

New Urbanism in Oregon's Growth Managed Communities

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Abstract

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This thesis attempts to draw a qualitative relationship between the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines of the State of Oregon with the principles that comprise the design and planning movement known as New Urbanism, canonized in the Charter of the New Urbanism. The State of Oregon has for decades been a leader in the implementation and management of progressive growth management policy. New Urbanism is an architecture and planning movement that, among numerous goals, attempts to increase the livability of communities through intentional design interventions aimed at increasing the livability of neighborhoods and districts often reminiscent of traditional pre-war town planning techniques that have been largely abandoned in recent history. This thesis explores the relationship between the two through a comprehensive breakdown of the planning goals of the State of Oregon, accompanied by a qualitative analysis identifying the New Urbanist goals applicable to each. Following that exercise in relationship establishment, this thesis then uses a case study of a master planned New Urbanist neighborhood in the city of Bend, Oregon. This case study is meant to provide a real world assessment of the ways in which New Urbanist design principles are applied in the context of a city that operates within the parameters and rules of state growth management law. Conclusions about the applicability of New Urbanist design principles to growth-managed communities are drawn at the end, as well as suggestions for future research opportunities on the subject.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The state of Oregon has a comprehensive system of growth management laws which has become a model for land use planning in other states around the country (Abbot, Howe and Adler 1994, 227). These laws are a testament to progressive philosophies implemented at a crucial juncture: just as the affliction of urban sprawl began to spread itself throughout the state. The enactment of growth management laws in Oregon, beginning with Senate Bill 100 (SB100) in 1973, is largely credited with limiting unregulated growth, preserving open space and rural environments, as well as reinvesting in the state's central, urbanized areas. Oregon's reputation as an environmental leader, as well as a center for innovative urban revitalization policy is well known.

The nineteen Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines, a product of the Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD), provide a comprehensive planning framework for communities. The planning objectives are intended to preserve quality of life, economic opportunity, and natural resources for all residents of Oregon.

Statewide planning has many facets. The central and most influential feature of Oregon's growth management planning is the establishment and management of Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs) for all of the state's incorporated communities. This is discussed in Goal 14 (Urbanization) of Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines. The establishment of UGBs in the state has had a distinctive impact on the pattern, manner, and amount of growth the state has experienced (Abbot, Howe and Adler 1994). Goal 14 in conjunction with the requirement that all communities develop legally binding comprehensive plans in accordance with state goals, has created a unique and effective mechanism for curbing sprawl in Oregon.

Originally convened in 1993, the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU) shares many of its philosophical roots with growth management policies in states such as Oregon. Guided by its Charter of the New Urbanism, the CNU adheres to twenty-seven principles addressing issues of urban sprawl, neighborhood design, open space, transportation, and more. The organization's membership consists of leaders in the fields of architecture, planning, landscape architecture, and development. Its founding members include Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk who are internationally recognized.

The CNU has created a philosophical structure for communities to use as they rethink their development patterns and urban design. This structure is intended to provide a more conscientious approach to community development by creating guidelines and objectives (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000).

The goal of this paper is to examine the relationship between these two sets of guiding principles, one canonized as state law and the other as a set of philosophical guidelines for development and redevelopment. This exploration examines the applicability of New Urbanist principles to the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines that govern growth management in Oregon. It explores the concepts of each that exhibit particularly strong relationships to the other.

The paper illustrates the relationships of Oregon's land use goals and CNU principles through a case study of a New Urbanist-style community, Northwest Crossing, in Bend, Oregon. These two sets of principles are applied in real-world development in this community. Where applicable, illustrative descriptions of principles are provided to assist the reader with clarification.

Chapterization

This thesis is organized into a series of chapters discussing each of Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines and the New Urbanist principles that, through applying the grounded theory process (the design and application of which is discussed in the Methodology section), have been determined applicable to one another. The Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines were grouped into categories during the initial open coding exercise, an aspect of grounded theory. They were assembled according to the specific Oregon planning-related topics they address. These categories are:

- Political Design (Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 1);
- Urban Growth Issues (Oregon Statewide Planning Goals 2, 7, 14, and 15);
- Resource Conservation (Oregon Statewide Planning Goals 3-6, and 13);
- Population Needs (Oregon Statewide Planning Goals 8-12); and
- Special Natural Resource Categories (Oregon Statewide Planning Goals 16-19).

With each new Goal and Guideline and New Urbanist principle introduced, a discussion of the significance of each precedes any discussion of the interaction of the two collections of planning doctrine. The intention of this process is to provide a consistent lens through which to examine the relationships in a thorough and qualitative manner. Each chapter addresses one category of Oregon Planning Goals, and follows with subsequent discussion of the applicable New Urbanist principles as determined through the open, axial, and selective coding stages undertaken during research.

Because the structure and application of the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines differs with that of the New Urbanist principles, oftentimes more than one NU principle is applicable to a Statewide Goal. This discovery was made during the axial coding process (see Methodology

section), and is reflected in the subsequent chapters of this paper. Each chapter contains a discussion of each Statewide Goal. The only exception to this process are the Resource Conservation and Special Natural Resources chapters where the Planning Goals and Guidelines are not applicable to this paper; consequently, the subsequent analysis of the NU principles is likewise brief.

The final chapter before the conclusion is the case study where data collected from publications, interviews, and firsthand research conducted during a site visit is analyzed. In that section, insights from these various forms of research are discussed and highlighted. Conclusions are drawn about the feasibility of this pattern of New Urbanist development within Oregon's growth management and planning structure, using lessons from the real-time experiences of the Northwest Crossing design and development team.

Methodology

This paper is primarily a qualitative relational exploration, rooted in a form of the grounded theory method of data collection and qualitative analysis (Corbin and Strauss 2008), described in Corbin and Strauss's *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. The method involves the categorization of data and research into groups to illustrate relationships between multiple sources and draw a conclusion about the relationship that emerges. The approach, also described in Leedy and Ormrod's *Practical Research: Planning and Design* (8th Ed.) allows for a flexibility with regard to data collection and the analysis in a qualitative manner. In grounded theory, one is not required to amass data and research that supports a pre-established hypothesis; but rather one may evolve their conclusion as data is collected and analyzed.

The two primary sources for this paper are the Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development's (DLCD) "Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines" (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) and those of the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU) Charter of the New Urbanism (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000), with other book, web, print, interview, and scholarly article sources accessed as necessary to explore concepts or provide historical or background information. Interviews are subject to interviewee availability and, because of that, serve as secondary and anecdotal sources for information.

The process of grounded theory research involves three steps: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. This is done to illustrate the relationships between sources of information. Open coding involves organizing the data to be examined into manageable conceptual themes by assigning all sources into basic categories. Because the research presented here is drawn from two primary sources (mentioned above), this process is, for the most part, already completed: the state goals are grouped together and the CNU's principles are grouped together as well. In fact, within the CNU's principles, further categorization has already taken place, grouping its twenty-seven principles into three levels of descriptive strata in terms of scope: "The region: Metropolis, city, and town"; "Neighborhood, district, and corridor"; and "Block, Street, and Building (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000)". An exercise similar to this grouping is done for Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines as well, breaking the nineteen goals down into six categories for the sake of internal consistency with the grounded theory method, as well as reader clarity.

The second step of the grounded theory process, axial coding, is where much of the body of work for this thesis lies. In this process, interconnections are established between initial categories established during the open coding stage and groupings in order to establish the formal relationships that will be investigated.

The final process of a grounded theory investigation is the selective coding stage. Rather than

being a process of categorization or relationship establishment, selective coding is a combination of both previous steps with the end result being the formation of a theory or story line, describing or illuminating the relationship phenomenon. This can be in the form of a direct association or causality, or in the form of a narrative established through the coding process. Typically, in a grounded theory study, all three stages of coding are able to happen simultaneously while research and data collection is occurring. Ultimately, a theory about the relationship explored is formed based on the conclusions arrived at during data collection (Corbin and Strauss 2008). This theory provides a basis for understanding the state and nature of the relationship. This exercise in relationship establishment serves as the basis for the organization of this paper's central discussion.

This project concludes with a case study of a neighborhood development in Oregon built according to New Urbanist principles. The community I have selected for my study is the Northwest Crossing neighborhood in Bend, Oregon. The planned community, located on the western edge of the city of Bend, quite close to the city's formally established UGB, is regarded as an outstanding model of thoughtful neighborhood planning. The community's meticulous attention to New Urbanist philosophy and design standards make it stand out significantly in a city overwhelmingly characterized by conventional suburban development, sprawl, and subdivisions.

The case study follows some of the guidelines established in *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* by Robert K. Yin (Yin 2003). It follows Yin's outline for exploring a "Single case-study as a critical case", as it can serve as a critical test of the relationship established through the grounded theory relational exploration. The single case will serve as both an examination of the applicability of principles from both primary sources (DLCD's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines and CNU's Charter of the New Urbanism) in a real world context, as well as a testing ground to determine the rationality of conclusions regarding both sets of guidelines. These

relationships between the Statewide Goals and Guidelines, New Urbanist principles, and the case study's adherence to the state goals through its use of New Urbanist techniques is graphically communicated on the axial coding chart included with this paper.

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Chapter 2

New Urbanism

The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) is a national organization first convened in October of 1993. Its membership is composed of designers, architects, planners, developers, public officials, policy makers, and others with similar concerns about the state and future of the built environment. CNU's concerns include the sprawling, vapid, placeless suburban developments ringing central cities; the declining state of central cities and historic population centers; the opportunities for commerce, and economic growth; the social, racial, income, and other stratification of communities; and the environmental degradation caused by patterns of unsustainable development (Poticha 2000).

The CNU agenda created an advocacy role for the organization in support of restoration of central cities, environmental conservation, and suburban community restructuring for growth in a justifiable and ecologically sensitive manner.

The concerns of the CNU are best demonstrated when comparing the sprawling patterns of suburban development characteristic of most American middle-class communities, to those same communities at the turn of the century. In the contemporary middle-class community, single-family homes are isolated from all other housing types and land uses; they sit on large lots in neighborhoods interwoven with winding, wide roads that more often than not terminate in cul-du-sacs. These communities are connected to the regional network of roads via high capacity interurban and interstate freeway systems. In fact, this singular connectivity means that the residents of these neighborhoods have extremely limited transportation options outside of the car.

These developments are sprawling and low density, making the provision of public services expensive and difficult to deliver for their municipalities or special service districts. These services include road maintenance, public transportation, emergency services, sewer and water, and even garbage pickup. In fact, the provision of many public services to these areas is economically feasible only through the safety net of the tax base provide from older, denser communities in the central urban areas around which these suburban communities ring (Orfield 2000).

CNU literature stresses that the sprawling suburb also has negative social effects. Because the pattern of suburban development is so mono-cultural, most suburban communities tend to sell homes to specific market segments. These segments are typically a single demographic (Weiss 2000). Predominantly this demographic is middle and upper class white populations. This has led to a serious decline in diversity among both urban and suburban residents as those of similar income tend to cluster together. The more affluent depart the cities, leaving those of more meager means behind to fill in the gaps in urban centers. The lack of economic and racial diversity leads to a lack of interaction among people from different backgrounds. This type of segregation is a contributing factor to social ills such as political polarization; a lack of upward mobility for members of the working class; and a parochial attitude toward access to mobility which becomes reserved for homogeneous suburbanites. This social stratification contributes to segregating economic and ethnic classes (Weiss 2000).

The isolated environment of the suburban household has also historically been attributed to cases of anxiety and depression – primarily in women and children. It is caused by social isolation and is believed to have begun soon after World War II and the onset of American suburbanization (Herbert 2006).

The CNU speculates that perhaps the most apparent negative impact of sprawling suburbanization is the environmental degradation caused by the developments. Suburban

development is primarily an exercise in greenfield development meaning that suburban lots and neighborhoods are platted on previously rural or undeveloped land. This contrasts with brownfield development which is the practice of developing and redeveloping land previously built upon. Brownfield development is typically a more expensive process because of the numerous constraints created by previous land uses including site contamination, pre-determined lot sizes, conflicting adjacent uses, and more.

Often, the suburban ultra low density and use-segregated developments, with wide and meandering arterials are constructed on vital farmland, natural areas, and open space that once characterized the urban periphery. As a result, more cars are flowing in and around land that once had value for crop production, scenic or recreational areas, wildlife habitat, and other non-urban uses. As well as open space consumption, increased carbon dioxide pollution caused by the automobile has become a major factor contributing to the environmental and climate degradation,. In fact, cars account for approximately 27% of all greenhouse gas emissions in 2008 (United States Environmental Protection Agency 2012). These are both negative consequences of suburban development.

New Urbanists are also concerned that sprawling suburban development erodes the tax base in nearby urban areas. When members of wealthier classes leave urban areas for the suburbs, they often take a substantial portion of the tax base previously available to central cities. This paper in no way argues that people should be forced or prompted by their governments to restrict their mobility based on tax demands, nor does this paper intend to portray the New Urbanist as supporting anything of the sort but it is important to understand the deteriorating economic effects on an urban area when it loses revenues due to out migration (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000).

When wealthy and mobile people exit from urban areas, they leave behind the poor, many of

whom require higher levels of social services. But, because of the flight of the affluent, central urban areas lose resources to provide those services. Many social services, including medical and psychological services, road maintenance, police and fire are very expensive for municipalities to provide; when a city's tax base diminishes, it is even more difficult to provide them (Orfield 2000). These are some of the most virulent effects of suburbanization.

New Urbanists want to address the lack of order that is characteristic of suburbia (Bothwell 2000). While not a directly attributable problem like the environmental or economic effects discussed above, this "placelessness" is a recognizable feature of conventional suburban development. This "placelessness" is characterized by row after row of buildings and homes that not only look the same, but could exist anywhere in the country or world. These structures bear no relationship to the context in which they are placed. The current cookie-cutter style of development, national chain big box stores and "McMansion" style homes, are the major illustrations of the New Urbanists' concept of "placelessness".

McMansions is a pejorative descriptor of houses that lack architectural or contextual integrity. They bear repetitive and unimaginative features, and are viewed as tasteless, and are reproduced in housing developments throughout the country (Kaplan 1990). This differs from the New Urbanist philosophy which promotes a diversified architecture reflective of local history and vernacular design (Kelbaugh 2000). Whether that occurs with any degree of reliability from one New Urbanist project to another is something that can likely only be addressed on a case-by-case basis.

To address these ills, the New Urbanists propose rethinking the way in which our communities and society are composed and structured. Far from being a prescriptive, top-down approach to retooling the system, New Urbanism advocates design alternatives and supplemental restructuring of policy design to affect development patterns. Their prescription is documented

in the Congress for the New Urbanism's Charter of the New Urbanism (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000).

The Charter identifies twenty-seven principles describing the movement's philosophies. The principles are divided into three groups, addressing the various scales of the built environment around which the Charter is organized. The three overarching groups move from the broad principles necessary for regional development to the more explicit concepts needed for neighborhood elements.

