for additional residential development. This report addresses these concerns only superficially because of the limitations of the study charge and the committee's resources.

D. Method of Investigation

From July 1994 through August 1995, the committee interviewed 26 witnesses representing a wide variety of agencies, groups and interests involved in planning and development for the region's future. These included representatives of Metro, area counties, the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC), the cities of Portland, Gresham and West Linn, neighborhood groups, professional planners, real estate developers and builders, and real estate lenders.

The committee also reviewed the results of studies, surveys and other documents regarding the elements of urban form that citizens desire for their communities. Persons interviewed and documents and materials reviewed by the committee are presented in the appendices of this report.
II. HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

A. Summary of Previous City Club Studies

The City Club's involvement in urban planning issues reaches back more than 60 years. Generally, the City Club has supported planning as an important tool for building a vibrant, livable urban area.

The Club's 1933 report on a "proposed zoning ordinance" set the tone for later support of comprehensive urban planning. A 1969 City Club study supported the concept of redeveloping the downtown waterfront from the Harbor Drive freeway to today's Waterfront Park, a milestone development in the city's evolution.

The 1973 City Club report on the need for community goals emphasized the importance of "broad-based public involvement" as well as "strong, sensitive leadership." Later that same year, the Club approved a report on the Columbia Region Association of Governments (a predecessor to today's Metro) which stressed the need for comprehensive land use planning. Thirteen years later, the Club recommended that the three metropolitan-area counties (Clackamas, Multnomah, Washington) be merged into one home-rule county.

In 1986, the City Club published its *Vision for The Central City*. The basic precepts were:

- **Diversity**—multi-faceted, broad range of function, population, and ideas;
- **Scale**—a self-sustaining, interacting "Critical Mass" (which requires public commitment);
- **Direction**—a stable course and environment for growth, relating past to present, requiring leadership and public awareness; and
- **Balance**—an equitable process for dealing with diverse peoples and contradictory ideas. This requires public policies that preserve stability and an informed value system and social conscience.

The *Vision* report stated that the overall philosophy should reflect:

- The city center as a focus of commerce;
- A sense of openness for business, innovation, and diversity;
- New kinds of leadership models; and
- Acceptance of growth as inevitable.

In a 1994 report, the City Club recommended that all public and private agencies in the four-county region (including Clark County, Washington) be treated as an interdependent urban form.

Several other recent City Club reports have addressed contemporary urban growth issues (see list in Appendix B). Besides the general recognition of the need to address the demands of expected population growth, these reports made the following major recommendations:
• Inform the public to greater understanding of the benefits of increased urban density;
• Develop a multi-purpose river front in downtown;
• Develop improved cross-town transit service that augments the radial system to better serve all of the metropolitan area;
• Develop cohesive, economically mixed neighborhoods focusing upon schools as socio-cultural centers including:
  — autonomous character related to history and use;
  — high density construction; and
  — diverse, innovative housing;
• Use communications technology to achieve more efficient economic activity (e.g. telecommuting); and
• Create an independent parks commission to develop a plan to manage “regional park assets.”

B. Oregon’s Current Land Use System

1. State Government Responsibilities

Local Oregon governments are dependent on the state government for the power to implement land use plans and policies. In 1919, Oregon passed legislation which enabled cities to implement zoning and established authority for local planning commissions. The state’s role in planning was limited to authorizing local control until it became apparent that the local system was not adequate to respond to the complex pressures and trends created by the population boom following World War II.

The 1969 Oregon Legislature addressed growth management, the environment, and the economics of providing public services on a regional and statewide basis. As a result, the legislature passed Senate Bill 10 which required all cities and counties to adopt comprehensive land use plans and zoning regulations. However, development of these plans and regulations by jurisdictions throughout the state did not get underway in earnest for several years.

The 1973 Legislature determined that further legislation was needed to implement the 1969 mandate. The Oregon Land Use Act of 1973 (commonly known as Senate Bill 100) put in place the framework necessary to implement and govern statewide land use planning. The major elements of Senate Bill (SB) 100 included:

• Establishment of the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) which was directed to develop statewide land use goals;
• Creation of the Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) to administer the program and review local comprehensive plans for compliance with the statewide goals;
• Requirements that all cities and counties prepare and adopt comprehensive plans consistent with the statewide goals, and enact zoning, subdivision and other regulatory ordinances to implement the plans;

• Requirements that state agency plans and actions conform to the LCDC goals as well as to city and county comprehensive plans;

• Requirements for widespread citizen involvement in the planning process at local and statewide levels;

• Procedures for appeals of local government decisions alleged to violate statewide goals; and

• Funding to help local jurisdictions carry out these mandated responsibilities.

The LCDC adopted 19 statewide planning goals between 1974 and 1976. The goals are stated as general standards and guidelines for use by local land use planners. Since that time, local planning has remained the responsibility of city and county governments (and Metro in the Portland region) but must be consistent with these statewide standards.

2. Local Government Responsibilities

Each city and county in Oregon has submitted to the LCDC for review and acceptance a comprehensive plan with land use regulations that implement the plan. Acceptance by the LCDC is called “acknowledgment,” which means that the submittal has been deemed to be in compliance with the statewide goals. The comprehensive plans are required to undergo a formal “periodic review” two to five years after acknowledgment, and every four to seven years thereafter. Amendments to the comprehensive plans, after acknowledgment and between periodic reviews, are reviewed by the LCDC, but on a less formal basis.

The LCDC’s enforcement powers are limited to a jurisdiction’s compliance with the Land Use Act and the statewide goals. Cities and counties are responsible for administering all local land use actions and assuring that they conform with the comprehensive plan.

Procedural and substantive grounds for appeal of a local land use decision are set out in the Land Use Act. Following acknowledgment, any appeal of a local decision goes directly to the Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA), which was created in 1979 specifically for this purpose. Appeal of a LUBA decision is to the Oregon Court of Appeals.

3. Urban Growth Boundaries

A significant part of the statewide land use planning program implemented under SB 100 was the creation of Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs). These mark the separation between rural and urban land. As part of its comprehensive plan, each city and county was required to designate a UGB intended to encompass an adequate supply of buildable land to accommodate expected growth during a 20-year
period. The UGB rules require that the boundary include only areas which can be efficiently provided with urban services (such as roads, sewers, water lines, police protection and street lights).

4. Role of Metro

In 1966, six counties and 31 cities in Oregon and Washington formed the Columbia Region Association of Governments (CRAG). The primary purpose of CRAG, a predecessor to Metro, was to "conduct a coordinated program of comprehensive metropolitan planning for the CRAG area." In 1977, the Oregon Legislature created the Metropolitan Service District (Metro) to provide regional services in Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas counties. The legislature gave Metro statutory responsibility for planning and managing the Portland metropolitan area's UGB, a process begun by CRAG. The legislature also gave Metro several specific land use planning powers, including:

- Coordination of regional and local comprehensive plans and adoption of regional UGBs;
- Review of local comprehensive plans for consistency with statewide and regional planning goals; and
- Planning for activities of metropolitan significance including (but not limited to) transportation, water quality, air quality, and solid waste.

In 1980, the Portland region's UGB was approved by the LCDC as consistent with statewide planning goals.

In 1992, the region's voters approved a new Metro charter, upgrading Metro's land-use planning authority and reorganizing the agency. The charter directed Metro to prepare and adopt a "Future Vision" for the region. The charter specifies that the "Future Vision" must cover a period of at least 50 years, and must address "use, restoration and preservation of regional land and natural resources," "how and where to accommodate the population growth for the region while maintaining a desired quality of life," and "how to develop new communities and additions to the existing urban areas in well-planned ways."

The charter further directs Metro to develop and adopt a "Regional Framework Plan" by the end of 1997 which will describe how the Future Vision is to be adopted. The charter requires that the framework plan address: 1) regional transportation and mass transit systems, 2) management of the UGB, 3) protection of lands outside the UGB, 4) housing densities, 5) urban design and settlement patterns, 6) parks and open spaces, 7) water sources and storage, 8) coordination with Clark County, and 9) planning responsibilities mandated by law. The charter also grants Metro authority to address other growth management and land use planning matters which the Metro council determines to be "of metropolitan concern." And the charter requires Metro to adopt ordinances which will require local comprehensive plans and zoning regulations to comply with the Regional Framework Plan.
5. Public Participation

SB 100 requires each city and county to develop and maintain a "citizen involvement program that insures the opportunity for citizens to be involved in all phases of the planning process." "Citizen involvement" means participation in planning by people who are not professional planners or government officials. It is a process through which citizens may take part in developing and amending local comprehensive plans and land use regulations. A "citizen involvement program" (CIP) is a formally adopted part of the local comprehensive plan. Any changes to the CIP constitute a plan amendment, subject to LCDC review.

6. Interface With Other Public Policy Issues

A variety of other laws, rules and policies at the federal, state and local levels have significant practical impacts on the land-use planning process in Oregon. Some of the most important of these identified by the committee are described briefly below.

Transportation Planning (General). Transportation planning can profoundly effect neighborhood design and the choices people make in the way they travel. Metro and its Joint Policy Advisory Committee for Transportation (JPACT) have been given responsibility for coordinating regional transportation needs and planning.

Transportation Planning Rule. Statewide Planning Goal 12 requires land use plans "to provide and encourage a safe, convenient and economic transportation system." To implement this goal, the LCDC has adopted a Transportation Planning Rule (TPR) with specific guidance that explains how local governments and state agencies responsible for transportation planning are to demonstrate compliance. The TPR includes measures designed to reduce reliance on the automobile and encourage a pattern of travel and land use which controls urban air pollution, traffic, and liveability problems.

The TPR requires preparation of transportation system plans (TSPs) at the state, regional and local levels. Statewide, regional and local TSPs are required to be coordinated with one another, and they must be incorporated into the local comprehensive plans. Implementation of the TSP requires each local government to amend its land use regulations, and protect transportation facilities, transportation corridors, and sites for key transportation facilities. Provision of safe and convenient pedestrian, bicycle and vehicular travel is also required.

Regional and local TSPs are required to achieve the following objectives for reducing per capita vehicle miles travelled:
- No increase within 10 years of adoption of the plan;
- A 10 percent reduction within 20 years of adoption of the plan; and
- A 20 percent reduction within 30 years of adoption of a plan.

The number of parking spaces per capita is also required to be reduced by 10 percent within 20 years.
Farm and Forest Tax Deferral Programs. Undeveloped farm and forest land generally has a higher value in metropolitan areas than the same land would have in rural areas. This results in higher property taxes for farm and forest lands in metropolitan areas. To protect these uses from erosion by market forces, the 1961 Oregon Legislature established special tax assessment laws for farm and forest land which qualify under the program’s specifications. Taxes on the value of the land above its value as farm or forest land are deferred until the property is taken out of farm or forest use. For example, property under the farm tax deferral program in the metropolitan area is typically taxed at approximately 10 percent of its market value. The legislature’s intent was that properties which qualify under the program should be assessed at a value that is exclusive of values attributable to urban influences or speculative purchases.

There are currently approximately 13,000 acres of farm tax-deferred land and an additional 1,000 acres of forest tax-deferred land within the 232,000-acre Portland metropolitan area UGB. The amount of farm land in the program has decreased from nearly 20,000 acres in 1990.

Environmental Cleanup Regulations. Federal and state regulations regarding cleanup of abandoned hazardous waste sites place onerous liabilities on current property owners who may be required to pay for cleanup of soil or groundwater contamination which occurred long before their ownership of the property. In some cases, aversion to this potential liability or the cost of the required cleanups may hamper development of otherwise buildable land. Development of some land counted by planners as buildable land to accommodate growth may be delayed or prevented by these environmental cleanup requirements.

Air Quality Regulations. The federal Clean Air Act establishes maximum allowable concentrations of certain “priority pollutants,” known as the National Ambient Air Quality Standards (NAAQS). Failure to comply with the NAAQS may result in substantial penalties, including limitations on new industrial development and loss of federal highway funding. The Portland metropolitan area is currently classified by the Environmental Protection Agency as a “non-attainment area” (i.e. out of compliance) for the carbon monoxide and ozone standards. Automobile exhaust is the largest source of both pollutants. Consequently, the effort to meet air quality standards is a major factor underlying regional transportation planning and, by extension, many related land use planning activities.

The 1993 legislature directed the Oregon Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) to develop a plan to reduce automobile emissions that contribute to ozone and carbon monoxide non-attainment. The DEQ and the Governor’s Motor Vehicle Task Force on Emission Reduction in the Portland Area developed the Employee Commute Option (ECO) program to work toward reduction in the number of vehicle miles travelled (VMT). Under the program, any employer with...
50 or more employees must provide or arrange for commuting alternatives for its workers. These alternatives may include such options as transit subsidies, ride share programs, bicycle programs, and telecommuting. The goal is to decrease over time the number of employee automobiles driven to work by 10 percent to 20 percent. In addition, DEQ plans to stress other methods to reduce VMT, such as limiting the number of parking spaces.