The first of the three sections is: "The Region: Metropolis, City, and Town." This section includes the first nine principles of New Urbanism. These are: 1) the metropolitan region as the fundamental economic unit of the world; 2) metropolitan regions as finite places; 3) the relationship of the metropolis to its agrarian hinterland; 4) blurring development patterns at the edge of the metropolis; 5) organization of new development into neighborhoods and districts, and integration of that development into the existing urban patterns; 6) new development's need to respect historic patterns of development; 7) the spectrum of public and private uses for the benefit of all income groups; and 8) the framework of transportation alternatives; and 9) revenue and resource sharing between municipalities and centers within regions (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000).

The second set of New Urbanism's goals revolve around the concepts of "Neighborhood, District, and Corridor". This covers principles 10 through 18. These are: 10) neighborhoods, districts, and corridors as the essential elements of the metropolis; 11) the individual aspects of each of the three scales (neighborhood, district, and corridor), including pedestrian-friendliness, use characteristics, and roles in regional scale and connectivity; 12) interconnected street design to encourage walking and reduce auto-dependence; 13) the provision of differentiated housing types to accommodate people of different needs and groups; 14) the organizational elements of transit

corridors, as well as the impact of highway systems on the existing urban fabric; 15) the proper use of building density and land use to encourage transit use; 16) the physical concentration of civic uses as central elements to a community; 17) the use of graphic urban design codes as tools for healthy neighborhood growth; and 18) the importance of the distribution of various types of green and park spaces throughout the community (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000).

This third group of Charter goals are of the finest grained scale: “The Block, Street, and Building.”

These sections address 19) the role of architecture and design as definers of shared spaces in the urban environment; 20) the importance of linking distinct architectural projects into their surroundings; 21) the role of urban design in promoting safety while maintaining accessibility; 22) the realistic accommodation for automobiles in the urban environment in a manner respectful of other modes of transportation and space; 23) organization of streets and other public spaces around pedestrianism, including walking and congregating, for the sake of community development and protection; 24) the relationship between architecture, design, and the locale in which it exists, incorporating factors such as climate, history, and other elements of place; 25) the significant role that civic structures and public space play in the identification of a community, and the need for their designs to be distinct from other structures in that community; 26) the importance for all buildings to provide occupants with a sense of time, location, and weather, as well as incorporating natural systems into mechanical systems for efficiency; and 27) the value in protecting and rejuvenating the historic elements of a community to reinforce and reaffirm the vitality and growth of an urban area.

This third grouping of principles addresses the design and implementation of individual streets, blocks, and the role of specific buildings in forming a complete, vibrant, and livable community. The principles focus on pedestrian scale design elements and the role of specific types of structures and spaces for fostering healthy communities. Additionally, the principles discuss

the inevitable and unavoidable role of the automobile in the contemporary urban landscape (NU Principle #22). Many planners and futurists demonize the car and have, at times past, called for its removal from communities because of the negative social, economic, land-use, and environmental externalities attributed to it. The New Urbanist discussion takes a more measured look at the car's role in society. Their discussion acknowledges that the role of the automobile is overinflated in today's American city, and recognizes the important role of restoring a balance among pedestrian, bike, transit and the car (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000).

Criticism of New Urbanism

New Urbanism and its advocates present a somewhat utopian and quaint vision of how cities should be built and organized and it has its detractors and critics. New Urbanism has been castigated as elitist, dull, homogeneous, and an attempt at manufactured nostalgia (Talen 2000).

As with much criticism, these reprimands are not without basis. Many New Urbanist communities do eventually embody a form of pastel colored, token homage to a bygone era, the effort made all the more obvious by its more-often-than-not juxtaposition in a sea of traditional suburban development. This can be seen in New Urbanist attempts throughout the country that have, for any number of reasons, fallen short in their attempt to successfully redefine the urban paradigm. This is despite the fact that it can be generally agreed that the underlying principles of New Urbanism are born from an established and thoroughly articulated school of thought advocating the benefits of mixed land uses, transportation options and access, and other positive attributes of the urban condition (Talen 2000). The criticisms appear to focus more on problems in the application of the principles not on the underlying principles themselves.

Emily Talen discusses the criticisms of execution versus criticism based on philosophy. In her

2000 article in *Urban Geography*, “New Urbanism and the Culture of Criticism”, she posits that the bulk of New Urbanism’s criticism comes not so much from the movement’s advocacy of positive neighborhood planning philosophies, but rather from what she calls, “...the architectural weakness of their commercial imagery.” (Talen 2000, 320) She suggests that rather than debating the merits of New Urbanism based on its underlying philosophy, its critics attempt to discredit it by focusing on the flaws in its execution. This argument seems to have the same merit as criticizing a genre of literature simply because the prose of certain writers working within that genre isn’t superior. Talen goes on to say that, “...we must be careful to assess whether the impact,” that is, the aspects of New Urbanism under criticism, “is the result of the ideal itself or a flawed application of that ideal.” (Talen 2000, 321).

New Urbanists have acknowledged that not all efforts have produced results consistent with the philosophical objectives. Yet, that isn’t sufficient evidence to reject the objectives which do potentially challenge the norms of development. Talen also observes her examination of New Urbanist criticisms did not produce substantive alternative solutions to the urban issues that New Urbanism attempts to address.

New Urbanism is criticized as an attempt to create a manufactured nostalgia, an escapist effort that romanticizes the past. This criticism tends to take the form of a label, rather than a true discussion (Ellis 2002). This argument asserts that New Urbanists are overly preoccupied with a fantasy about the ideals of small town life, where people can live in a newly developed yet historically contrived environment.

The nostalgia argument fails to acknowledge the breadth or meaning of the movement. The development of turn-of-the-century, small town, American-style communities is one of the most widely recognized signatures of NU developments, but, it is far from the only one. In fact, New Urbanism is applicable at many scales, from greenfield development of the small American town

to the dense, central city where redevelopment and infill are the norm of the movement.

Cliff Ellis, in his article, “The New Urbanism: Critiques and Rebuttals”, argues that rather than labeling New Urbanism with the term “nostalgia”, a more accurate term would be “respectful”. He argues that New Urbanism emulates and modernizes historical patterns that remain applicable to the demands of modern life (Ellis 2002). By this argument, New Urbanism is not guided by a desire to flee the realities of modern life, but rather is guided by a process of adapting and integrating lessons learned from historically successful urban places, an established practice promoted by such luminaries as Jacobs, Hale, and Kunstler (Ellis 2002).

New Urbanist communities rarely seek to extricate themselves from the complexity of the modern world. Many of the principles of the movement address methods of integrating the scale of modern life into community development in intentional and thoughtful ways. For example, New Urbanists recognize the hierarchical place of the automobile in society (Principle #22), as well as the realities imposed by global economies where the metropolitan region – rather than the isolated nation-state – is the most effective economically competitive unit (Principle #2).

New Urbanism is further criticized for producing weak and unimaginative architecture. Often, the design standards established by New Urbanist developers are perceived by the design community to be unnecessarily restrictive. They limit artistic expression and architectural evolution because they advocate certain design objectives that can emerge as kitschy or trite, like front porches and elements of a generalized historicism in building composition (Ellis 2002).

These results can produce the manufactured nostalgia referenced earlier in this section, but also can develop an architectural product that is, at best, uneven in its design. The counter argument is that, while New Urbanism supports the incorporation of a number of design standards into the built environments, the purpose of the movement is not style. The purpose of New Urbanism

is the larger spatial structure of community (Ellis 2002). Buildings and architecture are a part of that structure, but they are certainly not the only part. Putting too large of an emphasis on the particulars of building design ignores the composition and integration of all the elements of a built environment. The architectural expression criticism fails to acknowledge the successful traditional town planning elements of New Urbanism. These comprehensive elements are far more responsible for the generation of a successful community and are the focus of the NU effort. The architectural expression is only one aspect of the New Urbanist guiding literature and it is focused on only minimally in the Charter.

Another often cited criticism of New Urbanism has to do with its association with its place as a bastardized incarnation of postmodernism in urban design. Without using quite such harsh language, Paul Walker Clark, in “The Economic Currency of Architectural Aesthetics”, argues that the postmodern movement has failed to achieve its goals of playfully yet intentionally reincorporating traditional forms into modern applications because of the influence of capitalism and the forces that propel it (Clarke 2003). Because a central piece of New Urbanism is the reincorporation of traditional city planning and architectural design elements into a modern context (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000) – which, in American society, is inescapably interwoven with capitalism as the economic force propelling growth and prosperity, New Urbanism’s association between postmodernism and capitalism is not a difficult intellectual leap to make. While postmodernism and modernism are both complex artistic concepts, the subtleties of which can be discussed in perpetuity while both are still not given their fair due, Clark sums them up in a phrase as best as he can with “Modernism ignored vernacular prototypes, postmodernism elaborates typologies of all origins.” (Clarke 2003, 38). Using this as a frame of reference for thinking about the artistic and design elements of these movements – particularly postmodernism, one can then apply his position about styles to his argument about the effect of capitalism on such.

Clark's criticism of postmodernism (and, by proxy, New Urbanism for the sake of this discussion) is a harsh critique of the effect of capitalism on the physical form of the urban environment. He uses Disneyland's Main Street USA attraction as an example of the commodification of traditional urban design for the service of capitalism. People – customers – are drawn to experience a skewed and reimagined replica of what traditional urban life once was, viewed through the rose-colored glasses of Disneyland – after they pay admission, of course. Ironically, there is at least one actual, real New Urbanist neighborhood designed and managed by the Disney Corporation: Celebration, Florida. Clark's criticisms of the way the movement has been embraced center around the inauthenticity of the spaces they create, their pay-to-play nature where only those who can afford to experience postmodern projects are allowed to, and the general revival of aesthetic practices that, themselves, were responses to historical movements no longer applicable in today's era (Clarke 2003, 42).

While much of Clark's argument about style and application bears a healthy amount of artistic perspective and historical accuracy, one could argue effectively that his demonization of capitalism reveals an underdeveloped viewpoint on the economic system in which American society operates. This inability to grasp the philosophical and human nature aspects of how a capitalist society functions ultimately undermines much of his argument about the failure of postmodernism. He argues that, because capitalism as a system has the capacity to monetize art and space (urban design), it is constantly destroying that which is worth saving in the pursuit of higher and better uses. He describes it, "Capitalism has a demonic appetite to build and rebuild." (Clarke 2003, 29) However, a more measured approach to capitalism could easily argue that, while the system of capitalism is constantly in pursuit of the highest and best use of space, there is nothing inherently evil (as Clark's use of the word "demonic" would suggest he feels) about this. In fact, it can easily be argued that capitalism, as with any economic structure in the world, is neither good nor evil. Only the operators of the system – the citizens that compose the society – are capable of acts able to be characterized as good or evil.

Is one to assume that, by Clark's logic, a communist economic system (in a gross oversimplification, but for the sake of time and space, one could view as economically the opposite of capitalism) is more "good"? Perhaps in the abstract, but historical evidence paints a very different picture. Despite its many egregious shortcomings, westernized, capitalist societies like the United States, France, and the United Kingdom to name a few, have ultimately fared much better in terms of societal equity, justice, and upward mobility opportunities for citizens than their communist counterparts like the former Soviet Union or China. This assessment should not be seen as a value judgment of one economic philosophy over another, but rather an assessment of widely understood historical events and facts. Insofar as this applies to the commodification of space, Clarke's argument that postmodern designs in a capitalist society are somehow bastardized or are tools of the capitalist machine to exclude those who cannot afford to participate in the experience of them bears little weight. Like much of the criticism of New Urbanism, Clarke's argument focuses on the application of philosophical rules in an imperfect world, analogous to focusing on where one fell, rather than where one tripped. Capitalism is not the culprit. The operators of capitalism are. Capitalism, in the frame of New Urbanist development, postmodernism, or any other framework, is not the perpetrator of wrongs; it is only the tool by which the individual operators functioning within its rules become capable of "good" or "evil" acts.

The bulk of criticisms of the structure of New Urbanism have merit but they appear to focus on specific aspects of the movement, not on the comprehensive approach to development encompassed by the movement. They can identify where additional work is needed to improve the outcomes in real-world developments, and should be regarded as tools to refine the product in application. However, the criticisms do not appear to have sufficient breadth of focus to constitute an impeachment of the entire New Urbanism charter.

The most legitimate and comprehensive perspective for criticizing the New Urbanist movement comes from a school of thought outlined well in Paul Knox's *Cities and Design*. In his critique of the movement, he acknowledges the validity and aspirational qualities of NU's underlying principles, while acknowledging the reality that, more often than not, the manifestations of those amount to well branded and picturesque upscale sprawl. He compares its lofty roots to those of modernism, decades ago – wherein the goal was to move urban form and society into a more egalitarian society, imbued with progressive and communitarian social values. However, because of the realities of modern geopolitics and global economics (the intersection of which often referred to as neoliberalism – a global political and economic trend that, simply put, expands economic freedoms while placing governments into subservient roles to economic interests due to (among other factors) the increasing mobility of capital around the world – many of the underlying motives for the movement are hijacked in the pursuit of wealth accumulation (Knox 2011). He sums up his extended discussion on the origins, applications, and future prospects of the movement with the statement, “New Urbanism has been transmuted from a critical and potentially progressive force into an instrument of the prevailing order.” (Knox 2011, 150).

Unlike much NU criticism, Knox draws much of his critique not from what can be argued as a misguided connection between design and capitalism (although the role of capitalism in design is a central theme of his work), but rather from the underlying belief implied in much NU literature and philosophy that spatial form can decisively dictate social norms, behaviors, and processes, despite external influences (Knox 2011, 148). Knox's claims are not far fetched by any scale of the imagination. New Urbanism, from its conception, does seek to promote a form of idealized lifestyle that embraces elements of democracy, postmodernism, communitarianism, and environmentalism, to name a few. Because of the influence of capitalism and/or neoliberalism on the function and role of the built environment, however, much of the movement's motivators and noble aspirations are coopted, becoming far more regressive than progressive, as the movement's founders had hoped at its conception. As Knox observes, the conservative initiative to react

to the postwar neighborhood development trends that have dominated growth patterns for so long with a nostalgic reproduction of a simpler lifestyle that reinforces values of neighborliness and walkability over automobile convenience is a natural and understandable tendency (Knox 2011, 144). How those impetuses are applied, and how they are integrated into the capitalist, neoliberal context of modern society can and does have unexpected results. This is where much NU criticism gets bogged down, misguidedly demonizing the application of the movement as the movement itself. Knox, on the other hand, through his discussion, demonstrates a more deft understanding of the difference between the two and parses his criticism appropriately. While the capitalist implications of neighborhood and town planning produce one discussion, the nature of a movement like NU produces a very different one. Critiques of NU validated by Knox include his assertion that it is a form of engineering behavior through design codification.

Finally, Knox asserts that many NU developments use the values of the movement to guide the design process with minimal regard to context. Referring to this as “drag and drop forms from other places and other times” (Knox 2011, 144), he cites Kenneth Frampton, an architectural theorist, who calls for a stronger design sensitivity to place and context called “Critical Regionalism” which, at its essence, integrates local context as a guiding principle rather than arbitrary values associated with an ambiguous conception of small-town Americana. This is one of the few instances where Knox falls into the trap of criticizing the application rather than the underlying fundamentals. The twenty-fourth NU principle, in fact, reads: “Architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice.” (Kelbaugh 2000). Compare this to Knox’s invocation of Frampton in his criticism of NU: “...calls for a more ‘critical regionalism’ that might assimilate genuine local materials, crafts, topographies, and climate with the broader trends of national and global culture.” (Knox 2011, 144-147), and one finds almost identical language, pushing the same values. The nearly identical nature of these two assertions of how urban design should be practiced arguably invalidates much criticism of NU as not embracing concepts like Critical Regionalism into its guiding language. Whether

developers and designers purporting to operate under the banner of New Urbanism truly embrace the Critical Regionalist aspects of New Urbanism explicitly codified in its 24th Principle as a value in their respective practices could be a far more worthwhile and valid place for debate.

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Chater 3

Planning in Oregon: A History of Growth Management

Since the early nineteen-seventies, the State of Oregon has been a leader in progressive land-use policy, particularly in the field of urban growth management. Republican Governor Tom McCall (1967-1975) is largely credited for pushing a progressive environmental agenda which included numerous milestone acts, chief among them being the introduction of urban growth boundaries (UGBs) around the state's cities (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 25).

In the Governor's 1973 speech to the Oregon State Legislature, he called for statewide land use planning, condemning "sagebrush subdivisions, coastal 'condo-mania,' and the ravenous rampages of suburbia". He asserted that this sprawling, suburban-style pattern of development was destroying the natural landscape and abundant resources that made Oregon the "environmental model of this nation". (McCall 1973) Working closely with Senator Hector Macpherson, a Republican farmer from Linn County, numerous political strategies were attempted and executed to enable the state to gain a measure of control over how its finite amount of land was being used.

Senate Bill 100

Prior to the passage of Oregon's momentous statewide planning bill in 1973, known as SB 100, there was SB (Senate Bill) 10, adopted by the state legislature in 1969. A less sophisticated version of its successor, SB 10 required all cities and counties to develop comprehensive plans and zoning ordinances in accordance with ten statewide planning goals. While a major milestone in terms of reshaping the power structure and requirements of various levels of government, the bill was

riddled with inconsistencies, loopholes, and other weaknesses that made it more problematic than its sponsors had intended.

Working with Senator Macpherson, Governor McCall, having won his reelection campaign in 1970, set up an informal policy committee to improve SB 10. Stressing the importance of protecting vital farm and ranch land from the relentless encroachment of suburban growth, the two pushed for action and, in 1973, a stronger and more comprehensive bill, SB 100, made it through the Oregon legislature and became law (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994).

It is interesting to note that, while the bill passed with a substantial majority (58 to 32), the bulk of its support came from legislators from the Willamette Valley region. The Willamette Valley is simultaneously the most urbanized region of the state and the most agriculturally productive. Fewer than one third of the legislators from eastern Oregon or the coast voted for the bill (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, xiv).

Before 1973, almost all states required or enabled planning in their local communities. With the passage of Oregon Senate Bill 100 on May 29th, 1973, however, the Beaver State became the first to require local governments to plan in a manner consistent with state planning goals. There are nineteen goals, which will be discussed later in this document, addressing everything from citizen involvement to proper treatment and protection of state beaches and dunes. To be eligible for state financial support for various projects, community plans must pass muster with a state-level review process. This is the enforcement device to assure that all cities and counties create plans that coordinate with the statewide plans.

SB 100 directs that the state plans and goals be developed by the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC), a body constituted to implement the legislation.

Oregon works with citizen oversight commissions throughout its state government and the cre-

ation of the LCDC was consistent with this approach to public decision making. The legitimacy of this Commission was always politically acceptable; the breadth of its decision making authority hasn't always been popular.

The new state process through LCDC required local land use planning decisions to be made with the involvement of both local and state governments. The purpose was to ensure that all communities in the state could pursue their individual goals, but those goals had to align with the state goals. It also made plans legally binding, whereas prior to 1973, plans were only guidelines and advisory documents. This brought political clout and interest to Oregon's planning process, which had formerly attracted little interest outside of the affected communities.

The Land Conservation and Development Commission

The LCDC, finally in place by 1977 to administer the statewide land use policies, is composed of seven members. Each member is appointed by the governor to serve four year terms. The Oregon State Senate must confirm the appointees before they can begin their duties. Two members are from the state at large, and the remaining five are from each of Oregon's five congressional districts. There are other requirements for filling positions, including that at least one (but no more than two) member must be from Multnomah County (Oregon's largest county by population, and containing most of the city of Portland), and at least one member must be a current elected official, while another must be a former elected official (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, xiv).

The Department of Land Conservation and Development

The Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) is the administrative arm of

the LCDC, and is a state agency. It administers and executes the goals of the LCDC. Their mission is to assist communities plan both the built and natural environments to ensure a high quality of life for citizens. The DLCD is in charge of conservation of resource, rural, and natural lands; promotion of sustainable and livable communities; ensuring equitable treatment and active participation opportunities in its administration for all citizens; development of initiatives and strategies for intergovernmental collaboration; and providing open communication channels among all levels of the land-use decision-making process (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2011). The DLCD is also one of the lead agencies involved with tribal governments throughout the state on land use issues.

The Land Use Board of Appeals

Because land use decisions are invariably related, both directly and indirectly to legal decisions and ramifications, the state instituted a Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA) in 1979. Before its creation, governmental land use decisions were heard by the LCDC, as well as state circuit courts (Oregon Land Use Board of Appeals 2011, About Us). While the added regulations, deadlines, and other legal requirements caused more complications (and additional workloads) for local governments, the LUBA streamlined the process of appealing decisions, because of the access to legal professionals for feedback. The LUBA has three primary roles: simplification of the land use decision appeal process, acceleration of the resolution process, and consistency in the interpretation of land use laws (Oregon Land Use Board of Appeals 2011).

Urban Growth Boundaries

Along with the LUBA and the establishment of both the LCDC and DLCD, the central objective

of SB 100 remains the protection of rural and undeveloped land through the effective constraint of urban growth and development. This is accomplished through the establishment of Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs).

A UGB is an political boundary line, encircling a metropolitan area, within which urban patterns of growth are constrained (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, Goal 14). Land outside of the UGB is designated as rural, farm, resource land, or other open space designation and has strict limits on development and use. These boundaries are routinely updated and expanded, as needs for additional urban capacity emerges. Specific language describing the establishment and purpose of the UGB is outlined in Goal #14: Urbanization, in Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and will be addressed at length later in this paper.

While criticized for, among other things, limiting growth, UGBs with minor examination, do nothing of the sort. Instead of limiting growth, the goal of a UGB is, in fact, the orderly management of growth. By using the best available data to anticipate development patterns and trends, a UGB creates an indicator for developers of where growth can occur and what kind of growth the community has projected.

The intention of this additional step is to allow development to happen in an orderly fashion, creating an urban environment that is characteristically different from the sprawling form of growth SB 100 was curbing. Different from unregulated real estate markets, the UGB actually provides a solid level of predictability for the development community, providing a more stable economic assessment and increasing investor confidence in development decisions.

Another criticism of UGBs is that they unnaturally alter the real estate market, which opponents argue can function more efficiently without governmental intervention (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 29). Thinking about UGBs from this Adam Smith-style economic philosophy, this criticism

is hard to refute; the extensive involvement of government with its democratic inefficiencies has every possibility of slowing and miring the dynamic process of real estate markets

The primary counter argument provided by UGB proponents is two-pronged. The first is that the real estate market is already markedly inefficient in itself, due to the limitations of disproportional amounts of buyers and sellers, a lack of perfect information, prior market inefficiencies created by government and industry in the past, and more.

The second prong is that, because bills like SB 100 are introduced to protect the public good, (in this case, protecting Oregon's natural beauty, the preserving the state's agricultural and resource industries, and enhancing the livability of urban environments), tools like UGBs insert the public interest into the marketplace – something not accounted for in traditional economic models. It can be argued that UGBs accomplish such goals by offsetting less efficient growth patterns; by reducing the cost of public facilities, thus saving the taxpayers money; by providing additional information to the marketplace about public interest in resource land preservation; and more (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 29).

Establishing an urban growth boundary has numerous implications for urban and rural land markets, facilities and infrastructure provision, housing and home values, and the general form of the built and un-built environments. Understanding these effects, through processes of the Oregon growth management system, is necessary for a complete appreciation of how the system functions locally and statewide.

Because a part of UGB implementation requires the permanent reclassification of land located outside of it as rural, resource, or open space, development pressures are invariably adjusted. In short, farmland located within roughly three miles of the urban growth boundary drops steadily in value the closer it gets to urbanized land. This is due to incompatible uses and nuisance effects

caused by urban land on the productivity of farmland including theft, restrictions on necessary production processes (like spraying or operating heavy equipment at irregular hours), trespassing, and more. Conversely, urban land rises in value the closer it gets to the edge of the UGB. This is because a view and access to rural landscapes is perceived as valuable to homeowners, thus raising the property values of homes located on the urban fringe.

Even with these complications, the designation of rural land as undevelopable for urban purposes protects agricultural production (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 32). In fact, speculative real estate practices that the land outside UGB borders is sold based on its value as resource or agricultural land.

Additionally, UGB growth management happens in tandem with a progressive approach to housing. Zoning for housing within UGBs is at an increased density (usually six to ten units per acre) as compared to cities in other states. Many residentially zoned areas also allow for different housing types than the traditional single-family unit, including multi-family, attached units, and mixed use. Other policies include the allowance of manufactured homes on single-family lots in larger cities and counties (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 32). These increased densities provide a substantial buffer against anticipated and perceived pressures for residential growth as the state's population increases and urbanizable land is consumed. Even with these progressive zoning and density policies in place, the overwhelming housing type in urban areas remains the single-family home, as targeted growth policies serve to protect the popular housing type.

Regarding the provision of utilities and infrastructure, the UGB is intended to make processes more efficient, thus aiding markets in developing comprehensively and efficiently. Centralized planning for facilities allows the development community to work from one place to get information on plans for future growth and get predictable and reliable data regarding the level of services the public utilities can provide. This ultimately can reduce development costs because it elimi-

nates uncertainty often accompanying facilities planning for new development (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 31).

Criticism of Oregon's Planning Goals

Criticisms of Oregon's land-use were never far from the public eye. Much of it concentrated on the exceptionally detailed process for plan creation and subsequent plan alignments throughout the state. As a new state agency coped with its unprecedented mission, it also labored to assure that its processes and its plan approvals would survive both political and legal challenges. The campaign to repeal SB 100 in 1982 is an excellent case study of how the opposition coalesced its various issues around an economically devastated state and nearly up-ended this pioneering effort.

LCDC moved too slowly for many and created too many hoops to jump through for others. Policy formation moved too slowly and some of the goals conflicted (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994, 11). Additionally, restrictions on timber harvesting and impacts on Oregon's small businesses – real and imagined - continued to frustrate elements of the business community. And by the early 1980s land use confronted the perfect storm.

The national economy was in recession and as always, Oregon's resource dependent economy was hit harder than other states. The state was in a budget and employment crisis. It was the opportunity to apportion blame in part to SB 100.

Oregon Citizens for Fair Land Planning launched an initiative campaign which would abolish state land use planning by making all planning decisions advisory only. And the public opinion polls favored the repeal by a margin of 2 to 1. Analysis identified the frustration around the

bureaucratic process as fueling the anger. With employment topping the state's public concerns, former levels of support for other issues, including environmental issues plummeted.

The campaign to repeal raised \$206,760 (an impressive amount 25 years ago). The funding came from timber companies; Associated Oregon Industries, the state's largest business lobby; Associated General Contractors, the state's largest development group; and Oregon's corporate power structure including Boise Cascade, Georgia-Pacific, Louisiana Pacific, Publishers Paper and Weyerhaeuser. These organizations are listed here to stress how serious the assault on land use was in 1982.

The opposition raised \$126,524 and had support from some of Oregon's more progressive businesses like Tektronix and Nike (Walth 1994, 460-462). The division among Oregon's business community in 1982 was a carry over from the divisions of the battle to pass SB 100. For those businesses not dependent on natural resources, the environmental protections came at little cost. For resource-based industries, the legislation had potential adverse consequences which the resource industries used to their advantage in 1982. According to Brent Walth in *Fire at Eden's Gate*, former Governor Tom McCall won the election for the opposition.

McCall had led the fight to pass Senate Bill 100. His passion for controlled growth to preserve Oregon's beauty never abated. In a dramatic speech in October, prior to the November election, McCall revealed that he was dying of cancer and despaired that Measure 6 would fundamentally destroy Oregon's future. "There is no brighter jewel in the Oregon diadem of innovation than [land use planning]. If you really want to signal to one and all that Oregon is down – that we can't even agree on what we are doing, that we are ready to quit – just pass Measure 6 and totally repudiate the Oregon mystique." (Walth 1994, 459). In a stunning turn around the numbers changed almost overnight. His remarks received national attention and rekindled fervent support for land use. Opposition eroded and gap narrowed to four points. Campaign advertising used the McCall

remarks on television. The repeal measure was defeated by a margin of 55% (Walth 1994, 463). Yet, the pattern of support and opposition described the continuing issues confronting state land use planning. Twenty-three of thirty-six counties passed the repeal measure; its defeat was due to overwhelming support in urban counties.

In 2012 much of the frustration with the birth pains of a new bureaucratic process has abated. Procedures are established and community plans are in place. Regional governments understand their roles. The urban rural split continues to be a source of concern but not a fundamental threat. The economy has not destabilized state land use planning during this current recession. Instead, land use planning has become a fixture of Oregon governments, politics and national reputation.

Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals

Oregon's statewide planning program, administered by the Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) is guided by a set of nineteen goals, which cover topics including citizen involvement, agriculture, forests, hazard areas, recreation, and more. These goals are expressions, in more approachable language than the legal jargon comprising the statutes, of how state and local governments are to go about planning in their communities. These goals provide guides and recommendations about applying the statewide program to the local level. However, these goals are not merely guiding documents. As mentioned earlier, local comprehensive plans – which are required of all city and county governments – are legally required to be consistent with the nineteen statewide goals (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2). The process of writing and adopting Statewide Goals rests with the LCDC.

Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals Enumerated

The individual Statewide Planning Goals (Goals) have the following classifications: 1) Citizen Involvement; 2) Land Use Planning; 3) Agricultural Land; 4) Forest Lands; 5) Open Space, Scenic and Historic Areas, and Natural Resources; 6) Air, Water, and Land Resources Quality; 7) Areas Subject to Natural Hazards and Disasters; 8) Recreational Needs; 9) Economic Development; 10) Housing; 11) Public Facilities and Infrastructure; 12) Transportation; 13) Energy Conservation; 14) Urbanization; 15) (the) Willamette River Greenway; 16) Estuarine Resources; 17) Coastal Shorelands; 18) Beaches and Dunes; and 19) Ocean Resources (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The DLCD's program for the state covers strategies for planning in areas both urban and rural. In addition to ensuring smart growth strategies in the state's urban areas such as Portland and Eugene, proper protection of the state's natural resources is not just a goal for planning, but for growth management in general. These are the goals by which all communities in Oregon must plan. The state of Oregon does not itself write community comprehensive plans. The LCDC reviews and approves these plans and is frequently consulted by local communities to assure that the local plan is consistent with the state goals.