C. Region 2040 Planning Effort

Metro's response to the 1992 charter requirements is known as the Region 2040 planning effort. Metro planners, with substantial input from local governments and citizens, spent two years reviewing several different conceptual approaches for the "Future Vision" mandated by the charter. In December 1994, the Metro Council adopted its "preferred growth concept" for the year 2040, designed to absorb an additional 720,000 residents in the three-county region by the year 2040, with the majority residing within the existing UGB. The Growth Concept includes designating 14,500 acres for potential future addition to the existing UGB, an increase of approximately 6 percent. The Growth Concept calls for greater density in designated "city centers" and along key transit corridors. In addition to the existing city center in Portland's downtown area, the proposal designated "regional centers" for more dense development, such as downtown Beaverton, the Washington Square area, and downtown Milwaukie. Smaller town centers throughout the region are planned to provide local retail and commercial services for nearby residents, reducing the need for longer-distance auto trips to obtain these services. The Growth Concept includes preservation of 35,000 acres as open space within the UGB, with the goal of having open space within one-half mile of 95 percent of the region's residents.

Metro is currently developing the Regional Framework Plan mandated by the 1992 charter. The Regional Framework Plan will describe specific ways to implement the Region 2040 Growth Concept. The Framework Plan will include model ordinances which local governments may choose to adopt, and will provide performance measurements that local governments can use to measure success in meeting the goals of the growth concept. During development of the Framework Plan, Metro will amend its Regional Urban Growth Goals and Objectives (RUGGOs) and will develop specific regional policies regarding the UGB, housing and design, transportation, natural areas, and water supply resources.

D. Housing Affordability

Washington, Multnomah, Clackamas and Clark counties have all identified a lack of affordable housing for certain income groups. This shortage is not confined to certain geographic areas, but exists throughout the metropolitan area. Metro addressed this problem in an October 31, 1995 draft of the RUGGOs. The draft stated that the Metro
Council will adopt a “fair share” strategy which will provide “specific goals for low and moderate income and market rate housing” for each city or county jurisdiction within the Metro region. The RUGGOs stated that this strategy is intended “to ensure that sufficient and affordable housing is available to households of all income levels that live or have a member working in each jurisdiction.”

The federal government has played a strong, but decreasing, role in providing funding and incentives to encourage the development of housing. All home owners are entitled to deduct their property taxes and mortgage interest payments from their income when calculating federal income taxes. Most other federal housing finance programs have been targeted primarily for low income or elderly housing. These programs have included emergency shelter grants, “Section 8” housing, and housing provided through the Rural Rental Assistance Program. Publicly-assisted housing programs for moderate income families have primarily been developed and administered at the county level through various public/private partnerships. This approach sometimes includes counties purchasing land for housing development, providing or guaranteeing low-interest loan packages for private developers, and issuing tax-exempt housing bonds to finance development.

E. Citizen Values: Communities and Livability

A number of studies have been conducted in Oregon in recent years to establish empirical data about the values deemed most important by the state’s citizens. The committee reviewed published results of the studies described below to identify some of the elements that contribute to the urban forms desired by citizens.

1. Oregon Benchmarks

The Oregon Benchmarks are a compilation of measurable standards developed by state government for use in setting program and budget priorities and to encourage interagency cooperation on broad issues. In 1989, Governor Goldschmidt involved hundreds of citizens in the development of a strategic plan for Oregon prosperity. The state legislature subsequently created the Oregon Progress Board to translate this strategic plan into a set of measurable benchmarks which could be used to identify needed actions and to track progress toward achieving these goals. The legislature adopted the benchmarks proposed by the Progress Board in 1991 and directed the Board to review and update them every two years. Several of the benchmarks adopted in 1993 relate to the issue of managing urban growth and land use. These are summarized in Table 1 (next page).

In 1993, the Progress Board held a series of regional public meetings to solicit comments about Benchmark goals, objectives and outcomes. Responses from civic leaders in the Portland metropolitan area placed school funding and improving of education as the highest priority. They rated adequate growth management planning as their second
### Table 1
Selected Oregon Benchmarks Pertaining To Land Use and Urban Growth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Oregon agricultural lands in 1970 still preserved for agricultural use</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Oregonians who commute (one-way) within 30 minutes between where they live and where they work</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Oregonians that can afford the median-priced Oregon home</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Oregonians who commute to and from work during peak hours by means other than a single occupancy vehicle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual per capita vehicle miles travelled (VMT) in Oregon metropolitan areas</td>
<td>7,764</td>
<td>7,957</td>
<td>8,256</td>
<td>8,778</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses from the general population in the Portland metropolitan area also ranked education highest. Growth management was rated as very important or urgent by 77 percent of the respondents. Safety, low-income support, trust in government, family stability, and personal responsibility also scored high. Other concerns frequently mentioned were jobs, livability, housing and transportation.

#### 2. Oregon Values and Beliefs Survey

In 1993, the Oregon Business Council, in cooperation with the Oregon Progress Board, commissioned a survey to identify the core values of Oregonians as a tool for informed debate on important public policy issues. The study consisted of in-depth, face-to-face interviews with 1,361 Oregonians in all 36 counties. The study ranked the
importance of 10 personal values, 20 personal activities, 24 government services, and 32 community values. The study also asked opinions on a variety of related issues. A summary of some of the key findings related to perceptions about the environment, urban growth, and land use is presented in Table 2 on the following page.

The study also found that the importance of families was reflected throughout the results. Economic factors also had a high ranking. Although the study found some ambivalence toward opposing arguments related to the environment, the results suggested that Oregonians have a clear and pervasive concern about the environment. The study data also showed a high level of concern about the potential negative environmental impacts of continued population growth.

3. Visual Preference Survey

Metro, various cities and counties in the region, and Tri-Met combined resources to fund a 1993 survey of citizen responses to 240 visual images of urban forms. The images focused on three categories of development identified by the survey sponsors as most important for the region: Transit Station Core Areas, Main Streets, and Neighborhoods. The images were shown to approximately 3,000 adults and 1,500 youths at 34 sessions held in 29 different locations around the region. Participants rated each image on a scale ranging from +10 to -10.

The results are not a statistically valid representation of the region's populace, since the participants themselves chose to attend the sessions to take part in the survey. However, the results do represent a relatively large sample. There was unexpected consensus throughout the region, with emphasis upon pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use designs for "main street" and transit station areas. The support for these elements, was not as strong in suburban areas as in the metro center. The existing strip commercial pattern was generally judged negatively. In residential neighborhoods, a street lined with small bungalows was the highest-rated image, with pedestrian-oriented neighborhood centers selected as desirable development forms. Neighborhoods rated as desirable incorporated structures with short street setbacks, modest size, and front porches. Results indicated a preference for designs which de-emphasize the garage.

Streets with fewer lanes, sidewalks separated from the streets, and well-maintained trees and shrubs were given a high rating. Separation between pedestrian and vehicle areas was considered important. People expressed a desire for neighborhoods to look like places for people to live, not automobiles.

Participants favored pedestrian-oriented neighborhood centers that were of appropriate scale and style for the location. They also supported accessible transit connections and institutional services, and preferred inclusion of small parks or open spaces.
Table 2
Selected Findings of Oregon Values and Beliefs Survey Related to The Environment, Urban Growth, and Land Use

| Highest Personal Values | 1. Participation with family  
2. Career or job opportunity  
3. Concern for the environment |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lowest Personal Values | 1. Diversity of people  
2. Supporting the community |
| Highest-Ranked Personal Activities | 1. Spending time with family  
2. Spending time with parents  
3. Learning new skills for advancement |

What do you personally value about living in Oregon? 50% of responses related in some way to the environment

Percentage Who Agree With the Following Statements:
- Maintaining a quality environment would attract people and companies to Oregon. 75%
- Relaxing environmental regulations makes it easier for companies to do business. 16%
- Considerable population growth is likely. 96%
- Considerable population growth is desirable. 20%

Complete the sentence: Most Frequent Responses
- As the population in Oregon grows...
  - ...there are fewer jobs to go around. 12%
  - ...problems get bigger. 8%
  - ...the quality of life declines. 7%
  - ...the environment deteriorates. 6%
  - ...there is more crime. 6%
  - ...the environment needs more protection. 6%

- My biggest fear for Oregon is...
  - ...overpopulation. 12%
  - ...becoming like California. 10%
  - ...environmental destruction. 8%
  - ...economic problems. 7%
  - ...loss of forests. 6%
  - ...uncontrolled growth. 5%
4. Region 2040 Citizen Participation

In 1994, Metro organized a broadly-based citizen opinion feedback effort as part of its Region 2040 planning effort. The project included several regional public meetings plus a widely distributed mail-in questionnaire which posed four questions:

- Should we reduce the average new residential lot size from the current 8,500 square feet down to 7,000 square feet?
- Should we decrease the number of parking spaces allowed for retail and commercial developments?
- Should we increase the amount of residential and retail development along bus lines and light rail stations?
- Should we encourage more growth in city centers and the redevelopment of land for more compact use?

Metro received more than 17,000 responses to the questionnaire. Responses generally supported reduction of lot sizes and parking. Participants supported central city growth and advocated increased transit area development. More than 8,000 of the responses included additional written comments. The establishment of green belts and open spaces was frequently mentioned, as was the need for strengthened employment centers, affordable housing, and personal safety.

Although significant numbers of people felt growth should be slowed (or even stopped), most of the respondents providing comments emphasized the need for an active effective growth management process. They identified concepts to be supported in growth management strategies such as:

- Shopping in regional centers (encouraging variety, aesthetics);
- Use of transit (improving service and increasing cross-town service);
- Use of bicycles (providing better lanes, more interconnections, safety and storage facilities); and
- Walking (establishing better access to commercial and other areas, promoting safety and aesthetics).

F. "New Urbanism"

"New Urbanism" is a term that has been coined in the planning community to describe a growing movement toward more compact patterns of urban development. The movement has developed in response to continuing outward sprawl of suburbs. Often, the suburban expansion comes at the expense of closer-in, older urban neighborhoods, and occurs without the benefit of net economic growth. As reported in Newsweek ("Bye-Bye Suburban Dream," May 15, 1995), the Cleveland metropolitan area expanded in acreage by one-third between 1970 and 1990 while the population declined during the same time. During the same period, Newsweek reported, the number of vehicle miles travelled...
in California more than doubled, while population grew just 40 percent. The apparent reason is that people are forced by suburban development patterns to drive ever greater distances to accomplish the tasks of their daily lives.

The concepts of the New Urbanism movement were first espoused by a group of futurist architects including Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of Miami and Peter Calthorpe of San Francisco. The vision described by these proponents is based on the historic “village” and includes the following key elements:

- Housing and supporting retail and service businesses clustered around a central place, such as a park or plaza, that serves as focus for the civic life of the neighborhood;
- Connecting streets in grid-like patterns to facilitate alternatives to auto travel and to provide alternative driving routes to reduce congestion on arterials;
- Street designs and scales which slow traffic and encourage pedestrian use;
- Increased density, perhaps five-to-six housing units per acre, compared to the one-to-two units common to many suburban areas;
- A diverse mixture of housing types, including detached houses, row houses, apartments, granny flats, and buildings which combine housing on upper floors with businesses on the ground level;
- Compactness—each village or neighborhood extending no more than about one-quarter mile from its central plaza or park;
- Open spaces (parks, plazas, streets, sidewalks) that provide a gathering place for village residents to meet, visit and play; and
- Design review procedures that help encourage development of buildings and spaces that complement one another and create a pleasing overall ambience.

These principles have been put into practice in only a few test cases around the country thus far, and the jury is still out on the market success of these efforts. Duany and Plater-Zyberk first attempted to implement their ideas in Seaside, a planned new resort town in Florida, which has been widely acclaimed. Other new-urbanist developments have been begun by Duany and Plater-Zyberk in Maryland (Kentlands) and by Calthorpe in the Sacramento area (Laguna West). The Walt Disney Company is constructing a 5,000-acre new urbanist-style community called Celebration near Disney World in Florida.

G. Examples of New Urbanist Concepts Proposed for Portland Region

Many of the elements of the new urbanist movement have been proposed for various developments in the Portland area, encouraged by the goals of higher densities and mixed use neighborhoods promoted
under the Region 2040 planning process. The following examples illustrate some of the ways that new urbanist concepts are being implemented in the Portland region. These examples also demonstrate how planning agencies, neighborhood groups, developers, financiers and various other public and private entities have formed partnerships to work cooperatively toward the goal of desirable urban development.

**Sunnyside Village**—This new residential community was developed through a partnership of public and private entities led by the Clackamas County Department of Transportation and Development. In 1991, the county began development of a plan for a new community along SE Sunnyside Road, 2.5 miles east of I-205. The county hired San Francisco architect Peter Calthorpe and worked closely with area property owners for nearly four years to develop consensus on a plan utilizing new urbanism themes. Some property owners voluntarily delayed development of their property until the plan was complete. In August 1994, the county commission approved a significant amendment to the county’s comprehensive plan reflecting a largely new set of zoning regulations for the Sunnyside Village area.

The Sunnyside Village plan calls for a mix of housing types including single-family homes, row houses, apartments, condominiums and cottages on small lots, and housing located above retail space. The area will have narrower streets than is typical in new developments, with garages in most cases placed behind the homes. The stated concept is to bring neighbors closer together and de-emphasize the role of cars. The village is designed so that the town square, schools, parks and stores will be within easy walking distance of the homes. The planned design is also geared to make it safer and more comfortable for people to get around within the neighborhood by foot or bicycle.