Over the years since initial implementation, the process has become easier for local governments and planners to navigate; definitions have been refined; various concepts have been court tested; precedents have been established. Today, the process appears to be an embedded part of Oregon government. There are issues that arise regularly, but the momentum to repeal has subsided substantially in recent years.

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Chapter 4

Political Design

Introduction

There are two Oregon Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines that fall under this paper's category of Political Design. These are Goal 1: Citizen Involvement, and Goal 2: Land Use Planning. The justification for this designation is that both goals pertain to the governmental structures and strategies for addressing growth management issues. Other Statewide Goals pertain to specific aspects of the growth management process like urbanization, housing, and the management of various natural resources but without the emphasis on political design.

Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 1: Citizen Involvement

Of the nineteen goals in Oregon's Planning Goals and Guidelines, first and foremost is Citizen Involvement. The goal is: To develop a citizen involvement program that insures the opportunity for citizens to be involved in all phases of the planning process (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). This goal precedes all others in the set. It was an intentional choice, as engagement of the public had been determined as critical for effective community planning. At the local level, this translates to a program that citizens access through a defined procedure. This provides a venue for hearing citizen concerns and integrating those issues into the plan-making process. Goal 1 breaks into six categories, or 'components': Citizen Involvement (aptly named), Communication, Citizen Influence, Technical Information, Feedback Mechanisms, and Financial Support.

The first component, Citizen Involvement has, at its core, a structure called the Committee for Citizen Involvement (CCI). This is the organizational means to integrate citizen involvement in land use decisions.

The CCI is a publicly selected group of individuals representing interests, areas, and populations related to specific land use decisions. Their chief responsibility is to aid governments with the development, implementation, and evaluation of an involvement program that effectively engages the governing body's constituents. If a government decides that it wants to handle its own citizen involvement, it may. But it must explain in a letter to the LCDC its reasons and proposed methods for accomplishing citizen involvement. The objective remains clear: citizens must be a significant part of land-use planning decision processes.

The second component, Communication, ensures that a workable and useful dialogue exists throughout the planning process between citizens and decision makers. This involves use of

mailings, postings, and other forms of media to inform the public about land use and planning decisions (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). It is likely safe to speculate that with the rise of the World Wide Web as a communication tool, that maintaining an online presence has become a central piece of the planning process as well.

The third component of Goal 1 is citizen influence. This is the feature of planning wherein the opportunity for citizen involvement in all parts of the planning process is emphasized. These processes include data collection, plan preparation, plan adoption, implementation, evaluation, and revision. Citizen involvement programs, whether administered by the state or by the local jurisdiction are responsible for ensuring that citizens are accorded their proper level of interaction and influence with the planning process in their community. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010)

The fourth component of Goal 1, Technical Information, exists to ensure that information used by experts including planners and policy makers is readily available in a form accessible and approachable by the average citizen. Easy access to technical information for citizens is also emphasized. Information is required to be available at local public facilities such as libraries. Assistance in interpreting and understanding technical information is required so that citizens can understand and effectively respond to technical information (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). This information can include plans, political and legal documents, environmental data, social and economic statistics, photographs, maps, and more.

The fifth component of Goal 1 is the establishment of Feedback Mechanisms. This process, also administered by the local government or the state, ensures that citizens receive timely responses from their leaders. This also requires that land use planning decisions and methodology become public records so that citizens can access information at any time. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) Oregon's public records law reinforces this goal.

The sixth and final component of the Citizen Involvement Goal is Financial Support. This ensures that adequate resources are allocated to the citizen involvement process. This section also stipulates that human and informational resources (not necessarily associated with or requiring financing) shall be provided as well. The government is responsible for providing these services to its constituents. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010)

NU Principles Applicable

Under the Political Design open coded category three New Urbanist principles are applicable to Oregon's Citizen Involvement goal. These principles are numbers 1 and 25 in the Charter of the New Urbanism. It should be noted that, because this Oregon Statewide Planning Goal is not written in regard to the built environment and elements of urban design, but rather to address the political planning structure, the relationships between the Statewide Planning Goal and the principles of the Charter are not always direct or fully apparent. That said, the relationship of the principles in the Charter relevant to this Statewide Planning Goal is significant because their common approach is rooted in the democratic process fairly executed.

I would argue this commitment to a democratic citizen involvement process makes Oregon's Statewide Planning Goal 1 its most essential element.

New Urbanist Principle 1

New Urbanist Principle 1 states, "The metropolitan region is the fundamental economic unit of the contemporary world. Governmental cooperation, public policy, physical planning, and eco-

conomic strategies must reflect this new reality” (Calthorpe, One 2000). It identifies the region as the fundamental economic and political unit of the modern world. It emphasizes that governmental and economic strategies need to reflect this reality in their planning processes.

At the heart of this principle is the statement that, because society operates at the scale of the metropolitan region, the tools used to ensure prosperity, cohesion, and order should be reflective of that scale. This applies to government programs, public policy making, planning and economics as well as planning – a critical function of government. (Calthorpe, One 2000). Making decisions about procedures and methods in the multitude of government functions in a democratic manner is essential. This is where the connection with Oregon Statewide Planning Goal lies.

Oregon’s Goal 1 is describes the specific tools by which communities and government are directed to involve all parties affected by or involved in planning decisions. These tools and practices, are available at the State’s DLCD website (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2012), The emphasis on citizen involvement in Oregon’s land use goals is consistent with the progressive planning philosophy expressed the Charter’s first principle.

The Charter First Principle contains five strategies for addressing coordinated governance for the various aspects of urban life. These strategies all deal with the regional scale (Calthorpe, One 2000) to promote the urban vitality in an integrative manner.

The first strategy is establishing a healthy relationship between the regional transportation network and the regional land use plan. This involves plans that coordinate high levels of transportation service from a variety of modes (motorized and non-motorized) with the clustering of activity centers - commercial, industrial, residential - or a combination of those.

While this seems approachable on the scale of a city, determining how this plays out on a regional

scale becomes complex. Metropolitan regions typically have numerous centers, with different amounts and intensities of uses, repeated over a sprawling and disjointed scale (Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck, *Suburban Nation* 2000). The downtown is where commercial activities are centered; residential areas ring employment centers; recreational and institutional areas are easily accessible to those residences; industrial areas are clustered together and near major freight hubs; and transit links those pieces in appropriate degrees of intensity.

Even the state of Oregon, with its relatively low population and clustered development style still has a nodal urban form when it comes to the regional development pattern of its various use centers, particularly residential or industrial. Developing coordinated strategies ensuring that these centers are simultaneously productive, supported by adequate transportation infrastructure, and contribute to the pattern of contained development and smart growth envisioned by the state's planning goals involves what the CNU Charter refers to "Metropolitan coordination and framework plans" (Calthorpe, *One* 2000).

These plans, according to the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines should be structured to hold the government responsible for making all plans and policies accessible to the public for its coordination and input. An interesting example of this coordination is called the Portland LUTRAQ Plan (Land Use, Transportation, Air Quality) (Calthorpe, *LUTRAQ* 1997). The plan, in its essence involved a citizen group, 1000 Friends of Oregon, and the regional planning agency in the Portland area, METRO. They collaborated on a plan to serve the area's outlying commercial and industrial centers. The citizen involvement strategies of the state goals established the framework of the planning process for LUTRAQ. The results were significant. A new beltway freeway system on the region's west side was not built because findings indicated it would have contributed to sprawl, pollution, and environmental degradation (Calthorpe, *LUTRAQ* 1997). Instead, strategic additional investments in regional light rail service were made to increase the use mass transit ridership and preserve the vitality of outlying clusters.

Much like the first of the five strategies within CNU's First Principle, strategies two, three, and five (strategy four will be discussed separately) are similar land use planning concepts. They require coordinated strategies with comprehensive citizen involvement. They are Strategy 2) Fair Housing and 'Deconcentrating' Poverty; Strategy 3) Greenlines and Urban Growth Boundaries (Urban Growth Boundaries will be discussed in the chapter on Urban Growth Issues, specifically regarding OR Goal #14); and Strategy 5) Urban Schools and Regional Education Balance (Calthorpe, One 2000). Each involves similar commitments to high levels of citizen involvement on equity measures and their subsequent implementing strategies. Citizen involvement is paramount to each strategy

The fourth strategy in CNU's First Principle is of particular interest when discussing citizen involvement in the planning process because it deals with money. This strategy is called Regional and Tax-Base Sharing and Social Equity (Calthorpe, One 2000). While the other strategies discuss the methods for democratically solving physical planning issues, this piece gets at the nut of what tends to cause social, economic, and political equity issues in the first place – financial resources.

The CNU's first principle explicitly declares that the metropolitan region, (not the city or any other political body) is the fundamental scale or unit of urbanism in the modern world. Reality is that, metropolitan regions are almost always divided into many different political bodies, each with its own taxing jurisdiction and governance structure. These different bodies can include central cities, suburbs, out-ring suburbs, counties, special districts, unincorporated communities, regional planning agencies, and more. The situation becomes even more complex when regions, such as the Portland area, overlap state lines, as is the case with the city of Vancouver, Washington located directly north across the Columbia River. Residents who live on one side of a political boundary are taxed differently from those who live on another yet residents on either side of the boundary are ultimately users of the same services.

A transit system is a prime example of a service that must be delivered in multiple jurisdictions if it is to be effective. Seattle's light rail program funding issues are well known. And, today in Portland a light rail extension into Clackamas County faces a citizen initiative to pull the county's financial support, leaving the rest of the region with a major funding gap.

Separate funding jurisdictions also open a host of potential social equity issues including transportation, poverty concentration, recreation and institutional access, and educational balance. Additionally unevenness in the taxing system is a serious driver of sprawl (Calthorpe, One 2000). Much of urban Clark County growth is significantly attributable to the income tax benefits in Washington State versus Oregon; Oregonians move to the Vancouver area to avoid Oregon income taxes but work in Oregon and benefit from the regional urban services offered by Portland.

To solve this, the New Urbanists suggest the development of a tax-base sharing strategy that more evenly distributes the burden of paying for regional services. One could argue that by determining a regional style of taxing, the system becomes more equitable; all members of a region paying for the services they all share. Regional taxation has the potential to fight back the balkanization characteristic of many metropolitan areas that ends up serving fewer citizens well and more citizens inequitably.

NU Principle 25

While Principle 25's discussion about the placement of civic buildings in the urban form of cities may not be viewed as a direct correlation between Oregon's citizen involvement strategies and NU principles, it is worth noting that they both share the same root as the basis for their justification:

democracy. “Civic buildings and public gathering places require important sites to reinforce community identity and the culture of democracy. They deserve distinctive form, because their role is different from that of other buildings and places that constitute the fabric of the city.” (Duany, Twenty five 2000).

Whereas Oregon’s Statewide Planning Goal 1 outlines the rules by which the public is granted access and input into decisions about their respective communities, NU Principle 25 discusses the physical representation of that important role played by the citizen. In a distilled form, citizen involvement is a right essential to the democratic process. This fundamental right should be reinforced by the placement and design of the civic and institutional buildings where the services of a democracy are carried out and supported. These buildings include city halls, libraries, schools, courts, post offices, museums, public works departments, police, fire, and other emergency services.

Principle 25 emphasizes the importance of these elements as social infrastructure which, it argues, is no less important than the physical infrastructure of roads and sewers in the functioning of a prosperous and democratic society (Duany, Twenty five 2000). Buildings serve as powerful reminders of the important role of the citizen’s relationship with the polis - the critical player supporting societal functions. The New Urbanists believe that this symbolic status means that the most significant sites in cities should be reserved for public buildings, and the architectural style of those buildings should distinguish them from their surroundings.

Design strategies emphasizing the important roles of government, civic, and institutional buildings are discussed in NU Principle 25. Some come across as relatively sensible, being rooted in historical precedents like classical Greece or, more recently, the Law of the Indies often referred to as the first set of design and development guidelines for Western Hemisphere communities. These precedents– emphasize the importance of civic structures and forums through their form

and placements at the heart of a community (Duany, Twenty five 2000). They can include classical forms such as columns, pediments, and friezes into the composition of buildings to tap into cultural and psychological aspects of the human consciousness. They can also include the placement of civic structures at critical locations in communities, elevating them to perceptual landmarks, which can be used for Lynchian concepts of orientation and wayfinding as discussed in noteworthy landscape architect and planner Kevin Lynch's book, *The Image of the City* (Lynch 1960).

These sorts of locations can be at visual terminuses or apexes, such as the centers of squares which break up traditionally gridded street patterns, or placement adjacent to or surrounded by manicured public open space, and other similar placements. More extreme suggestions include design code standards limiting the elaborative architectural qualities of privately owned buildings in communities to allow civic structures to dominate the architectural landscape. While this practice happens to some extent in many communities through design standards for different building typologies, taking this idea to its extreme could pit public use against private freedom of expression. The debate is that in an effort to elevate democracy, overly strict architectural design standards limit the expression of private citizens or groups and may, in fact, limit some of the expressive and (arguably) economic freedom the democratic system was designed to promote and protect.

The New Urbanists argue that, in this century, American societies have downplayed the importance of civic structures via their physical form and placement in the interests of efficiency, which, they argue, is to the detriment of the communities and society that such institutions serve (Duany, Twenty five 2000).

By making decisions to downplay the importance of civic life in American society, the importance of citizen involvement in the functioning of government and planning, which is a collaborative process between government and citizens, is also weakened. Absent the distinctive physical presence of their government, citizens are not reminded of the important role of their democratic

institutions and consequently the important function of citizen involvement. Thus, strategies for citizen involvement have the potential to take on an insignificant role in civic life and the individual consciousness of residents.

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 2: Land Use Planning

The second Oregon Statewide Planning Goal is Land Use Planning. It states: To establish a land use planning process and policy framework as a basis for all decision and actions related to use of land and to assure an adequate factual base for such decisions and actions. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

At its core, this goal ensures that all plans developed by all levels of government in Oregon be internally consistent with the framework set forth by the Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) and be fully coordinated with all other affected plans. All relevant information regarding plans, problems, and issues of contention are required to be present in all planning documents (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Completed plans must be reviewed through a citizen involvement process (see Oregon Goal 1) and adopted by the respective governing bodies, with allowances made for regular future review and reevaluation.

Goal 2 is broken into seven guidelines which address plan development moving from conception to content development. The first guideline provides direction for the manner and timeframe for plan development. It stipulates that plans should provide both broad, general identification of issues and define the specific details, provisions, and technical information about the subject. It also stipulates that sufficient time must be made available for data collection, refinement of the issues and alternatives, public involvement and input, and identification and mitigation of conflicts with other plans and governments. Although these requirements are clearly stipulated, the time allotted for each is not rigid. This lets the plan makers set deadlines appropriate to their project and its complexity. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010)

The second guideline stipulates that regional, state, and federal agency plans must conform to comprehensive plans previously adopted by Oregon cities and counties. Federal and state agencies are expected to allocate sufficient time to local jurisdictions to address their needs and to have enough time for review and comment by stakeholders and the public. If there are conflicts between plans as determined by the agencies and governments involved, it is expected that the parties will make the proper time and effort to find a resolution to the policy or plan disparity. Failure to achieve resolution sends the conflict to the state's Land Use Board of Appeals, (LUBA) where a legal decision regarding compliance will be determined (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The third guideline outlines plan content itself. That means, what is included in the language of plans after proper steps for development have been taken. It includes accurate and timely data, the factual foundation for any plan. This data must provide information and insight into at least four categories: natural resources, man-made structures, population and economics, and the responsibilities of governments affected and/or involved. Additionally, the plan itself must contain certain elements (not data) which provide ample information on: statewide planning goals, critical geographic areas, special needs of affected and/or involved populations, and the time required for plan implementation with provisions made for external factors affecting the future. Internal consistency is required between all of these internal plan elements throughout the document (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The fourth guideline addresses the filing of plans. It is a short section, simply stipulating that all plans are to be filed with the Office of the County Recorder (oftentimes known as the County Clerk). Plan makers are also required to put those same plans out for convenient public and government review (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The fifth guideline deals with revisions of plans and the resultant measure implementation. It

outlines procedures in the event that plans change. In an interesting departure from much of the structure of the Statewide Goals and Guidelines, this element provides explicit timetables within which certain procedural items must happen. In the event that a change to a plan is being made, at least thirty days notice is required to be provided for the announcement of a public hearing at which the change will be presented and made available for public comment and input.

The guideline also breaks plan revisions into a major and minor category. While Major revisions are when the changes will have effects beyond the immediate planning area addressed by the plan. Minor changes will not have an effect beyond the immediate planning area. Both require establishing factual bases for the proposed changes and both are required to allow public input. The guideline also recommends that major plan revisions not be made more than every two years, and minor revisions more than every one year (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The sixth guideline makes recommendations about the different types of measures that should be considered when implementing plans. Management implementation measures lists issues including general land construction laws and ordinances, detailed public facilities plans, budgets for capital improvements, state and federal land use rules, and local land use organization. Site and area specific implementation measures include the issuance of permits for specific projects like driveways or septic tank installations, public facility (institutional as well as infrastructural) construction, public service provision, and the relationship of state and federal governments to local governments when collaborating to provide additional services, and the leasing of public lands among those governments (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The seventh and final guideline clarifies the different ways in which the guidelines are used and applied. It breaks the guidelines into two categories, Planning guidelines and Implementation guidelines. The former is to be used during the development process of planning. The latter is

used after plan development and implementation, and applies to a community's execution of the goals. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

NU Principles Applicable

Two New Urbanist principles relate to the second Oregon Statewide Planning Goal though both indirectly. The first is NU Principle 1, which has already been introduced in the Citizen Involvement discussion. The second applicable NU principle is number 9: Revenues and resources can be shared more cooperatively among the municipalities and centers within regions to avoid destructive competition for tax base and to promote rational coordination of transportation, recreation, public services, housing, and community institutions (Orfield 2000).

It is important to note that, because Statewide Planning Goal 2 is a discussion about specific strategies by which to implement land use planning, there is not a substantial overlap between the NU and Oregon rules; however, the scope – as opposed to the content – of methods to address planning issues bears a few relationships worth discussing.

New Urbanist Principle 1 is the most applicable goal to Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 2, because both discuss strategies on addressing planning issues in democratic and comprehensive ways. While Oregon Goal 2 uses planning and statutory language in defining mechanisms and definitions for plans content, NU Principle 1 focuses on the scale and issues to which those mechanisms can be applied.

The most relevant overlaps are apparent in Oregon Goal 1 where it discusses the differentiation among planning methods for dealing with different scales. It breaks things into major and minor plan changes, and site and specific area (implementation measures) (Yaro 2000). The recognition

that planning happens on both a micro and macro scale and that the effects of plan making can resonate outside of their initial effect area demonstrates a clear connection between this State-wide Goal and the NU regional scale – that is, stepping out of the immediate political boundary area at which planning has traditionally occurred - and, still does in parts of this country – to the regional scale.

The other NU principle 9 also relates to Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 2. Again, the connection between the two is not in terms of content, so much as in terms of scope. NU Principle 9 is a discussion about tax-base sharing to make community planning more equitable and democratic. Like the foregoing principle, it confronts the issue of scope and attempts to recognize that policies occurring within one political jurisdiction have repercussions in other political jurisdictions. Ideally, well drafted plans can form unified regional strategies addressing the social, economic, environmental, and urban pattern failures. These problems NU principles assert are in part created by inefficient policies stopping at political boundaries originally drawn without these ramifications in mind. Because Oregon Goal 2 is a stipulation about methods for designing and implementing a plan and NU Principle 9 is a discussion about tax-base sharing, however, the relational overlap tapers off quickly after the parallels about scope are drawn.

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Chapter 5

Urban Growth Issues

Introduction

There are three Oregon Statewide Planning Goals within the category of Urban Growth Issues. They each discuss how the state and communities address the growth of metropolitan, urbanized areas in both the conceptual (Goal 14) and in the perceptible (Goal 7 and 15). , Other Statewide Goals differ by confronting aspects of growth management not pertinent to the concept of urbanization, but rather to its elements, such as housing or public facilities. Further, the other goals address specific resource management issues affected by urbanization but not themselves urban in nature, such as agricultural land management or beach conservation.

The three Oregon Statewide Planning Goals that fall into the “Urban Growth” category have, proportionally, the largest overlap with New Urbanist principles. The following discusses each of them.

Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 7: Areas Subject to Natural Hazards

Oregon's seventh Statewide Planning Goal, Areas Subject to Natural Hazards, requires that governments write comprehensive plans to protect residents and their property from natural hazards including floods, landslides, earthquakes, tsunamis, wildfires, and more (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Plans are required to include an inventory of potential hazards, a list of policies governing responses to those inventoried hazards, and implementation measures for those directives.

When drafting plans to protect citizens and their property from natural hazards, local governments are instructed to consider the benefit of leaving natural hazard areas alone for the purposes of maintaining open space, creating low-intensity uses, and driving higher-intensity development on or near those critical areas. This information and the response plans are to be shared with all emergency response organizations to ensure cohesive action in the event of a hazard (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Measures include emergency access provisions, prohibition of hazardous material storage, using existing programs, developing site-specific reports, and incorporating management procedures such as those outlined in regulatory documents like the National Flood Insurance Program (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

NU Principles Applicable

Oregon's 7th Planning Goal discusses planning around a specific unforeseeable circumstances, and has a related but indirect corollary to the New Urbanist Principles, which discuss good regional, city, and neighborhood form.

There are few NU Principles that can be applied to this measure, save those about respecting natural boundaries. In the case of Oregon Goal 7, those NU natural boundaries can be seen as Goal 7 hazard areas. In this light, NU Principle 2, “Metropolitan regions are finite places with geographic boundaries derived from topography, watersheds, coastlines, farmlands, regional parks, and river basins. The metropolis is made of multiple centers that are cities, towns, and villages, each with its own identifiable center and edges” (Yaro 2000), is applied as a guiding standard.

While NU Principle 2 refers to geographic boundaries like farms, parks, and rivers, hazardous areas like floodplains and landslide-prone hills (Yaro 2000), hazardous areas can provide formidable natural edges as well. Just like productive or recreational open space, keeping development away from these areas protects the area habitat and, as and preserves the natural environment.

The direction of growth away from hazardous areas and into established, protected, compact centers, as NU Principle 2 calls for (Yaro 2000), requires emergency preparedness plans - both preventative and response plans – to be adopted by the appropriate governments.

The Principle also calls for regional coordination. In terms of addressing natural hazard planning, this synchronization can form supportive networks and maximize response capacity. The sharing of information between local jurisdictions is also a useful tool for directing development safely and responding to hazards that one city or county may be aware of but another may not yet understand.

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 14: Urbanization

Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 14, Urbanization, is the goal with the largest and strongest relationship with New Urbanist Principles. This should come as no surprise as so many of the New Urbanist Principles have direct discussions about the rate, pattern, and design of urban areas and land use decisions.

Statewide Planning Goal 14's purpose is: To provide for an orderly and efficient transition from rural to urban land use, to accommodate urban population and urban employment inside urban growth boundaries, to ensure efficient use of land, and to provide for livable communities. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) This goal provides guidance in the design and implementation of the central tool in Oregon's land use planning program: the Urban Growth Boundary (UGB). Each ensuing piece composing the whole of this goal is in reference to either the factors required to determine proper implementation of UGBs, or directions for growth patterns and acceptable land use decisions for areas that fall either inside or outside of UGBs.

The purpose of UGBs is to provide a clear separation between rural and urbanized land. The establishment of UGBs is the responsibility of local governments including cities, counties, and special districts (for instance, the Metro regional government in the Portland metropolitan area). Where the boundaries lie is to be determined by quantitative studies projecting population, housing, and employment forecasts, as well as other needs based on provision of public facilities and infrastructure. These divided into two categories to determine community land needs. The first category is a 20-year population forecast, and the second category is a study on the societal needs listed in Goal 14 (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

Local governments have been provided a noticeable degree of leeway in establishing their UGBs.

In determining where they believe their boundaries should lie, it is their prerogative to identify unique characteristics of their community that effect or determine where their UGB should fall. Their analysis can include economic factors influenced by industries, spatial factors influenced by topography, or special circumstances like environmental considerations or existing parcel sizes that define the particular composition and character of their communities and more (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

Adjusting a UGB requires local governments to demonstrate to the State that the community's current and anticipated space needs can't be met within the amount of land inside their respective boundaries. All land needs must be identified, and a case must be made that the community's needs cannot be met nor can its quality of life be maintained within the existing land. Factors include economic provision of services, consequences resulting from environmental, social, or economic constraint, and compatibility of a community's anticipated land use as a result of urban growth with the community's agrarian hinterland outside UGB boundaries (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

Because implementation of a UGB is a complex matter, special attention is given to definitions and delineations, as well as to potential allowable exceptions to the original boundary.

Communities are instructed by the state to designate two types of land within their UGBs: urban land and urbanizable land (otherwise known as "urban reserve" land), as well as rural land, located outside of their UGBs. Urban land is not rural or urbanizable; it is zoned and active for urban use. Urbanizable land lies within the UGB and is either unused or under-utilized; it is considered to be held in reserve for future growth. Urbanizable land is typically – though not always – found on the outskirts of urban areas and is more rural in character and use intensity than its name would suggest. It is the responsibility of communities to integrate urbanizable land into their growth management strategies so that future needs can be met and, when growth

comes, justified.

Drawing UGB boundaries to incorporate these classifications requires working with the State to consider population trends and development patterns, as well as specific community needs to assure that an appropriate amount of land is reserved for future growth; this eases the stress on the community while maintaining the overarching goals of orderly and environmentally sensitive growth (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994).

Not all communities in Oregon (or any state for that matter) are incorporated, which means having their own internal governing structures. Many unincorporated communities fall outside of UGBs. This leaves their future and fate in a precarious position. No UGB can be established for communities lacking a local government. The growth of that community then is at risk for proceeding in an unchecked and potentially harmful manner.

These communities are governed by rural land zoning designations, allowing for minimal densities and emphasizing the use of land for agriculture or other natural resources. However, if an unincorporated community begins to experience growth impacting its rural character, Oregon Statewide Goal 14 specifies that exceptions may be made to land use outside of UGBs, provided the exceptions do not negatively impact farm and forest production or put nearby UGBs at risk of functioning less efficiently because of an alteration to the urban form, economic trends, or landscape (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2).

Goal 14 also addresses rural industrial development. Because agriculture and natural resource harvesting often requires heavy processing operations, land use laws must be responsive. . Additionally, not all industrial functions, whether associated with rural land use or not, can effectively function within UGBs. Examples of non-agricultural or resource processing needs

include electricity generation and shipping functions where location distant from urban areas or near specific transportation hubs becomes essential. Because of this, Oregon Goal 14 allows counties to designate rural industrial land outside of UGBs, provided the areas designated are consistent with LCDC requirements. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2). Industrial uses are nonetheless encouraged to cluster within UGBs in designated industrial zones instead of outside.

UGB designation and expansion are controlled by guidelines, that include the factors for designating urban and urbanizable land; lot sizing to maximize space utility and use potential of land, consideration for the carrying capacity of natural resources (air, water, and land); and the general State objectives to use land within UGBs efficiently and for livable communities. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2).

The guidelines include a number of directions for turning OR Goal 14 policy into reality. They encourage governments to use the siting and phasing of public facilities and infrastructure to proactively direct urban growth. They stress the using major transportation networks to direct urban growth within and into urbanizable and instead of to rural areas. The guidelines recommend tapping financial mechanisms like tax breaks, less-than-fee acquisitions, or capital improvement programs to preserve rural lands on the urban edge. Additionally, the guidelines attempt to ensure that cohesion exists among various local land use controls to avoid inefficiencies and inconsistencies. And, finally the guidelines stress using plans to designate management programs with clear roles for all participating entities.

NU Principles Applicable

UGBs as conceptualized by OR Goal 14 and NU share a focus on promoting specific patterns

of development, on defining the relationship between the urban and rural, and on techniques by which to accomplish those goals.

Those shared objectives can be seen in almost all of the NU Principles from the “Region, metropolis, city, and town” scale (Principles 1 through 9), except one. (Principle 7, discusses economic diversity rather than urban patterns.) Additionally, NU Principles 11, 13, 14 and 15, from the “Neighborhood, district, and corridor” scale section, are relevant to the UGB discussion. Lastly, because OR Goal 14 deals with placement of civic infrastructure, NU Principle 25 (from the smallest scale section, “Block, street, and building”) becomes relevant.

OR Goal 14 and its focus on Urbanization bears the most overlap with the regional scale of New Urbanist principles. These NU principles discuss issues affecting development at a scale larger than that of an individual community or neighborhood. Because the central tool of OR Goal 14 is a regional growth tool, it should be no surprise that this relationship exists.

Moving in order, this paper will discuss the relationship of Statewide Planning Goal 14 with those NU Principles related to regional strategies.

NU Principle 1

NU Principle 1 establishes the metropolitan region as the fundamental economic and political unit of modern times (Congress for the New Urbanism 2000). The regional approach to growth control and planning outlined in Oregon Goal 14 deals directly with this fundamental economic and political unit. But Oregon Goal 14 only confronts the physical planning aspect of regional governance while NU Principle 1 takes a more holistic approach.

NU Principle 1 deals with physical planning but links it directly to its environmental and political circumstances. It discusses connections between regional land use and transportation, and addresses “Greenlines” (preserved open space around the edges of a community) and UGBs. NU Principle 1 further recognizes that educational access barriers and poverty concentration are caused by balkanized and parochial governments (Calthorpe 2000, 15).

NU Principle 1 elaborates on UGBs as necessary tools for open space preservation to protect farms, habitats, nature, and recreation. It asserts that UGB formation can only fully realize its potential through a regional perspective. For example, nature does not have political boundaries. Instead its boundaries are watersheds, ridgelines, rivers, and forests, all overlapping the other in countless conformations. NU Principle 1 asserts that planning by political bodies for growth boundaries and development must support environmental health and maintain access to nature for residents. (Calthorpe 2000).