**Fairview Village**—An 87-acre mixed-use development near NE 223rd Avenue and Glisan Streets, proposed by Holt & Haugh, Inc., proposes a mixture of detached single-family residences on modest-sized lots (with rear access to garages via alleys), townhouses, apartments, retail and commercial spaces below apartments, parks, and a network of pedestrian paths and streets designed to promote walking, biking and transit use. The first phase will be construction of the more traditional single-family residences. The developers hope to attract restaurants, grocery and hardware stores, a pharmacy, a video store, a bank, a day care center and other businesses to the town center shopping area. The grocery store will be located off the main street with ample parking. Other retail stores will be developed with storefronts facing along sidewalks of the main street. Apartments and offices will be placed above retail spaces on all four corners of the main intersection. The developers also hope to include a post office and civic center near the retail center. The City of Fairview approved a special zoning ordinance under its comprehensive plan that allows the mixed uses planned for the development. One of the Portland architectural consultants working with the developer on the project is a former associate of Duany.
Murray West—The currently undeveloped 124-acre area surrounding the new Murray West light rail station in the Beaverton area is viewed as ideal for a prototype development to demonstrate high density use of the transit corridor along the light rail route. The master plan for the area calls for a grid of pedestrian-friendly streets radiating from the light-rail station. Trammell Crow has purchased property on the south side of the light rail tracks for development of a 500-unit apartment community. On the north side of the tracks, a public square surrounded by a grocery store and other retail businesses is planned adjacent to the light rail station. Apartments would occupy the land closest to the square, with row houses and detached single-family homes built on portions of the site furthest away from the light rail station. The single-family homes are planned at a density of up to 12 units per acre. Other elements of the planned development include a hotel, office buildings and a light manufacturing site.

The site is also an example of the challenges facing such planning efforts. Public funds have been used for development of a master plan for the area, with the majority of the development to be undertaken by private developers. Landowners in the area have worked closely with Tri-Met and other public agencies on the plan. However, in June 1995, one of the landowners who had been a major participant in the process sold his property to Nike, Inc. Nike reportedly wanted to reserve the property, adjacent to its headquarters campus, for future office expansion, rather than have it developed for mixed uses as proposed.

The City of Beaverton has applied a transit-oriented zoning designation to the Murray West area which requires that 35 to 50 percent of the land be used for multi-family housing, 25 to 40 percent for offices, 10 to 20 percent for manufacturing, and 5 to 10 percent for retail. According to Beaverton planners, the zoning code mandates a formula for mixed uses with which Nike or any other developers must comply.

Tanner Basin—Tanner Basin is an area adjacent to the city of West Linn and located within the UGB. It was originally zoned by Clackamas County for low density development. However, the City of West Linn took over planning for the area and determined that low density development was not appropriate. Residents of the Tanner Basin were initially resistant to higher density development. West Linn set up a Tanner Basin task force consisting of residents from both within and outside the Tanner Basin. The residents were told that because of market forces and its location within the UGB, development of the area would occur soon whether or not they wanted it. The task force worked with the city to inform the residents about the types of development that might occur, and the role they could play in designing the development. A series of neighborhood meetings was held, door-to-door contacts were made, and the task force hosted walk-throughs of the neighborhood. Mailers and newsletters were sent to residents. Within a year, the residents became enthusiastic supporters of density at the level of
12 houses per acre, as well as supporting limited commercial development mixed into the residential neighborhood. A comprehensive plan for the area was adopted by the city as a result of the participation and support of residents both within and outside of Tanner Basin.

NE 122nd Avenue & Glisan Street—This planned development will feature 90 or more low-income apartment units for the elderly above a group of small retail shops flanked by a Target store on one end and a Safeway store on the other end of the development. Neighborhood residents and city officials protested the typical strip retail development originally proposed for the site, just blocks from the light rail line. The developers then created the higher-density, mixed use plan and convinced Safeway and Target to modify their standard criteria for new stores to accommodate the housing and transit-related elements of the project.

Hillsboro Area—A developer and land owner has announced plans to construct a mixture of uses on 190 acres adjacent to new manufacturing plants being built by Intel and Toshiba, and near a light rail station south of NW 231st and Cornell Road. The proposal calls for a 550,000-square-foot shopping and hotel complex, housing for 3,200 residents in a “pedestrian-friendly village” (with 400 single-family homes and 360 apartment units), and a 100,000-square-foot business park. Nearby, an 885-unit residential subdivision is proposed on 110 acres just east of the new Intel plant. The subdivision will feature a diverse mixture of housing styles and sizes surrounding a two-acre “commons.” As reported in the Daily Journal of Commerce (October 25, 1995), Paul Morris, an architect helping to design the new development, stated that the fastest growing segments of the residential market are empty nesters, working couples with no children, and single adult or single-parent households. To serve these markets, Morris said, the development will seek a middle ground between the urban projects of greater density and the standard suburban subdivision. The new subdivision will have an overall density of nearly 10 units per acre rather than the more typical four to six units per acre. Single-family home sites will range from 5,000 to 14,000 square feet to attract residents with varying incomes. The development will also feature “Charleston row houses,” which originated in post-Civil War South Carolina and differ from standard row houses in that they share no common walls. The Charleston row houses proposed in Hillsboro will be two-story, three-bedroom structures, each 18 feet wide and separated by 20 feet of space between structures. Two-car garages will be in back of the homes with access from alleys. The development will also include “courtyard cluster” homes, detached single-family residences clustered in groups of two to seven units around a central courtyard. These types of housing address “some of the dilemmas between what people want and what they can afford,” Morris is quoted as saying. He stated that the cluster courtyard homes provide quality housing at a lower cost because the expense of infrastructure and amenities can be spread over more units.
The City of Hillsboro planning department amended some of its zoning criteria to accommodate the proposed new housing styles.

**Steele Park**—A new residential development is planned near the Elmonica light rail station west of Beaverton. The development will have 74 detached single-family dwellings on lots ranging from 2,100 to 2,600 square feet. Garages will be recessed to put visual emphasis on the front porches. The development will also include a 1.4-acre open space with wetlands and woods. The developer worked with Washington County planners to allow construction under interim county ordinances designed to encourage higher-density, mixed use development around light rail stations.

**New Gresham City Center**—An 85-acre site once planned for a regional shopping mall is now proposed to form a new Gresham downtown retail core adjacent to the existing light rail line. The major property owner in the area, Winmar Co., has worked with the City of Gresham on plans, and hopes to break ground in 1996 on a retail shopping complex along a new tree-lined street envisioned as the spine of a new gridded street system. Over the next decade, the public-private partnership envisions one million square feet of shops, office space, apartments and condominiums. The city has agreed to construct the new street and may offer property tax abatements or system development fee credits to encourage development in the area. In return, the city is requiring gridded streets with ample sidewalks. A new light rail station and public plaza are also planned.
III. DISCUSSION

A. Overview

The committee quickly discovered that the issues raised by the study charge were overwhelmingly large, complex, and interrelated with many other areas of public policy. The committee decided to focus its inquiry in order to produce a manageable report which presents meaningful conclusions and recommendations. To understand the following discussion of the issues, it is important first to summarize some of the assumptions which the committee used as a basis to move forward.

1. The State Land Use Planning System

The information gathered by the committee indicated broad acceptance of the state land use planning system put into effect under SB 100. Many witnesses interviewed by the committee identified some specific concerns with the current system and with the types of development patterns which have predominantly occurred in the Portland region over the past three decades. But witnesses generally agreed that, overall, the region is much better off under the system than it would have been without it. Therefore, the committee did not direct itself toward a comprehensive re-evaluation of the major components of Oregon's land use laws.

The committee also heard that despite the system's overall success, its effectiveness in managing growth has not yet been fully tested. Rapid population growth in the 1970s prompted the legislature to enact SB 100, but the growth was cut short by a deep and prolonged economic recession from 1979 through the mid 1980s. Rapid population growth began anew in the late 1980s and only now is reaching the critical stages where growth pressures may severely test the policies and procedures currently in place.

2. Population Growth Projections

Witnesses universally told the committee that significant population growth is projected for the region, and that intensive planning efforts are needed to determine how best to accommodate the additional residents. The committee recognizes that such projections are just that—projections; and that population forecasts are being continuously revised to reflect changing local and national economic, demographic and cultural circumstances. There is no guarantee that the current trend of prosperity and growth will not be interrupted by economic downturns or other factors. However, it is generally accepted that the long-term trend will be toward increased population in the region. The committee, therefore, did not attempt to evaluate what rate of growth is probable, nor what rate is desirable. Rather, the committee proceeded on the assumptions that significant growth will occur, and that the committee's primary charge was to address how to plan for and manage that growth without sacrificing the amenities cherished by the region's residents.
3. Expansion of the Urban Growth Boundary

Portland was a leader among the nation's cities in establishing a UGB. Portland's UGB is widely recognized to have limited the type of urban sprawl common to many cities throughout the country. A major initial focus of Metro's Region 2040 planning effort has been to determine whether expansion of the UGB is necessary to accommodate the projected additional residents, and if so where and by how much the UGB should be expanded. There has been considerable public dialogue about these issues over recent months, including public hearings, statements by elected officials, newly enacted state legislation, and many newspaper articles. The recommended alternative selected by the Metro Council in 1994 is based on the conclusion that most of the population increase will be absorbed within the existing UGB area, with only a minor expansion of the boundary. The UGB plays such a central role in the land use planning philosophy of the region, that it is impossible to address urban growth planning policies without considering the role of the UGB. For this study, the committee has taken as a given that the UGB will not be abolished and that it will not be significantly expanded. The committee, therefore, focussed its inquiry on how planning for urban growth within the UGB is performed, and on how the form of our neighborhoods and local communities might be altered to accommodate the additional population.

4. What Is A Desirable Form of Development?

The committee found that different neighborhoods and local communities have different needs and desires. Variations in geographic location, demographics, history, income level and other factors result in very different perceived needs. In addition, the approach to planning and development will vary as a result of different existing land uses. New development of previously vacant land is relatively unconstrained by existing building patterns or the expectations of current residents. However, these lands tend to be on the periphery of the urbanized area, and development of these lands often requires the construction of additional infrastructure (such as roads and sewers) and provision of urban services (such as police, fire protection, schools, water supplies) over a larger area.

More efficient provision of urban services may be achieved through in-fill development of remaining vacant areas in established neighborhoods. These areas generally range in size from one lot to several lots. The challenge is to design infill developments which complement and enhance the existing neighborhood. Yet another set of concerns applies to redevelopment of areas which may require large-scale demolition of existing buildings or major changes in the use or character of an existing area.

Urban planning theorists from the "new urbanist" school have defined general characteristics of what they believe to be a successful
urban form. These include neighborhoods with a variety of housing types and designs, neighborhoods containing a mixture of residential, retail and commercial uses, a density which is higher than the typical suburban subdivision, and less reliance upon automobiles as the sole mode of travel. Some of the regional goals put forth under the Region 2040 planning program are based broadly upon similar concepts. However, the committee found little common understanding as to how these concepts apply to the actual neighborhoods of the Portland area. This uncertainty, plus the variations inherent in neighborhoods of different types and locations, makes it difficult to define any specific urban form that represents a desirable prototype.

Given an inability to comprehensively define the forms of urban development and redevelopment which are right for the region, the committee identified certain neighborhood characteristics that are needed and desirable. These characteristics will need to be encouraged if the region is to accommodate significant population increases within the existing UGB area, without sacrificing the amenities cherished by the region’s citizens. For the sake of discussion within this report, the committee has elected to use the term “desirable development” to reference the type of urban form which is partially defined by these characteristics. This phrase does not represent a single definition of what is desirable. No such definition is possible. Thus, the term “desirable development” is used merely as an imprecise shorthand for the range of concepts the committee identified as important to successful planning for urban growth.

5. What Is A Neighborhood?

The committee focused much of its study on the urban form of the neighborhood and on the role of neighborhood citizens in the planning process for the area around their homes. Yet, the committee found no common understanding of what defines a neighborhood. Various studies and data collecting efforts, and residents themselves, offer differing perspectives on neighborhoods. Some view their neighborhood as comprising the few blocks of homes immediately surrounding where they live. Others define their neighborhood as a larger area in which they live, shop, obtain services and recreate. Some neighborhoods define themselves based on school attendance boundaries. Neighborhood data are sometimes collected according to zip codes, voting precincts, census tracts, or radius distances. Some people identify their neighborhood more in the form of a social organization than a geographic area.

Some areas, especially within the City of Portland, have established neighborhoods with fairly defined boundaries, represented by organized neighborhood associations. These well-defined neighborhood structures do not exist uniformly across the region, however. Although the committee was unable to identify a single workable definition for a neighborhood, the committee concluded that the local area where one lives is an important focal point for evaluating the elements of urban
form which people value, and for planning efforts to protect and enhance those values. The specific size of this focal area may vary, depending upon the characteristics of the particular geographic location. It may also vary for different applications; one planning issue may best be addressed within an area no larger than a few blocks square, while other subjects may be best addressed over an area up to five miles wide. It is clear, however, that the appropriate localized planning unit needs to be of a smaller scale than most existing cities and counties in the region. For ease of discussion, the committee has elected to refer to this unit as a “neighborhood or local community.” This is an intentionally vague shorthand reference for this concept of the most local planning unit in the area of one’s residence.

B. Citizen Values and Preferences

A large portion of the committee’s efforts were devoted to an attempt to answer the first question stated in the study charge: What form of neighborhoods and local communities do residents want?

The committee heard that the metropolitan area and the state of Oregon have devoted more effort than any other place in the country toward determining the values and desires of citizens in regard to growth and planning issues. The results of the Oregon Benchmarks project, the Oregon Values and Beliefs Survey, the Visual Preference Survey, and the citizen participation activities associated with Region 2040, provide valuable insights to some key citizen attitudes and values. Nevertheless, your committee found the available data limited in its applicability to answering the question posed by the study charge.

Although these studies and the resulting data are among the most sophisticated in this country, it is unclear to what extent the results truly represent the attitudes of the population as a whole. The two most relevant sets of data, from the Visual Preference Survey and the Region 2040 citizen participation activities, were based on responses from citizens who chose to take part, with no random or scientific survey methods applied. It can be argued that those who chose to participate in these projects were citizens who were already inclined to support the direction of regional growth planning efforts, or at least were those who were more aware of the issues and consequences of growth than the population in general. The Oregon Values and Beliefs Survey and the Oregon Benchmarks project applied more traditional random survey methods, but addressed broader values which were not as directly related to urban growth planning decisions.

Thus, the committee found it necessary to supplement the limited available empirical data with a great deal of anecdotal information provided by witnesses and reported in various articles and documents. Because of the limitations of the data, the committee found it difficult to directly answer the question. However, a number of recurring general themes were evident in the studies reviewed and the information
obtained from witnesses. From these common elements, the committee developed a list of broad values which appear to represent the most frequently expressed citizen desires (see Conclusions section). While not an ideal or comprehensive method of analysis, this set of values at least provided a point of reference from which to address the complex issues raised by the study charge.

One key factor mentioned by virtually every witness before the committee was that the population as a whole is "conflicted" in its view of planning for compact urban growth. Available evidence indicates that a majority of citizens express support for such concepts as limiting UGB expansion, decreasing residential lot sizes, reducing retail and commercial parking ratios, increasing mass transit, and developing dense corridors along transit lines. Yet their true attitudes may be indicated more by their purchasing and locating decisions: far-flung suburban neighborhoods continue to grow, neighborhoods often resist increases in residential density, transit ridership is increasing at a slower rate than the rate of population growth, and the number of vehicle miles travelled has increased dramatically, as has the resulting congestion. Many witnesses told the committee that a majority of citizens conceptually supports efforts to limit urban sprawl, but fails to comprehend the actual impact that these policies may have on the region, their neighborhoods and their lives. There are indications that the level of public awareness and understanding is increasing because of growth pressures and the extensive publicity surrounding the Region 2040 planning effort. However, the committee heard repeatedly that continued public education and increased citizen involvement in planning is critical to the successful management of the expected growth.

1. Neighborhood Values vs. Regional Values

The committee heard comments from many witnesses regarding region-wide goals that are part of current land use planning policies and efforts. However, we heard that neighborhood residents—even those who are relatively well informed on planning issues in their neighborhood—do not always appreciate the interrelationship of decisions at the neighborhood level with impacts on a regional scale. In some cases, generally accepted regional goals directly conflict with values at the neighborhood level. For example, added requirements for enhanced design and design review processes may improve the ambience of more densely-developed neighborhoods but may also increase housing costs, conflicting with regional goals to develop more affordable housing. Part of the development of the land-use planning process must include a mechanism to facilitate decisions regarding the tradeoffs that inevitably must be made in such cases.

2. Impact of Social Factors On Citizen Locating Decisions

The committee learned that many factors impact residents' perceptions about desirable places to live. In addition to such factors as
the size and cost of homes, "safety" and "quality education" are often given as important factors which citizens use to determine a desirable neighborhood in which to live. The committee heard that "safety" may often have more to do with perception than reality. Crime rates in many popular suburban areas are comparable to many older inner city neighborhoods. A number of witnesses told the committee that people often actually equate "safety" with a neighborhood which is racially and economically homogenous and that people often fear ethnic or economic diversity as indications of "unsafe" areas. Though this phobia is seldom directly stated, the committee heard that it is real and may be a major, under-valued factor in how suburban developments currently grow. Similarly, the perception of "quality education" may have roots in economic status. People generally perceive that more affluent suburbs have better schools (perhaps a self-fulfilling perception).

In-depth analysis of these issues was beyond the scope of the committee’s charge, but we believe these factors may play an important role in people’s decisions about where to locate. These deep-seated social attitudes may complicate efforts to develop mixed use neighborhoods and more dense residential areas with a mixture of housing sizes and types.

C. Increases in Population Density

The expected regional population growth combined with the general support for little or no expansion of the UGB means population densities within the UGB will rise. Put simply, the region has made a decision to grow up, not out. The committee heard from many in the planning community that one of the most important challenges for the region is to determine how to increase density without adversely impacting the amenities that make the region a desirable place to live. Indeed, this is one of the basic elements of the committee’s study charge.

The committee also heard from many witnesses that the important concept of increasing density is frequently misunderstood by citizens of the region. Increased density is often equated in people’s minds with images of tightly-packed, high-rise apartments, Manhattan-style, a highly negative perception for many residents of the Portland region. In reality, the recommended alternative developed by Metro’s 2040 planning effort is much less draconian, and is based on a mixture of density scenarios. Metro’s Growth Concept is based on an assumption of 1.1 million additional residents in the four-county area (including Clark County) by the year 2040, with about two-thirds (720,000) of them located within the Portland UGB. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the various scenarios proposed under the Growth Concept to accommodate this expected population increase. The density figures used (in people per acre) are an average combining both employees and residents, since the more densely populated areas are projected to be a mixture of residential and commercial uses.
Table 3
Proposed Population Densities
Under Metro 2040 Recommended Alternative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>1990 Density (people/acre)</th>
<th>2040 Density (people/acre)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Portland</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Centers</td>
<td>Downtown Beaverton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Gresham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Washington Square</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clackamas Town Center</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Milwaukie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Hillsboro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Centers</td>
<td>Downtown Lake Oswego</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Oregon City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transit Corridors</td>
<td>MAX routes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McLoughlin Boulevard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Streets</td>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawthorne Boulevard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner Neighborhoods</td>
<td>Older residential areas in Portland, Beaverton,</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Milwaukie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Neighborhoods</td>
<td>Newer residential areas in Sherwood and</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oregon City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Metro Region 2040 Update, Fall 1994.

As the tables indicate, densities are proposed to increase throughout the region. According to Metro, the density of the regional centers would be similar to those of the present-day downtown areas of Salem or Corvallis, while the projected densities for town centers would be similar to present-day Hawthorne Blvd. or downtown Hillsboro. Transit corridor densities are typical of row houses, duplexes or low-rise office buildings. In neighborhoods, the proposed increase in density is relatively modest, typically resulting in only one or two additional housing units per acre. Densities in neighborhoods would primarily be achieved through somewhat smaller lot sizes, averaging 5,700 square feet in inner neighborhoods and 7,500 square feet in outer neighborhoods. The committee heard that the types of densities proposed by Metro would achieve compact and more efficient use of land within the UGB, but hardly result in the Manhattanization of Portland.
At the same time, the committee heard that citizens of the region generally fail to appreciate the actual impacts these increased densities will have on their everyday lives. While citizens often express support for reduced lot sizes and increased mass transit use, they intend those prescriptions for others and resist such changes in their own situation, the committee was told repeatedly. Increased traffic congestion and a greater mixture of commercial and retail uses proximate to residential areas are two other aspects of the proposed plan that will affect most citizens in some way.

The greatest increases in density are proposed for regional centers, town centers, and transit corridors. However, the committee heard testimony that another valuable element in the plan to increase regional density should be the development of a variety of housing types and mixed use projects throughout the region. The committee heard that, for decades, the dominant approach to residential development has been the strict separation of detached single-family homes from apartments, row houses, and other housing styles. This model has sometimes had adverse effects on the overall vitality of neighborhoods and local communities. Witnesses told the committee that a mixture of different styles and prices of housing dispersed in neighborhoods throughout the region has positive impacts on overall property values and makes attractive neighborhoods available to a larger portion of the population. For example, a mixture of housing types and prices provides more options for residents to relocate within their own neighborhood as their lifestyles change. A couple may be able to move to a smaller residence within the same neighborhood after their children have grown and left the home. Suitable housing might be available within close proximity for...
elderly parents. Currently, these major changes in housing needs often require residents to relocate to a completely different part of the region. Inclusion of commercial and retail services close to residences also improves overall neighborhood appeal and helps to address traffic congestion issues.

A recent newspaper column by Neal R. Pierce ("Cities Need 24-Hour Day to be Healthy," The Oregonian, October 26, 1995) cites a respected real estate advisory firm’s recommendation of real estate investments in well-planned 24-hour cities, those that are convenient but also vital. “That means quality, close-by neighborhoods that offer varieties of housing, for executive to rank-and-file income levels.”

D. Transportation Planning

Transportation planning has dominated regional land use planning efforts in recent decades. Several witnesses told the committee that because the amounts of available funding for transportation projects have been massive in comparison to funding for other types of planning, transportation planning has usually driven the land-use planning process. Further, the majority of this funding has been directed at automobile travel. The committee heard repeatedly that land use planning during the past few decades has concentrated on how best to accommodate the automobile and that traffic engineering issues have had too large a role in planning and design decisions. However, the committee also heard that there has been a change in this philosophy in recent years and that attempts are now underway to implement planning efforts for transportation and land use which coordinate with and support one another. State land use planning policies support the concept of a multi-modal transportation system. LCDC Statewide Planning Goal 12 requires that local comprehensive plans address transportation as a key element, that the plans address the social consequences of utilizing different combinations of transportation modes, and that the plans avoid principal reliance upon any one mode of transportation. The Transportation Planning Rule (TPR), developed by DLCD in response to Goal 12, includes specific requirements to reduce the per capita number of vehicle miles travelled. But programs to implement these concepts are mostly still in their infancy.

Many witnesses expressed a strong conviction that the impacts of sprawl can best be minimized by improving the availability of non-auto transportation alternatives. Some witnesses, however, expressed an equally strong belief that auto dependency runs deep in our culture and that planning strategies based primarily upon major reductions in auto use will be resisted.

The number of vehicle trips has been increasing at a much faster rate than the increase in population. The committee heard that major transportation and land use planning efforts in the past few decades have focussed on peak-hour commuting, while much of the growth has
occurred in non-work related trips. The land development pattern that has arisen from the post-World War II approach to land use and transportation planning is one that virtually requires use of autos in most areas for trips related to shopping, services, schools, recreation, etc. This results in multiple short trips at various times of the day and has resulted in significant traffic congestion in many places during periods other than traditional commute times.

A reasonable approach to addressing the link between transportation and land use planning began to emerge from the suggestions of several witnesses. The committee heard that transportation planning must be a major factor in successful planning for urban growth, because increased congestion is one of the worst outcomes of poor land use planning. In addition, land use development patterns, particularly the location of employment centers in relation to housing for workers, have a major impact on transportation needs.

One factor that has impeded an effective relationship between transportation and land use planning has been the difficulty in achieving coordination among various government entities. It is sometimes difficult to coordinate efforts of local jurisdictions, for example county road planners with city planning agencies, or between neighboring jurisdictions. The committee heard that policies applying to state highways may conflict with local transportation plans when state highway routes pass through local cities. The committee heard that there is a need to improve communication and coordination of transportation planning activities among agencies at various levels of government and in various jurisdictions.

Based on the statements of witnesses, it is apparent to the committee that transportation and land use planning strategies must be developed and implemented as an integrated, coordinated whole. In addition to coordination among government agencies at the regional level, there is a need to better relate transportation planning to neighborhood or local community planning. The makeup of the neighborhood transportation system can be an important tool for shaping neighborhood designs that encourage more efficient land use.

The committee heard that a successful approach to coordinated transportation and land use planning must incorporate a variety of strategies, including:

- Various forms of mass transit, such as bus and rail, to capture a portion of rush hour commute trips and limit the incremental growth of congestion in major transportation corridors;
- Improvements in the convenience and attractiveness of mass transit, including improved cross-town service;
- Encouraging higher density development along major transit corridors to increase the effectiveness of the transit options;
• Incorporating sidewalks and bicycle paths into development plans to make it easy for citizens to walk or bike in lieu of using their auto for short trips in their neighborhood;
• Provision of shopping and services within walking distance of residential areas to decrease the need for auto trips; and
• Improvement of existing shopping and service areas to make them more accessible, attractive and safe for non-auto travelers.

The committee also heard that transportation related to commerce has changed in recent years and that increasing traffic congestion may seriously impair business activity. For example, there has been a major increase in the use of small package delivery services for everything from catalog shopping by residents to overnight delivery of products, parts or business documents. Traffic congestion, particularly in mid-day periods, seriously affects the efficiency and cost of these activities.