NU Principle 2

The second NU Principle discusses the role of natural features (listed above) in the composition of metropolitan regions. It emphasizes that metropolitan regions are multi-centered with different nodes of activity occurring at different scales throughout its body; and each node has its own defined centers and edges. A fundamental imperative detailed in NU Principle 2 is the need to guide employment and population into compact centers through the use of regional transportation (and other) infrastructure (Yaro 2000). This aligns with Oregon Goal 14’s implementation guideline directing major public transportation facility projects and improvements to be developed to guide growth into existing centers and away from rural areas (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 3).

NU Principle 2 also compels citizens, developers and policy makers to think of their regional cultural and natural boundaries in addition to the political jurisdictional lines. This helps to develop cohesion and authority throughout a region because it assures that a region identifies key values and creates an identity. New Urbanists seem to suggest that taking this broader approach, whether it be through a regional government or through a cooperative form of governance, provides for a more comprehensive result that responds to the scale of today's world.

NU Principle 3

New Urbanist Goal 3 deals with the role which agricultural land plays in relation to its urban counterpart. It asserts that, despite the pressure of development for economic benefit, farmland has an economic, environmental, and social value that legitimizes its protection, especially at the urban fringe. The metropolis has a necessary and fragile relationship to its agrarian hinterland and natural landscapes. The relationship is environmental, economic, and cultural. Farmland and nature are as important to the metropolis as the garden is to the house. (Arendt 2000, 29) Obviously, it is hard to quantify the intrinsic value of farmland that this principle alludes to, but the New Urbanists do not limit their argument to that singular observation. They emphasize the farm production capacity and potential for rural land near urban areas. They claim that production of fruits, vegetables, and dairy constitute well over 50% of what is consumed in the nearby metropolitan region. Local fruits constitute 79%, local vegetables constitute 69%, and local dairy accounts for 52% of consumption in the nearby metro areas. . Also noted is the importance of rural areas in producing clean water for drinking (Arendt 2000, 30).

Policy and compensatory tools designed to maintain the rural character of the urban hinterland are embraced by New Urbanists; they cite their success in the greater Seattle region and rural Pennsylvania. Discussion of mechanisms, some of which already used in Oregon are touched

upon, including the importance of UGBs. Also noted are Transfer of Development Rights agreements. This is a financial tool that takes underzoned rural properties and sells their development rights to properties in urbanized areas. This permits the rural properties to densify. Without this tool the conventional zoning laws would not permit such levels of density. (Arendt 2000, 32).

Finally, attention to placement of necessary development in rural areas is emphasized. The New Urbanists contend that cluster development on small parcel portions, what they call conservation subdivision design, makes for higher productivity levels from both types of development (Arendt 2000, 32). This discussion links to Statewide Goal 14's guidance on management of unincorporated communities outside of UGBs that experience growth pressure, and to the goals for industrial development outside of UGB areas (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2).

NU Principle 4

New Urbanist Principle 4, Development patterns should not blur or eradicate the edges of the metropolis. Infill development within existing areas conserves environmental resources, economic investment and social fabric, while reclaiming marginal and abandoned areas. Metropolitan regions should develop strategies to encourage such infill development over peripheral expansion, (Grimshaw 2000).

This principle is similar to the NU Principle #3 because it emphasized the importance of the urban edge. Unlike Principle 3, which includes the role of the rural and agricultural land on the outside of the urban fringe, Principle 4 discusses the functions occurring on inside the UGB with emphasis on the role of transportation infrastructure in building dense, resilient districts and

neighborhoods.

The focus of Principle 4 is on the cities, rather than on suburban or rural development on the periphery. Guiding investment into areas that are burdened by the complexities of crime, racial problems, complicated politics, disinvestment, structural limitations due to the existing built environment, and more makes for a can be harder than when developing greenfield projects in prosperous suburbs. The New Urbanists emphasize that, by redirecting investment inward, cities and regions are able to tap into a more sustainable resource: the existing urban fabric. The urban fabric has the advantages of an existing infrastructure, a built environment with a variety of urban typologies clustered closely together, and a level of ethnic, social and economic diversity. Existing cities also are home to entrenched civic and cultural institutions including governments, universities, and recreation spaces. Linking those puzzle pieces of to reinvestment for density and then adding transportation opportunities can be difficult. But, the outcome can strengthen the center. Clearly a strong city core is preferable to an eroding city core. (Grimshaw 2000).

Oregon Goal 14 calls for this exact kind of investment. It instructs that all transportation improvements be designed and built to support urban growth in urbanizable and urban areas and away from the rural periphery (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 3). Design strategies such as Transit Oriented Developments (TOD), where mixed use and high density development is clustered around high capacity multi-modal transit corridors are a proven way to bring life back to declining areas. Federal funds like the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) can provide funding for this kind of intensive investment aimed at long-term vitality of older, built areas (Grimshaw 2000).

NU Principle 5

The fifth principle of New Urbanism provides insights regarding the development of progressive growth around the edges of a metropolitan region, a topic Oregon UGB planning addresses. NU Principle 5 reads: Where appropriate, new development contiguous to urban boundaries should be organized as neighborhoods and districts, and be integrated with the existing urban pattern. Noncontiguous development should be organized as towns and villages with their own urban edges, and planned for a jobs/housing balance, not as bedroom suburbs (Morris 2000). This can be related to the Oregon Goal 14 directive for local government to specify the type and form of development being laid out on the periphery of urban centers. The New Urbanists advocate regional structural analyses, identifying the role of new site development within the context in which it is being built. This approach involves identifying natural or man-made boundaries; identifying connections to surrounding urban fabric and/or natural landscapes; and identifying how various land uses factor into new area patterns.

Some communities in Oregon and other areas take an approach similar to this through either planned unit development (PUDs) regulations or master planning requirements for developments over certain sizes requiring an analysis similar to those advocated by the New Urbanists. As communities grow and the need for new urban centers becomes apparent, techniques like population forecasts and service provision inventories can provide the framework for determining to what extent urbanization must occur.

Oregon Goal 14 advocates community comprehensive plans to encourage efficient land use and livability within UGBs (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2). Livability factors according to New Urbanists would include public services like sewers, roads, police, and fire, and also recreational opportunities, walkable streetscapes, and commercial hubs accessible by transportation modes other than car. All this should impart a sense of centrality and permanence (Morris 2000).

NU Principle 6

The role of a UGB is to provide a border within which development and land-use intensity decreases the further one gets from the center until one arrives at a low-intensity development pattern that tapers easily into rural land uses outside of the UGB (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994). NU Principle 6 has a philosophical applicability to growth management. It reads: The development and redevelopment of towns and cities should respect historical patterns, precedents, and boundaries. (Bothwell 2000) This form based design approach coincides well with the role of the UGB as a separating unit between the developed and the undeveloped.

As demand for more urbanizable land increases, adjustments to urban growth boundaries reflect this pressure. As boundaries expand, urban growth is directed into areas designated as urbanizable. This urbanizable land is usually primed for development because services can be added at minimal cost. Because UGBs are designed to maintain a compact, centralized urban form, service provision for the most intensive land use can be justifiably directed to central areas. Expanding developments on the fringe are provided with only as much service as they need. This efficiency of service provision maintains an efficient and orderly process for tapering land development inward, away from surrounding rural areas. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 3).

Using historical precedents for compact town development can be actualized, as advocated by NU Principle 6 through Oregon Goal 14 processes. While Oregon Goal 14 discusses infrastructural allotment, policy implementation, and financial mechanisms, it has is also committed to a compact urban form. How that form is physically realized should reflect the factors that historically provided the most sustainable land use patterns, just as NU Principle 6 advocates.

NU Principle 6 cites urbanists like Jane Jacobs and Christopher Alexander on urban efficiencies beyond simple economics. They discuss vernacular design, pattern (through urban form) relationships, and the link between development and the formal and informal urban patterns around it (Bothwell 2000). These concepts paint a more holistic picture of what urban development can and ought to look like instead of becoming sprawling, auto centric clusters which fragment communities.

NU Principle 8

The eighth NU principle has a noticeable application to Oregon Goal 14. It discusses the role of transportation systems and alternatives in strengthening mobility within urban areas: “The physical organization of the region should be supported by a framework of transportation alternatives. Transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence on the automobile.” (Arrington 2000).

A central guideline for implementation of Oregon Goal 14 revolves around type and design decisions for major public transportation facilities (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). While the state of Oregon uses language to describe this process as supporting urban expansion into the urbanizable and away from rural areas, the New Urbanists refer to this as “civilizing” a transportation system (Arrington 2000).

For this paper, the NU term, “civilizing” is interpreted as a colloquial interpretation of the Oregon directive to use the entire spectrum of transportation options to direct growth into desired areas. The New Urbanist approach posits that most American transportation systems are designed improperly. The systems reward long trips (characteristic of patterns in suburban communities)

as opposed to short trips where the use of a car can become an option rather than a necessity. They cite planning in Oregon, particularly Portland, by having a comparatively short average trip length for its residents of only six miles (Arrington 2000). . The New Urbanist approach to transportation may already be reasonably successful in Portland.

The New Urbanists assert that that suburban landscape are not only unfavorable to alternative transportation modes, but are hostile to them (Arrington 2000). This is attributable to a lack of connectivity between systems, and a scale of infrastructure construction that, combined with sprawling low-density land use, is only amenable to cars. Numerous statistics are cited in the Charter of the New Urbanism about sprawl reduction, home construction, and public transit ridership and use patterns in the Portland area to support this claim (Arrington 2000). Cited are a city growth rate of 17% occurring with an urbanized land area expansion of only 7%, and that between 1995 and 1997, one in every four homes in the city's metro region was built as infill or redevelopment instead of greenfield development, typical of suburban growth patterns).

NU Principle 9

Revenues and resources can be shared more cooperatively among the municipalities and centers within regions to avoid destructive competition for tax base and to promote rational coordination of transportation, recreation, public services, housing, and community institutions. (Orfield 2000) Like several earlier principles NU Principle 9 has a direct relationship to Oregon Goal 14. The goal refers to mutually supporting land use management initiatives including financial incentives, joint development practices, less-than-fee acquisition techniques, and capital improvement programs (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) that dissipate the tensions created by internal competition within metropolitan regions.

Economic tensions within metropolitan regions create inequalities. These are seen in the sprawling, large lot developments in fringe suburbs that attract wealthy residents who can pay higher taxes at the expense of the inner city. These suburban dwellers still need services, however. In a reverse, needier residents move into the city core area because the cost of housing has become more affordable as the affluent have moved out. They need the same and often more services from the city as their wealthier cohort. Myron Orfield, a state legislator from Minnesota and author of this section of the Charter makes note of these economic realities in Minneapolis-St. Paul with accounts of affluent suburban developments costing regional government service providers far more than their counterparts in central cities. And, he notes the city dwellers often provide a positive contribution because of their compact and efficient urban development patterns (Orfield 2000).

The New Urbanist argument further posits that, because metropolitan areas are the basic economic unit of the modern world (Calthorpe 2000) internal competition among them diminishes their ability to compete globally. And, global competition is a basic element of our modern economic world. (Orfield 2000).

Techniques for regaining an equilibrium which can allow for greater regional competition and a more equitable internal economic climate are touched upon. The most notable is the installation of UGBs, a practice pioneered in the state of Oregon through SB 100 and later canonized in OR Statewide Planning Goal 14. Other tools include mixed-use development, density, and regional infrastructure improvements to center growth rather than disperse it (Orfield 2000). These are all discussed, in various levels of explicitly, in Oregon Goal 14.

Principle 11

Principle 11 discusses urban growth at a smaller scale and, in this way, provides fewer corollary observations. Instead its recommendations focus on the physical structuring of communities within UGBs. NU Principle 11 says that Neighborhoods should be compact, pedestrian-friendly, and mixed-use. Districts generally emphasize a special single use, and should follow the principles of neighborhood design when possible. Corridors are regional connectors of neighborhoods and districts; they range from boulevards and rail lines to rivers and parkways (Plater-Zyberk 2000).

The state goal planning guidelines endorse the development of “livable communities” (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010, 2) The New Urbanist argument defines a livable community as one embracing thoughtful development of the neighborhood, district, and corridor. Neighborhoods have centers and edges that define them. Where their edges meet edges of other neighborhoods, town centers are formed that bring residents together. The character of a neighborhood edge varies based on the context and scale of the development The edge can take the form of a commercial or town center where business, civic and recreational use can agglomerate, or the edge can just as easily be natural or rural areas where farm production, natural habitat, or wilderness recreation can be appreciated. Regardless, a neighborhood must have a balanced mix of activities – that is, not a single use (single-family) subdivision.

One can make an argument that this is what Oregon Goal 14 recommends when it states, “urban growth boundaries should encourage the efficient use of land and the development of livable communities”. This value is routinely referenced by New Urbanism leaders like Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck in their book, *Suburban Nation*, where they assert that sprawling subdivisions breed the antithesis of community (Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck 2000).

NU Principle 11 advocates for street design and transportation system standards that are conducive to more modes than just the automobile. It suggests locating bus or light rail stops within walking distances (five minutes or ¼ mile is the suggested standard) to increase transit

use. Arrington's notion that planning for metropolitan regions is currently done backwards in most parts of the United States (Arrington 2000) (see the discussion about NU Principle 8's relationship with Oregon Goal 14), NU advocates thinking about transportation as serving short, local trips by where alternative means other than a car. Clusters of development reflective of this planning approach, the New Urbanist argument suggests, have the potential to link regions with diverse job bases and substantial populations in a more community-oriented fashion (Plater-Zyberk 2000).

Other suggestions for encouraging daily multi-modal transportation trips include adopting street standards that are more egalitarian to people and alternative transportation, most notably pedestrians, bicycles, and cars. The benefits of this include community development resulting from increased pedestrian encounters with local businesses and activities; the potential to increase community bonds through these relationships; and dispersed and calmed traffic patterns resulting from multiple driving routes to the same end locations via a gridded, compact block system (Plater-Zyberk 2000).

The placement of public facilities within neighborhoods is also discussed as a critical tool in the shaping of livable communities. The New Urbanist argument centers around the civic buildings aspect of public facilities and State Goal 14 likely refers to more systematic and infrastructural improvements. Both however argue that the thoughtful placement of such facilities at critical community junctures can enhance area livability.

These sites have the potential to call civic attention to the building blocks that make up a community thereby providing structure and support to its residents. Knowing about wastewater treatment facilities, seeing schools, and community centers because they are visible helps residents recognize their value to the community, which further binds residents together (Plater-Zyberk 2000).

Principle 14

NU Principle 14 discusses the role of major transportation systems in the planning and cultivation of complete communities: Transit corridors, when properly planned and coordinated, can help organize metropolitan structure and revitalize urban centers. In contrast, highway corridors should not displace investment from existing centers (Norquist 2000).

A multi-modal approach toward transportation systems encouraged by NU Principle 14 connects with the Oregon Goal 14 directive to organize systems to direct growth into predetermined urbanizable areas. The state's goal is in reference to all kinds of transportation systems, including highways, rail, pedestrian, and bicycle networks – the primary subjects of NU Goal 14. The Oregon Goal 14 also mentions air and marine transportation.