The committee questioned several witnesses regarding the potential role of telecommuting, electronic access to shopping and services, and other technology-related techniques to reduce the number of required vehicle trips. The individuals interviewed by the committee generally supported such concepts but did not offer any strategies to incorporate them into the planning process.

Most witnesses told the committee that the alternatives being proposed to augment the current transportation system are not expected to replace the auto as the primary mode of transportation for the majority of citizens. However, the committee also heard that it is not possible, in the long term, to build our way out of congestion through more highway construction. Rather, we must employ a menu of transportation modes and relate them to the locations of housing and jobs. By taking steps to make a variety of transportation options viable and to reduce the number of automobile trips required, the growth in vehicle miles travelled can at least be slowed, and neighborhoods can be designed to use land more efficiently.

E. Additional Land-Use Planning Issues

1. Relationship to Clark County

The committee's study charge asked the committee to consider the impact of Clark County's land use and growth management system on the effectiveness of the system in the Oregon three-county region. However, the committee found that an understanding of this relationship was beyond the resources of this study. In 1994, the City Club adopted a report on Bi-State Regional Planning which emphasized the unity of the urban area north of the Columbia River with the Portland metropolitan area south of the river. A serious concern raised in the report was the need to coordinate planning north of the river with the planning being done by Metro. There is no doubt that meeting the needs of growth into
the next century will require coordination of planning efforts on both sides of the Columbia River.

2. Improved Inter-Agency Cooperation

The committee heard numerous complaints that the effectiveness of planning efforts was often hindered by a lack of coordination among agencies at different levels of government or even among different departments or bureaus within a single jurisdiction. Examples offered by witnesses included:

- Local or neighborhood traffic management programs frustrated by state Department of Transportation policies for state highway routes that pass through the local area;
- Local zoning decisions which run counter to regional goals being established by Metro;
- Land use or other applications delayed or complicated by lack of communication, or by conflicting policies among various bureaus within the City of Portland;
- Failure to include key urban service providers, particularly school districts, in planning efforts and major land use decisions; and
- Inconsistent policies, procedures, priorities and nomenclature among jurisdictions.

Although the committee heard many expressions of concern on this topic, witnesses also reported that many efforts are underway to address these problems. These included a joint planning program between the state Department of Transportation and the Department of Land Conservation and Development, an effort by the City of Portland to simplify and improve coordination among city bureaus, and efforts by Metro to improve communication and build consensus among local jurisdictions. It appears to the committee that this issue is being increasingly recognized, and attempts are being made to address it. However, the committee also heard that further improvement is needed and that even more attention must be given to encouraging cooperation, coordination and communication among the various government entities in the region. Especially critical is the need to include school districts and other independent entities (e.g. water districts, park districts) in regional planning efforts. Effective planning on a regional basis cannot occur without a coordinated and cooperative effort by all planners and urban service providers.

3. Zoning Codes

Local zoning codes are the key tools in implementing the planning concepts developed through statewide land use goals, local comprehensive plans, and Metro's Region 2040 planning process. Local zoning regulations have an important impact on development patterns, and affect both the density and design aspects of neighborhoods.
The committee heard opposing testimony on the effectiveness of current zoning regulations. Many witnesses, particularly those associated with the housing industry, complained that zoning regulations are too prescriptive and complicated, and that current zoning requirements hinder creative attempts to build desirable developments that support regional planning goals. Such concerns were not limited to builders. Some planners suggested that zoning classifications should be reduced in number and zoning rules simplified to foster more flexibility in development designs. The committee heard that zoning codes often lag years behind comprehensive plans and other broad-based policies, resulting in inconsistent signals being given to developers.

However, the committee also heard that state land use laws require that proposed comprehensive plan changes be accompanied by implementing zoning rules at the time of adoption, indicating that there should be no conflicts between the plans and the zoning codes. Some witnesses also said that the current detailed zoning codes provide clear standards against which development proposals can be compared. It was stated that broader, more flexible zoning rules might leave too much opportunity for subjective judgements in land use decisions, making it harder for citizens and neighborhood groups to fight proposals deemed to have adverse effects on the neighborhood.

Because of the number and complexity of the zoning codes, the committee was unable to perform any meaningful analysis of these apparently contrary views. But it appears to the committee that current zoning codes and the ways in which they are implemented should be reviewed carefully to assess whether they are truly supportive of the overall goals established for the region. Consideration should be given to modifying zoning codes as appropriate to encourage creative development efforts.

4. Farm and Forest Tax Deferral Programs

More than 13,000 acres of land within the UGB are currently under the farm tax deferral program. This tax status serves as a strong disincentive to development of the land for urban uses. Some have contended that this program is artificially limiting the supply, and thus raising the cost, of developable land within the UGB, or that the unavailability of the tax-deferred property may force an expansion of the UGB into outlying areas. However, information provided to the committee by Metro indicates that over half of the tax deferred property in the UGB currently lacks access to urban services and is therefore not yet ready for development at urban densities. Once services and demand reach a level to adequately support urban-scale development, continuation of the tax deferral status may create growth management problems, such as the loss of needed tax revenue and the displacement of development to the margins of the UGB, requiring additional extension of urban services. As demand dictates, it is expected that almost all of the tax-deferred property will be eventually converted to urban uses.
Tax deferrals for farm and forest land affect both the timing of development and the intensity of development. Since tax deferred status encourages the property owner to withhold property from development while demand (and value) increases, the program may in the long run promote higher density development.

F. Market Forces

Witnesses told the committee that urban growth planning must consider the role of market forces in determining the locations, types and forms of development which can be successfully built. At the simplest level, the basic laws of supply and demand impact what developers will build and what consumers will buy. Generally, developers will build whatever types of housing, retail and office projects can be successfully and profitably marketed. Much of the housing constructed in recent decades has been in suburban-style, single-family residential developments because there has been a strong demand for this form of housing. Changing demographics may increase the demand for smaller residences; the committee was told. However, most of the information obtained by the committee regarding the Portland-area real estate development market was anecdotal in nature. The committee was unable to identify any comprehensive data regarding the historic or projected future demand for various housing types.

The committee heard that a wide range of dynamic forces shapes the market for developers, including such factors as traffic congestion, cultural and economic biases, and the relative location of jobs. Two important market factors were particularly cited by witnesses appearing before the committee as influencing attempts to encourage more desirable urban growth patterns. First is the ability to obtain development financing from typically conservative lending institutions (see further discussion in the following section). Second is the predominance of small-volume builders in the Portland-area market. The committee heard that the majority of residential developers active in the area construct ten or fewer homes per year. Because of their small volume, such builders work on comparatively small profit margins and depend upon quick sale of completed homes to fund the next round of development. Consequently, such builders tend to be averse to construction of new housing types which are not proven sellers in the local residential market. This results in a conservative market in the Portland area, the committee heard, where builders tend to merely construct more of what has been successfully built and sold before. Some witnesses before the committee expressed skepticism about the more compact, higher density communities proposed by local planners, because of a lack of evidence that the new housing types being proposed would be accepted and purchased by area home buyers.

The public sector has historically played a role in shaping and guiding market forces in the real estate development market. Zoning, transportation policies, tax policies and the UGB all have played a role in
shaping the local market. From the earliest applications in the 1920s, zoning and planning efforts have guided where and how new real estate development occurs. Broad-based planning efforts and targeted public investments can spur private development in specific areas. For example, Portland’s Downtown Plan in the 1970s and the related public construction of Waterfront Park and the Transit Mall provided incentives for substantial private investment in the downtown area. Public sector involvement can also take the form of purchases of land to be used for particular types of development, or public-private partnerships to encourage certain desirable development forms. Local governments in the Minneapolis-St. Paul region participate in a unique regional tax-base sharing program that shifts resources from tax-base-rich communities to tax-base-poor communities. This reduces competition between jurisdictions for development and promotes a regional and more cooperative and effective approach to growth management. Public policies can also change the general direction of consumer behavior. For example, broad-based education programs and government policies have resulted in a dramatic increase in recycling, even though the direct economic benefits to consumers are not substantial.

G. Financing Issues

The committee heard repeatedly that the ability to obtain financing was a primary factor for real estate developers in determining what to build, when to build, and where to build. Although a myriad of funding sources exists in both the public and private sectors, the majority of local residential construction is financed initially through banks. Especially in light of the 1980s real estate crisis, these banks tend to be conservative in their approach to providing real estate financing, witnesses stated. They are generally risk-averse institutions. Consequently, their lending policies are more likely to support funding for development of housing types that have been successfully marketed in the past and are less likely to provide financing for development schemes judged to be experimental or untried. This conservative lending approach reinforces the market tendencies to construct more single-family detached homes on relatively large suburban lots.

Witnesses told the committee that the financing picture is also affected by the market for secondary financing. Short-term financing provided by the banks for construction is often replaced by long-term financing provided through pension funds, insurance companies, real estate investment trusts and other large institutional lenders. Even in cases where a local bank may recognize local market trends and finance construction of an innovative development, the builder may find it difficult to subsequently obtain long-term financing from the secondary market which may be even more conservative than the banks.

Government can encourage desirable development by providing selected financing assistance in the form of grants, loans, loan guarantees, bonds, or other means. The committee heard of examples
where government involvement in financing had in one way or another assisted development projects. These included providing financing assistance for pilot projects to demonstrate new types of housing or mixed use developments, funding assistance for low income housing, and providing public infrastructure improvements as an incentive to encourage particular types of development in specific areas. In the past, "tax increment financing" has often been used as a tool to provide funding for these efforts. Under this method, incremental additional property taxes from increased values resulting from private investments in designated areas were used to pay off the cost of the public involvement in the project. However, this taxing method was ruled by the courts to be invalid under the 1990 Measure 5 property tax limitation. This has reduced the resources available to governments to provide financing assistance.

H. Housing Affordability Issues

The term "affordable housing" is often used interchangeably to discuss: a) general housing costs (affordable housing is typically defined as housing which costs no more than 30 percent of the gross household monthly income; b) housing targeted to the lower end of the home sales market; and c) subsidized housing specifically for low-income residents. Each of these definitions has unique relationships to land-use planning issues.

The committee heard that the issue of housing affordability is an important element of land use planning, yet there seems to be little consensus about the impact of the land use planning process on the cost of housing. Overall, housing prices in the Portland area have increased dramatically in recent years. According to a July 31, 1995 article in The Oregonian ("Portland Becomes Pricy"), the median price of a home in the Portland area has increased nearly 50 percent—from $80,000 to $120,000—between 1991 and 1995. This has erased the historic advantage of lower housing costs which the region has had over other cities.

The National Association of Homebuilders publishes a quarterly survey of housing affordability, based on the relationship between housing costs and income in each city surveyed. The index listed Portland as the 55th most affordable city in the country for housing in 1991. By 1993, Portland had dropped to 116th. By the third quarter of 1995, Portland was near the bottom of the list, 183rd among the 191 cities surveyed.

Some witnesses, especially those associated with the home building industry, told the committee that the UGB and other land use planning policies are causing a shortage of available land for development, thus driving up the cost of the remaining land. While there is some inherent logic to this argument, the committee heard from other witnesses that the growing demand for housing is the major driving force behind the housing cost increases. This demand is fueled by the region’s strong
The committee was told that the UGB and related land use planning activities do not appear to be the primary cause of increases in the region’s housing prices. The committee heard that limiting sprawl may have the long-term effect of holding down housing costs, to some extent, based on the more efficient use of existing infrastructure and the addition of more housing units on the existing supply of land. Further, the committee heard that, even if the UGB is assumed to be a contributing factor to housing cost increases, expansion of the UGB would at best bring only a temporary slowing of the housing cost increases. If demand remained strong, the demand would eventually catch up to the increased land supply. In the meantime, the expansion of the UGB may have worsened many of the other problems associated with sprawl, such as traffic congestion, longer commuting times, and infrastructure costs. Ultimately, this approach would result in higher overall housing costs than if the equivalent housing had been provided in a more compact urban form.

LCDC Statewide Planning Goal 10 states that land use plans “shall encourage the availability of adequate numbers of needed housing units at price ranges and rent levels which are commensurate with the financial capabilities of Oregon households and allow for flexibility of housing location, type and density.” The committee heard a great deal of testimony that housing affordability issues are very important, and deserve more emphasis. As rising costs place more limitations on people’s housing options, it will be increasingly difficult and costly to maintain the region’s quality of life while at the same time accommodating more residents. For example:

- High housing costs reduce the region’s ability to maintain economic vitality, and the region’s attractiveness to new industry and its key employees.
- An imbalance between the rate of increase in housing costs and the rate of increase in wages means that more people may be forced to live in homes that do not meet their expectations. This may be perceived as a decline in the quality of life.
- The limited availability of housing which is affordable for low-income residents may contribute to an increase in the homeless population.
- In order to hold down costs of housing, construction quality or aesthetic considerations may be compromised. With increased density, more attention to careful design is needed to maintain the overall neighborhood integrity.
In addition to the general increase in overall housing costs, the committee heard that there is a growing need for housing units specifically targeted to different segments of the population. For example, a Washington County representative told the committee that there is currently a shortage of more than 10,000 housing units in Washington County available to families earning between 50 percent and 80 percent of the median income level. This group is especially impacted by rising housing costs, since their income level is above that which qualifies for federally-funded low-income housing yet too low to purchase many of the homes currently on the Portland-area housing market. The committee heard that a minimum household income of $11.00/hour is needed for the average family of four to live in housing currently available in Washington County. This is particularly a concern since many of the new jobs being created in the county's growing economy pay wages that are below this level. The committee heard repeatedly that it is important to provide a supply of housing at prices which correspond to the wage levels of the jobs in the area.