. The NU discussion makes several references to the destructive nature of increasing investment in highway systems running through metropolitan centers. The author of this discussion, John O. Norquist, is a former mayor of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He describes how the installation of freeway systems and their ascension as the dominant transportation feature in his city destroyed neighborhoods, institutions, landmarks, and local economies that area residents relied on, all in the name of what he contemptuously calls “progress” (Norquist 2000). He notes that the decline of the Third Ward neighborhood in his city after the construction of I-794 turned the area into a pornographic “combat zone” (Norquist 2000). One can only imagine what he is referring to by his use of such colorful language.

As a primary alternative to freeway expansion, the New Urbanist argument pushes regional rail service, particularly light rail. Norquist notes that it plays a significant role in the preservation

of vital urban neighborhoods, while providing environmental and economic benefits (Norquist 2000). The argument asserts that freeways (and their continued expansion) do not alleviate traffic and congestion, but rather add to it. Inevitably freeways get clogged when their capacity is reached. Rail systems, on the other hand can continue to function at their optimum efficiency, moving masses of people on a predictable and efficient right-of-way (Norquist 2000).

Norquist chastises the rail opponents who criticize its costs and inflexibility. He counters with examples of rail successes in major urban areas that have benefited the cultivation of healthy urban forms and have stimulated economic development. He notes that the Dallas light rail system (DART: Dallas Area Rapid Transit) has not only exceeded the system's anticipated daily ridership by 20% (Norquist 2000), but has skyrocketed real estate values on sites along its route, flipping area residents' and businesses preconceived notions of mass transit upside down.

Adopting a planning philosophy that emphasizes a balanced, multi-modal transportation system for an urban region instead of one dominated by the car can have a major effect on the growth of more complete and efficiently conceived communities. One significant suggestion for accomplishing this involves freeing up federal funds dedicated to highway infrastructure spending. The author notes the success of programs like the Intermodal Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA) and its later rebirth as the Transportation Efficiency Act of the 21st Century (TEA-21). Both began to allow cities and local governments more elasticity in the eligible federal (Norquist 2000). This progressive financing approach is potentially a central pillar of developing more compact and multimodal communities. It can build transportation choices and alternatives.

NU Principle 15

Like NU Principle 14, this goal is centered around transit. However, while Principle 14 discusses

the predominantly negative role of highway infrastructure in the creation of the kind of compact, multi-modal, and livable communities Principle 15 discusses the appropriate integration of transit into intentionally shaped and patterned neighborhoods and districts. Appropriate building densities and land uses should be within walking distance of transit stops, permitting public transit to become a viable alternative to the automobile.

Designing areas with densities conducive to the success of alternative transportation options is a central piece of New Urbanism which puts a heavy emphasis on compact, dense communities. Then note the Oregon Goal 14 advocacy of efficient use of land, development of livable communities, and emphasis on transportation systems guiding development. Combined you have a decent set of prescriptions for a compact urban form.

Transportation planner, William Lieberman, the author of this section, provides general density guidelines for community development that can effectively utilize transit. Eighteen homes per acre is suggested for residential units located one half-mile from transit while twelve units per acre will likely support a bus stop within a quarter mile walk. The lowest density for supporting transit, in the form of a bus route, is five to seven units per acre more commonly found in suburbs (Lieberman 2000). These prescriptions, result in dense housing that is conducive to walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods, advocated by NU planning literature.

Siting activity centers (community centers or shops) in proximity to transit, allows residents to move freely throughout urban areas, and enhances the catchment of transportation systems (Lieberman 2000). Throughout, the standard one-quarter mile walking distance for residents is relied upon as a baseline for guiding development patterns and densities.

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 15: Willamette River Greenway

Oregon's fifteenth Statewide Planning Goal discusses the treatment of the Willamette River and its environs. The 180-mile river flows south to north, making its way through both urban and rural areas including major population centers like Eugene, Salem, and Portland. The river, which shares its namesake with the valley in western Oregon, is one of the state's most important geographic features (Robbins 2008-2012).

The mission of Goal 15 is: To protect, conserve, enhance, and maintain the natural, scenic, historical, agricultural, economic, and recreational qualities of lands along the Willamette River as the Willamette River Greenway. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) The goal governs and protects the manner in which land uses adjacent to the river are implemented. It protects the predominantly agricultural qualities that characterize the river and its valley. Changes to land uses in this protected area are subject to scrutiny for consistency with the guidelines stipulated in this goal.

This goal is also unique in that it confronts the treatment of one specific natural resource, as opposed to a category of resource, need, or approach. Data specific to the Greenway area, primarily in the form of inventories of resources, land ownership, ecological conditions, and other significant uses are required to be recorded by the governments involved in managing the greenway through their various jurisdictions, to provide a solid grounding from which to base land use decisions (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

Goal 15 is an exercise in intergovernmental cooperation. Integrating consistent plans for the management of land in and around the Greenway is the job of all affected local governments. Three categories of land management characterize this process: boundary setting, management of uses, and land acquisition (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development

2010). Incorporating directives which address these categories into multiple local plans reflective of unique jurisdictional circumstances is a complex task. ,Aligning each with state goals is complicated by the involvement of so many players at different levels. For example, urban centers that border or straddle the waterway have a very different relationship to it than do rural farmland or forests. Each land use requires a different approach that takes into account the river's unique characteristics at that particular location, as well as the needs and stressors put on it by the adjacent land use. For this reason, the boundaries and development patterns of the protected greenway invariably can undulate, closer and further from the water itself, depending on the intensity and nature of surrounding land uses.

Creating the laundry list of needs and purposes for each section of the river is an extensive undertaking. Boundaries are reviewed by the state, and refined through a collaborative process with local jurisdictions in order to find a healthy location that serves the needs of both the greenway and the communities through which it runs (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

Oregon law requires the incorporation of use management into local Greenway plans (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). This means addressing : recreation, access, fish and wildlife habitat, scenic qualities and views, protection and safety, vegetative fringe, timber resources, aggregation and extraction, development, and setbacks. Each of these required areas of evaluation must consider the relationship of the river to the adjacent land, and to the unavoidable intersection of various uses.

Like many of the requirements included in Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines, specific numerical requirements are omitted from generalizable and interpretable process and policy statements. That said, direction regarding the certain regulations are stipulated. In the case of timber resources management, compliance with the Forest Practices Act (Oregon Department

of Forestry 2012) is required to meet the minimum qualifications of Willamette River Greenway compliance. Where the Forest Practices Act is not applicable, review by the state is required. In cases such as fish and wildlife habitat, scenic qualities and views, and vegetative fringe, language only directs these resources to be preserved or protected, with no explicit instruction provided on implementation (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The Greenway acquisition process, , mandates that affected cities and counties ensure the property's ability to preserve and enhance the Greenway, avoid affecting nearby farm uses, be able to be protected from abuse and be maintained by responsible parties (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) is also required to develop and incorporate plans for the Greenway. ODOT's plans need to include elements such as scenic easements, Use Intensity Classifications, public access, and clearly delineated boundaries, much like the cities and counties. Coordination with and by this state agency is requirement of the Greenway plan to assure compliance of the state's transportation system with Greenway goals. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

NU Principles Applicable

A number of relationships between Oregon Goal 15 and the principles of New Urbanism can be drawn. While the Willamette River Greenway is not a community in the traditional sense referred to by New Urbanists, it is a contiguous feature that characterizes and influences many different communities, requiring a high degree of cooperation and coordination to protect a natural resource valuable to urban, rural, and natural uses. Because a number of these goals have been touched on in the previous chapter on Oregon Goal 14, less of an introduction to those goals will

be provided.

NU Principle 1

Thinking about the Willamette River Greenway, as a singular unit frames the river in a different light. The usual parochial manner where communities treat natural resources independently is eliminated and it becomes a type of region itself, consistent with NU Principle 1. River decisions are no longer balkanized; instead local and regional governments and the state have been forced to reorganize into cohesive, regionally structured organizations (Calthorpe 2000).

In fact, NU Principle 1 specifically addresses the need to protect environmental resources like the Willamette River: “Environmental concerns... should be addressed in a regional framework rather than by piecemeal land acquisition and preservation.” (Calthorpe 2000) This call for cooperation at the regional level to address regional concerns is a clear parallel to the sort of intergovernmental cohesion called for by Oregon Goal 15.

Working with a river provides an easily understandable illustration of the importance of coordination among all groups with the potential to influence its flow. For instance, if a government on the upstream end of the river allows for a higher level of contamination of the river due to its policies, those governments located downstream suffer the consequences. Additionally, the incentive for the downstream governments to implement measures to protect their segments of the river is diminished because, by the time the river reaches their jurisdictions, much of its value has already been lost. Organizing all the governments around the common goal of protecting and preserving the river and the opportunities associated with it divides the burden of management among many. While determining how equitable amounts of the burden might be shared is difficult,, requiring negotiations between and among involved parties moves them

toward a sustainable equilibrium. This is obviously a far more difficult and ongoing process than this paper can address; however, the sharing of a common goal, provides a forum and incentive to pull these governments together.

NU Principle 2

The second NU principle discusses the nature of regions as defined by their physical boundaries and makeup. In the case of the Willamette River Greenway, this form of thinking is already integrated. The Willamette River is the central spine of a watershed reaching from the mountains to the east and west of it to its confluence with the Columbia River. In the NU Principle 2 discussion, the term, “profitable regionalism” (Yaro 2000) is mentioned in its discussion of US metropolitan areas overlooking the defining features that contribute to their communal success. Regional planning is a way in which resources that stretch past political boundaries can be harnessed and harvested in successful and sustainable ways. The New Urbanists provide a few examples on how this is done using, in fact, Portland’s Metropolitan Service District (otherwise known as Metro, the regional planning organization serving Oregon’s urban center). Metro is tasked with regional growth planning including inter-local services for communities that share in the benefits and burdens of the Portland metropolitan area (Yaro 2000). The DLCDD’s Willamette River Greenway plan for directing coordination can be seen as a similar form of cooperation, administered by the state.

NU Principle 3

This principle discusses the relationship between urban and rural lands, identifying the value of environmental, economic, and cultural worth (Arendt 2000). Using the landscapes through

which the Willamette River flows, from the urban centers of Portland, Salem, and Eugene, to the rural farmland that separates them, one can visually discern the differentiation of land use patterns and begin to appreciate the value in maintaining the balance therein. A history of land use planning in Oregon since the implementation of growth management in the 1970s shows that this relationship is one that does not simply happen on its own, but rather is a fragile marriage requiring hard work through government intervention and legal mechanisms. Benefits of protecting open space – in this case along the Willamette River – in the form of farms and natural areas generates value through not only agricultural production but also drinking water, recreation, and the formation of a regional identity (Arendt 2000). The plan for protection of the Willamette River Greenway in Oregon Goal 15 is reflective of this approach, as it calls for setbacks, directing development away from the river, and more (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

NU Principle 4

The fourth NU principle has a less direct relationship to the Willamette River Greenway plan, but nonetheless provides a strategy for limiting pressure on the Greenway through growth management techniques. This principle is about protecting the urban fringe, in similar fashion to the third NU principle. However, while NU Principle 3 discusses the intrinsic and economic values inherent in urban fringe preservation, NU Principle 4 provides insight into how that process should be carried out. It advances the promotion of infill development by regional governmental structures (Grimshaw 2000).

The Greenway is, for much of its length, a rural and natural area that periodically runs through urban areas. Guiding growth through legal means such as zoning and UGBs, as well as through incentives like mortgage, tax, and development rights programs can relieve pressure on areas

surrounding fragile natural resources (Grimshaw 2000). However, as growth is contained and density is amplified, pressure within UGBs will invariably build over time, and policymakers will need to find ways to release that pressure in areas away from the Greenway.

NU Principle 18

Land conservation has the capacity to help define and shape urbanized areas. This is the central concept behind NU Principle 18 (Comitta 2000). While it discusses the role of open space in defining neighborhoods, one can argue that – as demonstrated in the previous discussions regarding regional thinking and coordination – this same lesson can be applied to a much larger scale. Green areas and open space provide opportunities for the urban areas to concentrate around and celebrate. The more variety provided in these spaces, the more opportunities people have to access and appreciate them.

NU Principle 27

As a piece of Oregon's cultural history, the Willamette River provides a central beacon, defining the river communities and becoming the primary source of water and transportation up and down the valley. The Charter for the New Urbanism's Principle 27 states that: "Preservation and renewal of historic buildings, districts, and landscapes affirm the continuity and evolution of urban society" (Greenberg 2000). Applying this directive to the Willamette, means that coordinated preservation along the river's length provides not only an edge for the urban areas to identify with, but also an access point for people to link to their past, even if they live in modern, dense, and urbanized communities. This access point has the potential to further define urban areas through the preservation of a historical feature and a place for a community to unite.

Principle 27 of New Urbanism stresses that features like watercourses provide a “significant natural and cultural legacy” (Greenberg 2000). Recognizing this, and formalizing it through state law requiring careful planning and preservation of the Willamette River allows this defining element of the state’s most heavily populated and agriculturally productive region to be managed with a measure of responsibility and respect.

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Chapter 6

Population Needs

Several Oregon Statewide Planning Goals fall under the category of Population Needs. These goals encompass services, facilities, and infrastructure necessary to support needs of citizens living in and around urban areas. These goals compose numbers 8 through 12 and are: Recreational Needs, Economic Development, Housing, Public Facilities and Infrastructure, and Transportation.

Economic development, being the most abstract of these goals, is included in this list because, for the sake of this exploration, it represents jobs and growth as necessary elements of a functioning community.

Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 8: Recreational Needs

Goal 8 deals primarily with how comprehensive plans can allow for the siting of recreational resort facilities on otherwise rural lands. The Goal outlines the guidelines and procedures required for a comprehensive plan to site major recreation facilities. The goal reads: To satisfy the recreational needs of the citizens of the state and visitors and, where appropriate, to provide for the siting of necessary recreational facilities including destination resorts (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The Goal makes clear the role and responsibility of local governments in the development of recreational facilities in the rural and semi-rural lands of the state. It differentiates between large and small destination resorts. The differentiation acknowledges that the demands on the land vary based on project scale. Small resorts do not need the strenuous requirements of their large counterparts. Small destination resort requirements include siting the resort on 20 acres or more. They also must have between 25 and 75 units of overnight lodging. In addition to other requirements to ensure the resort is small and recreation/hospitality oriented it must avoid attracting highway traffic (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Methods for meeting this last instruction are not provided.

Large destination resorts have a number of criteria defining them. These include site requirements of 160 acres or more (Coastal resorts are the exception. They must be located within 2 miles of the ocean, and the site need be 40 acres or more) At least half of the large resort sites must be perpetually dedicated to open space. Large destination resorts also require at least \$7 million be spent on onsite improvements (one must only assume that this number is allowed to adjust over time), not including necessary service facilities. Certain visitor accommodations are also required including restaurant space for at least 100 people, as well as 150 separate units for overnight rental (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The siting of any recreation facility in the state is contingent on a proper location being found that meets certain eligibility and standards requirements. These requirements include location within 24 miles of a UGB containing a population of 100,000 or more, locating on a site determined to contain 50 or more connecting acres of prime farmland, a prohibition against locating anywhere in the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area, and more. Siting standards include compatibility with surrounding land uses, the incorporation of conservation easements, installation of buffers between the site and other land uses (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

NU Principles Applicable

Two New Urbanist principles apply to this Statewide Planning Goal 8: NU Principle 2 and NU Principle 18. These goals are about the relationship of built areas to their natural surroundings. In the case of Principle 18, the interweaving of the two is emphasized. In this way, one can see a New Urbanist justification for the allowance of easements, open spaces, and buffers in the development of resort communities in the state of Oregon.