Housing for the lower income population, including that built specifically as subsidized low-income housing, has typically been constructed as multi-family attached residences (apartments, duplexes, four-plexes, etc.). These types of developments are difficult to site among neighborhoods of more expensive residences (typically single-family detached homes), particularly in fast-growing suburban areas. Traditional approaches to zoning have encouraged a separation of these housing types. Moreover, residents often resist the development of lower cost housing in their neighborhoods. The committee heard that placement of affordably-priced housing in small groups next to traditional neighborhoods (including more expensive residences) enhances access to attractive surroundings and amenities.

Another important means of providing affordable housing for lower income populations is through preservation and maintenance of existing homes. Older homes typically are less expensive than new construction with similar characteristics (although gentrification in selected geographic areas can sometimes have the opposite effect). The committee heard that local governments can play an active role in preservation and maintenance of existing housing stock to meet the needs of lower income populations.

The committee also was told that segregation of affordably-priced housing in specific areas has important social implications. While probably not intended, zoning regulations may have the effect of encouraging segregation of housing based on price range. This economic segregation may cause the disparity in property values to grow even wider, creating problems at both ends of the spectrum. Property values in neighborhoods of single-family detached homes, perceived as desirable, continue to rise rapidly, increasing the pressure of rising housing costs in these areas and forcing still more people to look for other options. At the
same time, concentrations of less desirable housing types in certain areas are sometimes a contributing factor in the urban flight phenomenon. This in turn can cause values in these areas to fall.

Segregation of affordably-priced housing in specific areas also creates problems related to transportation. If the locations of major employment centers are separated by considerable distance from housing which is affordable for the employees, the result is significant additional economic costs for the employees related to long-distance commuting. It also exacerbates existing traffic congestion problems.

I. Citizen Involvement

The committee heard that effective involvement of citizens requires continuing and open communication among the parties. Citizen participation in land use planning efforts is often hampered by the lack of understanding on the part of most citizens as to their role in the planning process and the issues involved. Further, citizen involvement currently is most likely to occur when a final decision is near or has already been made. Early and continuing citizen involvement in land use planning matters is essential, the committee was told.

The committee found widespread agreement that effective citizen involvement is generally best achieved on a small, grass roots level, through such organizations as neighborhood groups, churches, or school parent-teacher organizations. It is easier to create a sense of relevance, and thus interest or involvement, for citizens at the neighborhood or local community level. Neighborhood associations have been the most often used vehicle to encourage such grass-roots-level citizen involvement. While neighborhood associations may be the best existing structure to facilitate citizen involvement, there are many difficulties in using the existing neighborhood association structure as the basis for a broader citizen involvement effort, the committee learned.

First, neighborhood associations vary dramatically in their degree of organization and participation. While neighborhood associations within the City of Portland have been comparatively active, such groups do not even exist in other portions of the metropolitan area. In Washington County, Citizen Participation Organizations (CPOs) perform some of the roles of neighborhood associations, but cover much larger geographic areas than a typical Portland neighborhood association. Second, there are questions about the degree to which neighborhood associations actually represent the views of neighborhood citizens. Although participation is typically open to any resident (and sometimes businesses) within the geographic boundaries of the association, the percentage of citizens actually involved is very small in even the most active of such organizations.

High levels of citizen participation usually occur only when a particular land use action or other event is perceived as a crisis by neighborhood citizens, and then usually only for a short period of time.
near the end of the planning process. Thus neighborhood associations are sometimes seen by both local government planners and the neighborhood residents as not representing the views of the majority of citizens.

Such difficulties notwithstanding, the committee heard that increased citizen understanding and involvement at the neighborhood or local community level is an important element of successful planning for the increased density and population that are projected for the region. The committee heard that, at the very least, it is crucial to maintain and upgrade the available opportunities for citizens to become involved. Beyond that, witnesses suggested that efforts be made to heighten the level of interest and concern among citizens, and to increase the extent of citizen involvement in the land use planning process.

For a citizen involvement program to be successful, the committee heard, human, financial and informational resources must be made available, and local governments should identify these resources as an integral component of their planning budget. A key component is for local governments to provide citizens with information in a timely and understandable manner which helps citizens make informed decisions on land use matters. The timely notification of citizens regarding pending policy and individual land use matters is critical, the committee heard. Late notification or lack of notification results in citizen frustration and anger. There must also be a mechanism to assure that citizens get feedback from local governments about decisions made.

J. Elements For Successful Neighborhood Planning

The committee was told that the expected increases in population density mean the role of planning in the region’s development will grow in importance. Thoughtful planning is needed to accommodate greater density without sacrificing the qualities that make the Portland region an attractive place to live. Testimony before the committee indicated that this planning will need to be a balance of “top-down” leadership from Metro and local governments and “bottom-up” involvement by citizens at the grassroots level. People want to have a role in defining or protecting the ambience of the area in which they live. The careful planning needed to successfully accommodate density increases can best be accomplished with active involvement by informed citizens at the neighborhood or local community level, guided by a framework of regional goals and policies developed on a broader level. An important goal for the region’s planning efforts should be to increase the degree of knowledge and involvement by individual citizens, and to provide more opportunities for citizen dialogue in the planning process.

The committee was told that the basis for successful neighborhood planning is a recognition that each neighborhood has its own character and values. Planning efforts are most successful when they build upon what is already occurring in the neighborhood. Neighborhoods need to
have—or to develop—a vision of what they want for their neighborhood before proceeding to select strategies or to address specific issues. Even the negative reaction that often results from proposed developments can actually be a long-term positive influence because the resulting debate serves to activate a neighborhood. It can also increase the degree of understanding and interest among neighborhood residents. An underlying sense of urgency is helpful in spurring neighborhood groups into action.

Effective neighborhood planning most often occurs when there are one or more active neighborhood leaders supported by committed groups of volunteers. The committee heard that this requires a commitment and a level of activism over an extended period of time, not only for a single meeting or until a single issue is resolved. Neighborhood leaders who have successfully led development of neighborhood plans stress that a long-term, comprehensive information and outreach campaign is needed in order to achieve acceptance of the effort by the neighborhood. How this is accomplished may differ from one neighborhood to the next.

The committee also heard that strong regional leadership is crucial, so that issues and regional goals are clearly stated and consensus among local jurisdictions and neighborhood groups can be achieved. The involvement and influence of neighborhood groups need to be balanced with regional and local government policies defined on a broader level. Neighborhoods should be empowered to play a more defined role in the overall planning process, the committee was told.

Technical assistance from municipal or county planning staffs is also required for successful neighborhood-level planning. The committee was told that interest and desire at the neighborhood level alone will not result in successful neighborhood plans. Planning staff support, including mapping, data, zoning guidance, and coordination with other agencies and programs, is crucial. However, this assistance must be provided in a cooperative and problem-solving manner or it will be rejected by the neighborhood as heavy-handed meddling by the city or county in neighborhood affairs. Because neighborhood planning often involves highly emotional issues and rancorous disputes which pit neighbor against neighbor, training for neighborhood leaders in group dynamics, team building and conflict resolution would also be a valuable service that could be provided by local governments.

Nearly all witnesses before the committee stressed the need for early involvement in the planning process by a diverse range of interests. For example, Clackamas County officials began the Sunnyside Village project by first convening a steering committee representing a broad citizen base, and by holding frequent informational meetings and workshops. County representatives stated that this was extremely valuable in promoting the success of the project.
The committee was told that there should be early interaction between developers, planners and neighborhood groups to minimize last-minute challenges to specific projects. Proactive involvement of neighborhood interests in the early stages of development planning results in improved designs which better fit into existing neighborhoods. In addition, this may reduce subsequent challenges and appeals, and minimize the delays and costs associated with such challenges and appeals. The committee also heard that such neighborhood involvement needs to occur within a framework of certain guidelines, including time deadlines and coordination with regional goals. Within this overall framework, neighborhoods should be encouraged to develop the approach which best suits the needs and standards of the neighborhood.

K. Multi-Dimensional Planning and Design

Successful implementation of the type of development needed to support regional land use goals requires a coordinated approach to planning on the part of neighborhood residents, developers, planners, employers, educators, and many others. It is necessary to plan neighborhoods as multi-dimensional, dynamic living organisms, rather than two-dimensional code areas on a zoning map. The committee was disappointed to find little discussion of this aspect of planning from most of the witnesses interviewed. Attempts are being made by some government entities in the region to improve coordination. There are efforts underway to better coordinate planning efforts among different government entities (e.g. among various bureaus in the City of Portland). And Metro's Region 2040 planning process is a bold attempt to achieve better regional planning coordination among the various cities and counties. But the committee sensed that the need goes beyond simply coordinating the efforts of various government entities. Effective neighborhood planning requires consideration of a broader range of elements, including highly subjective factors such as the "look" and "feel" of the neighborhood. The physical surroundings of a neighborhood can have a positive psychological effect on people, resulting in higher property values and reinforcing the resident's sense of place and locality.

A multi-dimensional approach to planning requires both that the necessary elements for a successful neighborhood be assembled and that these elements be designed and related in ways that are attractive and functional. Elements to be considered in this process must relate to how citizens live and interact within the neighborhood as well as how the neighborhood relates to adjoining neighborhoods, local communities and the region as a whole. These elements should be in large part identified and prioritized by the neighborhood.

Generally, these elements include the size, location and design of individual housing units, the way these structures relate to one another, and the synergistic effect of all of these structures on the neighborhood. Additional factors include the placement and design of streets and
sidewalks, traffic patterns, noise, trees, parks, schools, other public places, and the proximity of residences to stores, services, and jobs. The mere presence of all of these elements in proximity does not, however, create a successful neighborhood. An equally important consideration is their interaction in daily life—in other words, does the neighborhood "work?" The planning effort must include a process to consider how to assemble and coalesce these elements into the design of individual units, and how the individual units combine to create the neighborhood.

As the increasing population of the region will result in greater population density, multi-dimensional neighborhood planning becomes ever more important. According to people interviewed by the committee, more compact collections of living units (in the forms of apartments, attached residences, or detached residences on smaller lots) can become either attractive neighborhoods or dreary expanses of forbidding structures. The difference, your committee heard repeatedly, is in the use of good design. People's subjective sense of comfort with a particular neighborhood may be enhanced by good design, or offended by the inappropriate or the ugly. Appropriate design standards and use of design review processes, coupled with careful attention to provision of adequate open space, landscaping, sidewalks and public areas, can result in more densely populated neighborhoods which retain much of the character of the residential areas that traditionally have existed in the Portland region.

Design considerations are especially important in relation to infill developments or redevelopment of existing neighborhoods. Planners and developers of infill and redevelopment projects do not have the benefit of the undeveloped expanse of land that is usually available for new suburban developments. They must take great care to ensure that the new addition relates well to the existing structures and land uses around it. The committee heard that citizens are frequently concerned about preserving neighborhood buildings that have played an important role in the historical character and fabric of the neighborhood. Historic design and ambience should be taken into account to preserve and enhance the unique character of neighborhoods.

The committee was told by several witnesses that the current system of zoning codes is too detailed and does not allow sufficient flexibility to respond quickly to changing circumstances and approaches, or to allow or encourage innovative development styles. At the same time, state land use law requires that zoning and development codes contain clear and objective standards. There is a natural conflict here for which no adequate solution was identified by the committee. If rules are made less prescriptive to allow for innovative designs, the rules may also be vague enough to allow ugly, incompatible developments.

Good design is in many respects a subjective determination which cannot easily be legislated, and cannot be readily embodied in fixed
zoning codes. But the committee was told that design is not entirely subjective. Evaluation of the design of a building, a group of buildings, or a neighborhood includes evaluating relationships which have been quantified through many architectural and planning studies, using accepted standards for form, balance and proportion. Application of such standards helps achieve designs which are pleasing to the eye, which enhance the pedestrian environment. Such standards should be applied not only to buildings, but also to such elements as streets, sidewalks, street trees and open spaces. The expectations of the neighborhood—whether the proposed design is compatible with existing neighborhood elements—should also be considered, the committee heard.

Overall, the information obtained by the committee indicates that planning for growth on a regional basis can only be successful if it is supported by planning at the neighborhood level. Successful neighborhood planning requires a coordinated approach to assembling the various elements needed, and a process for designing and evaluating the relationship of these elements within a neighborhood unit. In addition, it is critical to relate these elements to the regional perspective. Achieving a thoughtfully-designed, synergistic balance of the needed elements is crucial to facilitating regional growth while maintaining the quality of life that citizens value.
IV. CONCLUSIONS

A. Citizen Values and Preferences

1. Commonly accepted values largely determine the physical forms that citizens like in their residential neighborhoods. The committee found little available data on which to base an answer to the first question in the study charge - *What form of neighborhoods and local communities do residents want?* However, the committee identified a list of broad values which appear to represent the most frequently expressed citizen desires. These are:

- The perception of sufficient natural outdoor areas;
- A sense of appropriate, sufficient personal space in one's residence;
- Proximity and/or access to work, schools, services and products;
- A feeling of safety from crime;
- An attractive design and a pleasant ambience;
- Community identity;
- Sustained property values;
- Ownership of one's own place of residence;
- Stability;
- Ease of transportation; and
- High quality neighborhood schools.

2. Neighborhood residential values sometimes conflict with accepted regional goals. For example, the need for safety may require more jails to be built, but jails typically are not welcome in or near residential neighborhoods. Row houses may help to meet regional goals for increasing density, but may not be welcome in existing neighborhoods. Even an excellent high school, which can be desirable for a region, can be perceived as a troublesome neighbor.

3. It is important that the regional planning process include a mechanism to balance the local desires of citizens with the need for the region to function effectively as a whole and to accommodate increased population. An important element is to increase the public's understanding of the interrelationships among parts of the region and the tradeoffs that may be required to accommodate increased population largely within the existing UGB.

4. Negative perceptions about crime rates and school quality, uneasiness about diversity, and other social factors contribute to people's decisions about where to locate their residence. Such factors may frustrate planning efforts and may be difficult to influence through the planning system.
B. Increasing Understanding By The Public
1. There is a critical need to increase the overall level of understanding by average citizens relative to urban planning issues, the effects of increased density, the impacts of the failure to accommodate increased density, and the interrelationships between these matters and their daily lives.

C. Population Growth and Density
1. Accommodating the projected population increases largely within the existing UGB will result in increased population density overall within the region. This is an obvious, but important concept which underlies all of the committee’s other conclusions and recommendations.

2. Provision of a mixture of housing types throughout the region encourages neighborhood vitality and stability, helps make attractive neighborhoods available to more people, and supports regional efforts to achieve overall density increases.

D. Value of Current Land Use Planning System
1. Oregon’s land use planning system has been successful and should be preserved. The framework established under SB 100 has put the Portland region in a much better position to manage the challenges of urban growth now facing the region.

2. SB 100 was not intended to address planning for urban growth within the UGB. Consequently, the system now requires fine tuning to address the challenges presented by current growth trends.

3. Citizen rights to participate in challenges and appeals of land use decisions are a crucial element of our successful land use planning system. However, efforts should be made to encourage interaction among developers, planners, and neighborhoods early in the process to resolve disputes and minimize later challenges and appeals.

E. Issues With Current Land Use Planning System
1. The current zoning codes do not always allow sufficient flexibility to respond to different circumstances and approaches, and may not allow sufficient flexibility to encourage desirable development.

2. Relative locations of residential lands and commercial/industrial lands are not always addressed in a coordinated manner. This can affect congestion, commuting patterns, commercial transportation, and the convenience of shopping and services. Failure to adequately address these issues negatively impacts the vitality of neighborhoods.
F. Transportation Planning

1. Transportation planning oriented predominantly toward the automobile has historically had a dominant influence on land use planning policies and directions.

2. The emphasis in transportation planning has traditionally been on moving cars from point to point. It is now recognized that the emphasis needs to be on moving people and goods. A variety of multi-modal transportation options can facilitate efficient movement of people and goods while encouraging more desirable development patterns.

3. Significant population growth will result in increasing traffic congestion. Measures to encourage alternatives to automobile travel and/or to improve road capacity will help manage congestion, but will not prevent it.

4. Transportation and land use planning strategies must be developed and implemented as an integrated, coordinated whole. Transportation planning efforts can and should be supportive of regional land use planning goals and more efficient neighborhood development patterns. At the same time, land use planning efforts can and should be supportive of efforts to manage traffic congestion.

5. Economic forces, such as employment growth and business locating decisions, can have a profound effect on transportation and congestion patterns, and consequently on land use planning efforts.

G. Market Forces

1. Planning efforts must consider the role of supply, demand and other dynamic market forces which affect the locations, types and forms of development which can be successfully built.

2. Small-volume builders, who are predominant in the local residential construction market, are limited in their ability to respond to new markets or niche markets for diverse, innovative housing configurations.

3. Government can play a role in encouraging a market for new development approaches by modifying zoning codes and creating expedited permit processes to support desirable development; building roads, sewers and other infrastructure; providing seed money or other financial incentives for pilot or demonstration projects; and by adjusting related public policies (e.g. transportation planning and traffic engineering) to support the land use goals.

H. Financing Issues

1. The lending institutions which provide most financing for real estate developments and redevelopment are generally conservative, making decisions primarily on past performance, and are thus reluctant to finance innovative or untried development plans.
This reluctance can be a significant impediment to increased implementation of mixed use, new urbanist style developments.

2. Government can play a role by providing selected financing assistance to encourage desirable development.

3. Government's ability to encourage innovative development and redevelopment has been seriously limited by recent reductions in available public funding, and this trend is likely to continue.

I. Housing Affordability

1. Housing affordability is a critical factor in the area's planning needs. The disparity between housing cost increases and increases in income is creating a serious shortage of housing which is affordable to middle-income and lower-middle-income residents.

2. Expanding the UGB does not ensure the availability of affordable housing, and may intensify other problems associated with urban sprawl.

3. The lack of housing which is affordable to a wide range of citizens will have a significant negative impact on the region's ability to attract and maintain industry and jobs.

4. Provision of housing targeted for low-income residents is becoming more difficult. There is a need to develop housing throughout the region that is specifically targeted to this income segment. Regional and neighborhood plans should address an adequate supply of low-income housing.

5. The availability of low-income housing is likely to become a greater concern because of cutbacks in funding at the federal level. Ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the supply and demand for low-income housing is needed to improve the region's ability to respond to this concern.

6. The effect on the ability to provide an adequate range of affordable housing for all income levels should be a factor considered in planning efforts, comprehensive plans, zoning codes, and design guidelines.

7. Preservation and maintenance of existing housing stock is an important element in providing an adequate supply of affordable housing and minimizing urban decay.

8. Neighborhoods or local communities that incorporate housing which is affordable for a range of income levels help prevent urban decay and contribute to a more desirable overall regional development pattern.

9. Current development patterns often result in wide distances between new employment centers and housing which is affordable for the employees in new jobs. This disparity increases traffic congestion problems. Regional planning efforts which encourage location of appropriately-priced housing proximate to jobs are needed.
J. **Citizen Involvement**

1. Citizen participation is a critical element of the state’s land use planning system. Opportunities for citizen participation must be preserved and enhanced.

2. Effective citizen participation is often hampered by the lack of understanding on the part of most citizens as to their role in the process and the issues involved. There is a need for programs to increase the overall level of citizen knowledge in this arena.

3. Effective citizen involvement generally is best achieved on a small, grass roots level, through such organizations as neighborhood groups, employers, churches, or school parent-teacher organizations. Increased citizen understanding and involvement at the neighborhood or local community level is an important element of successful planning for the increased density and population that are projected for the region.

K. **Elements For Successful Neighborhood Planning**

1. The role of planning will become increasingly important as the region’s population grows and density increases. Effective planning is needed to achieve greater density without sacrificing the qualities that make this an attractive place to live.

2. This planning effort must include a balance of “top-down” leadership from Metro and local governments with “bottom-up” involvement by citizens at the grassroots level.

3. Citizens want to have a role in defining the ambience of the area where they live and a vision for its future.

4. Neighborhood involvement must occur within a framework that considers goals and policies developed on a regional or local government level.

5. Increased neighborhood-level interest, involvement and planning is needed to further implement regional land use goals.

6. This planning effort will have a greater chance for success with active involvement of informed citizens at the neighborhood or local community level.

7. The role of neighborhood associations or similar groups in this process needs to be clearly established. Neighborhood groups need to be empowered to play a more defined role in the process.

8. Pro-active involvement of citizens and neighborhood groups early in the development approval process will encourage developments which better complement existing neighborhoods, and reduce subsequent challenges and appeals.

9. Successful neighborhood or local community planning efforts, and implementation of the plans, are dependent upon strong individual leadership.
10. Technical support (and funding) from local government is needed to assist neighborhoods in developing plans. Citizen interest and leadership alone are not sufficient.

L. The Importance of Multi-Dimensional Planning and Design

1. Increases in population density will require a greater emphasis on design. Most of the dialogue related to the Region 2040 planning has dealt with where to locate additional residents and areas of increased density within the UGB. It is equally important to address how to accommodate the additional population so as to preserve or improve upon the existing qualities and values that make the region desirable.

2. There is not one correct neighborhood development type; different neighborhoods have different needs and desires.

3. It is necessary to plan neighborhoods as multi-dimensional, dynamic living organisms by addressing a broad range of elements, including highly subjective factors such as the “look” and “feel” of the neighborhood. These elements, in large part, should be identified and prioritized by the neighborhood.

4. A multi-dimensional approach to planning requires both that the necessary elements for a successful neighborhood be assembled and that these elements are designed and related in ways that are attractive and functional.

5. Involvement of all stakeholders (planners, developers, neighborhood groups, etc.) in the early stages of project planning generally results in an improved overall design which better fits into existing neighborhoods.

6. Planners and developers of infill and redevelopment projects must work with neighborhoods to ensure that the proposed developments relate well to existing structures and uses. The neighborhood’s historic design and ambience, as well as historic structures of architectural significance, should be incorporated into the planning.

7. The current system of zoning codes may be too detailed and not sufficiently flexible to allow or encourage innovative development styles.
V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee recognizes that successful accommodation of the population increases projected for the region requires actions over a broad range of public policy areas. The overall objective of the committee's recommendations is to accommodate an increase in population density while preserving the existing qualities and values that make the region desirable. This will require more emphasis on planning and design issues. Planning efforts must consist of a balance of regional leadership and direction with grassroots citizen involvement. The committee's recommended approach includes preserving the basic concepts of Oregon's land use planning system which has established a successful framework for managing growth issues. The committee's recommendations propose fine tuning the existing system. Important elements include increasing the level of citizen understanding about urban growth issues and empowering citizens by ensuring that they play a key role, especially in planning at the neighborhood or local community level.

The committee's recommended actions include many small steps covering a wide variety of subject areas which are interrelated and supportive of one another. There is a need for many of these actions to occur as a package to achieve the overall goals of accommodating greater population density while maintaining an acceptable quality of life. Some of the recommended actions are already being addressed to some extent by selected agencies or jurisdictions. However, inclusion of these recommendations in our report indicates the need to achieve much broader acceptance and implementation of the identified actions.

Where possible, the committee has identified a particular group or government entity to implement the recommendation. In many cases, however, the recommended actions or concepts need to be implemented at many levels of government, in various geographic areas, by individual citizens, and by many other informal and private sector groups.

A. Improving Citizen Understanding of Land Use Planning Issues

1. Local governments and other entities should implement an explicit and coordinated campaign to increase the level of understanding among the general public of the importance of land use planning issues and their relevance to individuals and their neighborhoods. It should be implemented broadly throughout the community by addressing and engaging citizens through schools, social groups, neighborhood groups, churches, and the work place in addition to using more traditional media and approaches.

2. Metro should proactively encourage the initiation of this effort and coordinate its ongoing implementation throughout the region. Metro's role may include developing materials for use by local governments and neighborhoods, developing curriculum materials for schools, providing a speaker's bureau, and evaluating the
progress of the effort in elevating citizen involvement and understanding.

B. Integrating Land Use and Transportation Planning

1. Metro, local governments, DLCD, ODOT, JPACT, and Tri-Met should increase the degree of coordination in planning efforts in order that land use planning policies and transportation planning policies support one another.

2. Local governments should revise zoning and development codes to stimulate development and redevelopment methods that support efforts to reduce vehicle miles travelled (e.g. making existing shopping and service areas more accessible, attractive, and safe for non-auto travelers).

3. All levels of state, regional and local government should place greater emphasis on supporting a variety of transportation options, auto and non-auto, in order to help slow the growth in vehicle miles travelled and bringing into balance various transportation modes. Methods to achieve this could include:
   - Establishing incentives and/or penalties to discourage auto use (e.g. parking fees, transit pass benefits to employees, facilitating car pools);
   - Creating, improving and promoting alternative travel options (e.g. more and safer bike and pedestrian routes, efforts to increase transit use by making it more attractive to riders); and
   - Increasing the role of multi-modal transportation systems in neighborhood or local community planning in order to facilitate designs which encourage more efficient land use and development patterns.

C. Promoting Earlier and More Neighborhood Involvement in Planning

1. Metro and local jurisdictions should clarify the definition, standing, stature and role of neighborhood or local community groups in order to facilitate a more active role for neighborhoods in the planning process.

2. Metro and local governments should modify the comprehensive planning process to include citizen-developed plans for all neighborhoods or local communities, which upon completion should be adopted as part of local and regional comprehensive plans. Such neighborhood or local community plans must address goals and policies adopted at regional and local government levels.

3. Metro and local jurisdictions should provide training, funding, and technical support resources for neighborhood or local community groups engaged in developing and implementing neighborhood or local community plans.
4. Developers and neighborhood groups should interact during early stages of planning for specific development proposals. Local governments should work with these parties to establish mechanisms for this interaction. The goal should be not to lengthen the average overall time for review and action on land use applications but rather to place the emphasis on the early stages of the process.

D. The Role of Metro

1. The committee strongly endorses Metro’s approach of using consensus-building to develop and implement the Regional Framework Plan because active participation by the affected parties increases the likelihood of a successful outcome and results in a better overall plan. However, the committee recommends that Metro selectively utilize its authority to make decisions on disputed issues when the consensus-building process fails to effectively address key regional objectives in a timely manner.

E. Fine Tuning the Current Land Use System to Meet Current Growth Trends

1. The state legislature should resist efforts to erode the framework of the existing land use planning system. Effective planning for urban growth depends on the unified statewide policies and the strong enforcement system established under the authority of SB 100.

2. Regional and neighborhood plans must encourage a mixture of housing types and densities (e.g. attached, detached, townhouses, row houses, apartments, etc.) within a neighborhood or local community.

3. Local governments must modify zoning codes to allow placement of a mixture of housing types and densities within neighborhoods or local communities.

4. Metro and all local jurisdictions must address land use planning as a region and pursue all facets of this planning as a coordinated whole, not piecemeal by jurisdiction or by urban service.

5. Jurisdictions should incorporate provisions for mediation and other means of conflict resolution in the development approval process.

F. Preserving Housing Affordability in a Period of Growing Demand

1. Governments at all levels must assume a more active role in addressing housing affordability, as required under LCDC Goal 10, through programs targeted for selected geographic areas, selected market segments, and selected housing types.
2. Metro should aggressively pursue its “fair share” strategy to establish specific goals for low- and moderate-income and market-rate housing for each city and county in the region. The goal should be to ensure that sufficient and affordable housing is available to households of all income levels. Metro must ensure that comprehensive plans prepared by local governments adequately address these goals.

3. In consultation with local jurisdictions, Metro should consider placing a regional bond issue on the ballot to finance purchase of land parcels throughout the region which can be made available for development of affordable housing.

4. Local governments should provide the support neighborhoods or local communities need to develop plans that integrate neighborhood planning with regional goals for affordable housing.

5. Local governments should work actively to identify and seek funding resources from a variety of public and private sources, as well as provide leadership, coordination and other services to promote development of affordable housing.

6. Local governments should employ these same strategies to provide resources for preserving and maintaining existing affordable housing stock.

7. Neighborhood or local community plans should address provision of housing with a range of prices, including housing affordable to those at low income levels.

G. Influencing the Market through Government Action

1. Local governments should provide assistance to both the public and private sector to encourage desirable development that supports regional urban growth goals. Examples of such actions include providing seed money for demonstration projects, coordination of public and private efforts, design and technical assistance, infrastructure development, and land banking.

2. Metro should evaluate the availability of adequate data about the current and future markets for desirable development forms in the region. If adequate data are not available, Metro should take a leadership role in developing a comprehensive database that identifies market opportunities for encouraging desirable development. These data should be made available for private developers to use in planning, supporting financing applications, and marketing new products.

3. Metro and local governments should implement a campaign of information and persuasion to encourage acceptance of desirable development by the housing industry and the citizens of the region.
H. Enhancing Communities and Accommodating Growth through Multi-Dimensional Planning and Design

1. All jurisdictions must make design an integral part of their planning and permit review activities. Recognized standards for form, balance and proportion should be used to evaluate individual buildings, elements such as streets, sidewalks, street trees and opens spaces, and the relationship of these elements within a neighborhood.

2. Jurisdictions should be prepared to offer design suggestions to neighborhoods, local communities, and the development industry. This may include providing a selection of plans for residences or other buildings that support desirable development goals, and making them available to the private sector on a low-cost or no-cost basis.

3. Jurisdictions should make planning staff resources available to proactively assist developers and neighborhoods with design considerations at the early stages of project planning.

4. Local governments should implement a process to develop and apply design and compatibility standards. All of the stakeholders (government, developers, neighborhood groups, etc.) should be included in this process.

5. Neighborhood or local communities should address design and compatibility issues in neighborhood or local community plans.

6. Neighborhood or local community plans should incorporate buildings of historical and architectural significance.

Respectfully submitted:
Jay Formick
Moshe Lenske
Tomm Pickles
Brian Teller
Ross Simmons, vice chair
Carolyn Bullard, chair

Claire Levine, research advisor
Pete Behr, research advisor
Paul Leistner, research director

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The committee would like to acknowledge the witnesses who so generously shared their time and expertise to help the committee understand the complexities of urban planning and growth. The concern and dedication of these individuals speaks to a very positive future for the Portland Metropolitan area.

continued...
The committee would also like to acknowledge the City Club Research Board and particularly its representatives, Claire Levine and Pete Behr, for their support and for the attention they gave to the conceptual framework and details of the report. A special thanks goes to Paul Leistner, the research director for his encouragement, enthusiasm and timely assistance.

The committee would also like to acknowledge James Bartels, John Leeper, Robert Rogers and Richard Sadler for their contributions to the committee's deliberations.

Finally, as chair of the committee, I would like to acknowledge each member of the committee. These individuals dedicated a considerable amount of time and attention to understanding the complexities of the issues and developing recommendations which were responsive to the needs of our community.

Carolyn L. Bullard, committee chair
VI. APPENDICES

A. List of Persons Interviewed

Nancy Biasi, staff, City of Portland Commissioner Gretchen Kafoury
Allan Black, vice-president, First Interstate Bank
Mike Burton, executive, Metro
Mike Butts, planner, City of West Linn
Bill Blosser, chairman, Land Conservation and Development Commission
Brian Campbell, head of planning, Port of Portland
Jon Chandler, director of governmental affairs, Oregon State Home Builders Association
Maggie Collins, community development director, City of Milwaukie
Karen Ciocia, Vancouver Downtown Association
John Fregonese, senior planner, Metro
Charlie Hales, commissioner, City of Portland
Roslyn Hill, neighborhood activist
Ky Holland, Richmond Neighborhood Association
Geoff Hyde, president, Citizen Participation Organization 1, Washington County
John Kelly, manager, Transportation and Growth Management Program, Oregon Department of Transportation and Department of Land Conservation and Development
Gussie McRoberts, mayor, City of Gresham
Don Morisette, councilor, Metro
Cary Pinnard, senior planner, City of Portland Planning Bureau
Kay Pollack, planner, Clackamas County Planning Department
Don Rouzie, Sabine Neighborhood Association
Steve Schell, land use attorney, Black Helterline
Ethan Seltzer, director, Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies, Portland State University.
Mary Tobias, president, Tualatin Valley Economic Development Council
Marc Venerosa, Vancouver City Planning Commission
Susan Wilson, director, Washington County Department of Housing Services
Bill Wyatt, executive director, Oregon Business Council
B. List of Resource Materials

1994-96 CITY CLUB PROGRAMS RELATED TO URBAN GROWTH PLANNING


CITY CLUB REPORTS


“Regional Intergovernmental Planning.” April 1, 1994.

OTHER REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

City of Portland. Office of Neighborhood Associations.


**NEWSPAPER ARTICLES**


Orfield, Myron, Minnesota State Representative. Interview.

Pierce, Neal R. "Cities Need 24-Hour Day To Be Healthy." *The Oregonian.* October 26, 1995.

C. Glossary of Terms

Compiled by the committee from a variety of sources, this glossary includes some terms that are specific to documents produced by Metro or other planning agencies. Some terms were developed by this committee for use as a short-hand reference to a broader, more complex concept.

**affordable housing:** A term often used interchangeable to discuss: a) general affordability of available housing; b) housing targeted to the lower end of the home sales market; and c) subsidized housing specifically for low-income residents.

**Citizen Involvement Program (CIP):** A part of a local comprehensive plan which describes a process for the participation in all phases of the planning process, of citizens, who are not professional planners or government officials.
Citizen Participation Organizations (CPOs): Organizations covering larger geographic areas than the neighborhood associations which perform some of the roles of neighborhood associations.

Columbia Regional Association of Governments (CRAG): Regional association of governments which was a predecessor to Metro.

Comprehensive Plans: A generalized, coordinated land use map and policy statement of the governing body of a city or county that interrelates all functional and natural systems and activities related to the use of land, consistent with state law.

density: Measurement of persons per acre, a term expressing the intensity of building development by combining residents per net acre and employees per net acre.

Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD): State agency established by SB 100 to administer the bill's land use program and provide staff support to LCDC for review of local comprehensive plans for compliance with statewide goals.

design standards: Criteria established to direct development. Design standards which lead to desirable communities have been evaluated and quantified in architectural and planning studies.

desirable urban development: An imprecise term used by the committee to refer to well-designed urban development and redevelopment which minimizes the problems of urban sprawl, allows for a variety of residential options, enhances a sense of community, and reflects an individual community's image and character.

Employee Commute Option (ECO): A program developed by the Department of Environmental Quality and a governor's task force to work toward the reduction in the number of vehicle miles traveled.

Fair Share: A proportionate amount of affordable housing by local jurisdiction as defined by Metro. "Fair Share" means that each city and county within the region working with Metro to establish local and regional policies which will provide the opportunity within each jurisdiction for accommodating a portion of the region's need for affordable housing.

Farm and Forest Tax Deferral Programs: A program established at the state level to tax land according to its value as farm and forest land rather than at its value at its "highest and best" use.

Future Vision: A planning document mandated by the 1993 Metro charter designed to address land use issues in the Portland Metropolitan Area for the next 50 years.

Housing types: Different kinds of housing stock including detached houses, attached residences, town houses, apartments, and condominiums.
Joint Policy Advisory Committee for Transportation (JPACT):
A regional body made up of elected officials and citizens from the 
region which addresses regional transportation needs and planning.

Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC):
A commission established by SB 100 to develop statewide land-use 
goals.

Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA): Board created in 1979 for appeals 
of local land use decisions.

local community: A term similar to neighborhood which refers to the 
most local planning unit in the area of one's residence.

mixed use: A combination of different land uses, such as residential, 
commercial and retail in a specific area.

Metro Charter: Enacted by the voters in 1992 giving Metro broad powers 
and responsibility for land use planning.

Metro: Elected regional government in the Portland Metropolitan Area.

multi-dimensional planning: An approach to planning which requires 
both that the necessary elements for a successful neighborhood be 
assembled, and that these elements be designed and related in ways 
that are attractive and functional. Among the elements to be 
considered are size, location and design of individual housing units, 
the way structures relate to one another, the feel of the neighborhood, 
traffic patterns, schools, parks, proximity of residences to stores, 
services and jobs.

multi-modal transportation: Transportation systems which accomodate 
a variety of travel modes such as automobiles, trains, buses, bicycles 
and walking.

neighborhood: An entity with various definitions; for purposes of this 
report, the local area where one lives. A term similar to "local 
community."

new urbanism: Development patterns which echo traditional "villages;" 
encourages a variety of housing types, retail and business services 
and public spaces clustered in a denser, more compact form.

Oregon Benchmarks: A compilation of measurable standards developed 
by the state government for setting program and budget priorities 
and to encourage interagency cooperation.

Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT): The state agency 
responsible for planning, constructing, and maintaining the state's 
transportation system.

Oregon Progress Board: Board established through the governor's office 
to translate a strategic plan for Oregon's prosperity into a measurable 
set of benchmarks.
Oregon Values and Beliefs Survey: A study conducted by the Oregon Business Council in cooperation with the Oregon Progress Board to identify core values of Oregonians in relation to public policy issues.

Portland Metropolitan Area (PMA): For purposes of this report the PMA generally includes Clackamas, Multnomah, and Washington counties, particularly in the area under the jurisdiction of Metro. Clark County, Washington is often considered part of the PMA.

Region 2040 Growth Concept: A concept for long-term growth management of the PMA, stating the preferred form of the regional growth and development, including where and how much the UGB should be expanded, what densities should characterize different areas, and which areas should be protected as open space.

Regional Framework Plan: A document being developed by Metro which will describe how the outcomes of the Future Vision document are to be implemented.

Regional Urban Growth Goals and Objectives (RUGGOS): Goals and objectives established by Metro in areas such as the natural environment, built environment, and growth management.

Senate Bill 100 (SB 100): The Oregon Land Use Act of 1973 which established the framework necessary to implement and govern statewide land use planning.

Transportation Planning Rule (TPR): Statewide planning goal 12 which requires land use plans to provide for a transportation system; includes measures designed to reduce dependency on the automobile.

Transportation System Plans (TSP): Transportation system plans to be prepared at the state, regional, and local levels.

Urban form: The physical environment in an urban area.

Urban Growth Boundary (UGB): A boundary which identifies urban and urbanizable lands needed during the 20-year planning period to be planned and serviced to support urban development densities, and which separates urban and urbanizable lands from rural land.

Visual Preference Survey: Study funded by Metro, various cities and counties in the region and Tri-Met to survey citizens' responses to visual images of urban forms.

zoning: The division of an area into sections which specifies restrictions on land use or types of construction.