NU Principle 2

The second New Urbanist Principle provides a perspective on the proper siting of resort communities in rural areas. Protection of natural green space and water can have numerous benefits, not the least which is the increased desirability of resort communities. Proper siting of resorts away from population centers and amidst natural landscapes also can increase the resort's appeal.

Both the New Urbanists and the State of Oregon mention the use of cluster developments as a useful technique when developing urban centers (Yaro 2000) (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). While the New Urbanist discussion takes that cluster development technique to justify building dense, urban centers, the lesson about development patterns that ease the burden on the natural settings is not lost. When siting resort communities away from primary urban centers, focusing development patterns so that the surrounding and adjacent natural landscape that enhances the resort can be a technique for limiting growth and developing a more welcoming and inclusive resort community sense.

Other methods for siting resort communities suggested by the state include easements, development rights acquisitions, subdivision parkland dedications, tax policies, and more (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). All of these options should be considered examined when local governments work with their communities to determining the future of resort planning within their jurisdictions.

As the New Urbanist argument determines, the use of a comprehensive plan is the best way to galvanize a community around the notion of preservation, be it for recreational uses – as is the case with resorts – or for ecological or economic ones (Yaro 2000). To what degree the centralization and process by which the comprehensive plan is developed is up to the local government. This process, as both the NU goals and State goals assert, should be an exercise in registering broad public input about the future of their communities, local economies, and cherished attributes.

New Urbanism advocates taking this process to the highest level, promoting a form of regional governance that can oversee plan making at all levels. And, to a broad extent, the state of Oregon practices this, with the authority of the LCDC and other regional governments such as the

Metropolitan Service District – the regional planning organization in Portland (Metropolitan Service District 2012).

Regarding the incorporation of large and small scale resort communities into the state's natural landscape, one can see the benefit of intergovernmental coordination between local and state governments to ensure the result is commensurate with the intentions and beneficial for both.

NU Principle 18

The eighteenth New Urbanist principle discusses the role of open space in town and neighborhood development (Comitta 2000). Applied to the effort in siting resort communities – which more often than not take advantage of the natural and scenic open space in which they are located – one can draw some lessons and parallels. Whether a traditional or a progressive design, community developments should incorporate some form of open space network. For example, this can be incorporated into the transportation circulation system, making movement in and around a resort facility and its accommodations pleasant.

As mentioned earlier, the state requires at least 50% of a large resort to be retained as open and natural space (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Compared to the recommendations of the New Urbanists this is a higher benchmark than even they propose. NU argues that a community should maintain between 25% and 40% of its landscape for open space (Comitta 2000). Viewing a large resort as a form of community, one can imagine how these percentages would translate into a built environment cognizant of its natural setting in the rural Oregon. Other development regulations exist to limit the harmful effects of development on otherwise undeveloped land, including regulations about drainage improvements, utilities installation, and locational requirements away from floodplains and slopes (Oregon Department

of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

Practicing the open space requirement for these resort communities and incorporating it thoughtfully into a plan is the most telling correlation between these two sets of principles.

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 9: Economic Development

No discussion of urban planning is complete without attempting to wrap oneself around the ambiguous term, economic development. In the case of Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines, the term is defined as the process by which siting locations for commercial and industrial enterprises may exist. The goal reads, "To provide adequate opportunities throughout the state for a variety of economic activities vital to the health, welfare, and prosperity of Oregon's citizens." (Orfield 2000)

This goal explains the value of coordinated comprehensive plans at the local level as a means to provide economic growth opportunities in Oregon.

Ample market analyses, as well as other studies, must be incorporated into comprehensive plans to substantiate how local governments will provide room and opportunity for business growth within their communities. These mandatory studies include economic patterns and trends, strengths and deficiencies of a community, labor market profiles, available educational resources, resource and land availability, existing limiting regulations, and more (Orfield 2000). With this information compiled for examination, local governments can make decisions about allowing economically related development within their jurisdictions while coordinating with other local and overarching state jurisdictions.

Local governments are required to provide adequate and ample sites for commercial and industrial activity within their planning areas. These areas are to be of adequate size, location, and have other characteristics to properly support nonresidential uses that are consistent with their comprehensive plan goals. They are also instructed to use their zoning controls to manage compatibility between adjacent and nearby uses to limit conflicts of interest or function within their urbanized areas (Orfield 2000).

The term, comparative advantage is used to describe uses (industries) which, when sited properly, maximize the efficiency of a site more than any other potential use could within the geographic area. Local governments are expected to use this term as a benchmark for deciding what and where certain economic activity should be located. In doing this, an understanding of the required resources for such siting, including natural, transportation, and public – as well as potential social and economic costs are to be evaluated and rationalized by those responsible for the plan. Plans are expected to encourage expansion of the current, existing industries within their coverage area, while simultaneously pushing for a measure of diversification in the economic landscape (Orfield 2000).

Techniques for advancing the economic agenda of Oregon's Planning Goals and Guidelines include tax incentives, land-use controls (zoning; discussed above), preferential assessment programs (allowing tax relief for certain industries when they enter into a covenant with the taxing authority to pursue a specific economic or production goal), capital improvements programs (expenditures that improve the lifelong profitability of economic drivers in a community), and fee/less-than-fee acquisition techniques (involving the government ownership or partial ownership of property, ensuring that users or owners of land maintain certain uses compatible with community goals) (Orfield 2000). All of these techniques are expected to be accessible and potentially used by local governments.

NU Principles Applicable

Two New Urbanist Goals can be applied to the economic development goal in Oregon's Planning Goals and Guidelines. These have to do with economic strategies – primarily at a regional level – as well as an emphasis on the diversification of economic bases to equitably serve residents

of multiple backgrounds and needs. These principles are NU numbers 1 and 9. As mentioned above, economic development is a difficult term to collect into one simple definition. And the discussion of economic strategies presented by the New Urbanist community reflects that degree of ambiguity.

NU Principle 1

Thinking regionally changes the dynamic of planning for business and industry. Whereas an individual city is limited by factors such as political leadership, and tax bases, a region has a wider net from which to draw. Involving all parties who share common interests because of geographic proximity seems, at least cognitively, as a more logical and efficient process. That said, coordination among regional jurisdictions is usually a challenge, as governments have multiple and differing priorities.

Organizing groups to involve them in not just the burden of planning but also in the rewards of coordinated growth is not easy. Regional planning authorities usually have the biggest role in this process. They can develop metropolitan coordination and framework processes that involve the entire region and that capitalize on regional strengths. A tax-base sharing model is one way to spur this kind of cooperation, as all parties taxed will likely feel entitled to contribute and benefit from regional prosperity (Calthorpe 2000).

Certainly, much regional coordination happens without plans. For example, a shipping company is tied to a port, but may contract for computer chips for its ship from a company a few towns over that is a technology business hub. At a regional level, finding strategies to strengthen these integrated industries and all of the supporting functions through techniques like regional tax-base sharing helps alleviate pressure caused by intra-metropolitan competition. Strengthening

the region to compete against other area at a more equitable and efficient scale (Calthorpe 2000) benefits all entities of the region. Oregon has done this to an extent, with its Metropolitan Service District planning agency, which oversees regional development and is funded regionally through property taxes, fees for service and bonds.

NU Principle 9

Pushing the discussion of regional strategies such as tax base sharing – (discussed in NU Principle 1) – further, the New Urbanists continue to emphasize that metropolitan areas are the basic unit of economic competition. They push for strategies to shore up the internal inefficiencies among area jurisdictions with Principle 9: Revenues and resources can be shared more cooperatively among the municipalities and centers within regions to avoid destructive competition for tax base and to promote rational coordination of transportation, recreation, public services, housing, and community institutions (Orfield 2000).

Regionally coordinated planning, can result in limiting internal competition and making the region stronger and more competitive in external, national, and global competition for jobs and production. Today's economy makes that concept even more obvious than it was 15 years ago.

Too often communities spend much of their time and energy fragmenting themselves within their respective regional economies, social units, political structures, and by geography. This push and pull tension, as balkanized metropolitan area fight within themselves, weakens their ability to compete on state, national and global stages. Orfield describes the tool for this process as, “fiscal zoning,” wherein outlying suburban communities zone their land in such a way as to only be truly accessible to residents of certain income levels, thus limiting the social responsibility they have an obligation to share in as part of a metropolitan region (Orfield 2000). This practice is also referred

to as “exclusionary zoning” and has been ruled illegal in the landmark case, Southern Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. v. Mount Laurel Township (Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey 2012)), Yet, this is one symptom of regional disorder that, the New Urbanist argument contends, does more harm than good economically.

The need for regional scale economies that compete globally becomes all the more urgent and by the lowering of national trade barriers and the liberalizing of the global economy (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). As digital technology increases the speed at which economic functions can be executed around the world, metropolitan regions need to retool themselves to be the central economic forces protecting the interests of their residents.

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 10: Housing

One of the most essential population needs and urban development issue in any region is housing. While for the most part home construction and sales are handled by the private – although heavily regulated – marketplace, it is the responsibility of the state and its communities to provide an adequate housing supply for citizens from all walks of life. The summary of the goal simply reads: To provide for the housing needs of citizens of the state (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). It goes on to elaborate that this includes considerations regarding price ranges and rent levels, as well as reasonable accommodation for housing type, locality, and density.

In executing the planning guidelines to meet the Housing goal, a number of inventories are required to be incorporated into local comprehensive plans. These include extensive inventories detailing the real estate market and population demographics. Among them are a comparison of the distribution of population based on income and housing units costs within that same locale; vacancy rates and rent ranges; housing demand; an allowance for density and housing type variations; and an inventory of usable and rehabilitative housing stock (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). This data, when assembled, allows local governments and the state to make thoughtful judgments about the current state and the future needs of housing within the jurisdiction. These inventories, are also intended to be subject to review on a continuing basis to ensure that governments keep up current with changes in the housing market and demographics.

There are other housing goals worth noting. For the sake of this discussion, the one that bears the most significance is the allowance of appropriate land within UGBs. Local governments are directed to take stock of land within their UGBs that has the potential for housing development of different types to serve residents of multiple income levels. The objective is an equitable

distribution of housing (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). The sites should be suitable for housing, which could be interpreted as having access to transportation and facilities, and public and private services for essential living needs.

Methods for implementing housing goals include tax incentives, code revisions, zoning, subsidies and other financial incentives, health and safety codes, and coordination of service dispersion throughout the jurisdiction to more equitably spread low-income housing (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). These techniques used within a growth managed community, ensures that growth is controlled but not at the expense of the housing needs of a population – especially its most vulnerable segments.

NU Principles Applicable

There are two NU Principles that can be applied to the Oregon Statewide housing goal. These are goals 7 and 13. These two Principles address design strategies to ensure and enable housing stock to be provided in a manner conducive to a productive and inclusive community, primarily by housing type dispersal. Other NU Principles address the layouts and functions of neighborhoods and districts, of which housing is a central component. But for the sake of this discussion, only NU Principles addressing housing directly are considered.

NU Principle 7

Thinking about metropolitan economics as a regional function, rather than a city-by-city process, spreads the burden of providing adequate housing for people of mixed income groups throughout an urban area. Principle 7 discusses the effects of social isolation created when high needs groups

are concentrated in areas lacking opportunities for economic advancement, which exacerbates the problems those groups are already facing. Using African-Americans as an example, the New Urbanist argument declares that housing policies enabling urban minorities to live in areas where prosperity is the norm is a national issue of racial and economic justice (Richmond 2000). Beyond the racial and social justice objectives illustrated by this example and similar cases, opening access to economic advancement potentially strengthens regional economics and advances national goals for all Americans.

A number of success stories are brought into the discussion in the New Urbanist discourse, including that of the Portland metropolitan area. Because of the statewide requirements regarding housing within UGBs, residential lots within the boundary were reduced in size from 13,000 to 8,500 square feet between 1978 and 1983. This was accompanied with a move to upzone land available for multifamily development within the UGB from roughly 7 percent to 28 percent (Richmond 2000). Since then, growth of both single and multifamily residences within the metropolitan region has been on the upswing. Smaller lots have produced more affordable housing for an economy that has slowed down.

Many see this new direction as a deregulation of sorts of the housing market, freeing up land for more development choices – although on smaller individual parcels. Confronting housing density at a regional scale has opened options for people of mixed income groups to choose where they live, and enabled them to locate near jobs, schools, and other necessities for societal and personal economic advancement. From a planning perspective, this process had the added benefit of reducing pressure for growth on the edge of the area's UGB, which leaders in the planning community are surely pleased to see. Henry Richmond, the writer of NU Principle 7, has a professional and personal stake in the Portland experience. He was a founder of the advocacy group, 1000 Friends of Oregon, an organization that promotes environmental and land use goals throughout the state and has played a key role in launching SB 100 and advancing regional

planning in Oregon (1000 Friends of Oregon 2012).

NU Principle 13

As with Principle 7, NU Principle 13 is a discussion about the benefits of developing housing stock for diverse and mixed groups allowing them access to important resources and to one another. Principle 13 weaves low-income housing into the built and social fabric of healthy neighborhoods, instead of isolating them into, the “projects.” (Weiss 2000) Success stories include drafting the Principles for Planning and Designing Homeownership Zones, a document used by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). It employs the principles of New Urbanism for dispersing grants for new low and mixed income housing (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 2010). Other success stories include the HOPE VI program, another HUD initiative, and the Clinton Administration’s Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities initiative. Each of these programs interweave options for mixed groups to occupy housing in and amongst each in an indistinguishable manner, rather being isolated from one another.

In the case of Oregon’s Housing Goal, this NU directive fits well with the push for satisfying the housing needs of citizens of all income levels, as well as allowing for locational variety (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 11: Public Facilities and Services

Thoughtful organization of public services is an essential component to regional development. Statewide Planning Goal 11 reads: To plan and develop a timely, orderly, and efficient arrangement of public facilities and services to serve as a framework for urban and rural development. (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010)

This goal calls for using public services as a means for guiding growth into urban and urbanizable areas. While this can be an effective tool for community development, facilities such as water, sewer, and utilities – essential as they may be to development – are not extensively discussed in the New Urbanist literature.

One can assume that, as with all New Urbanist planning language, the coordinated provision of public utilities and services at a regional scale is preferred to the conventional alternative. Local plans are required to provide coordination and guidance for the allocation of these services. This coordination needs to serve the existing and projected uses in locations identified as capable of handling the anticipated demands. Plans are to anticipate future demand, taking into consideration projected levels of service, the financial burden of provision, reliability, and time required for providing such services (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). In this manner, plans should present coordinated and orderly allocation of services, aiding in the transition from high density to rural land uses within and around UGBs.

NU Principles Applicable

There are no New Urbanist Principles that relevantly or in necessary detail discuss the basic delivery of public services.

Chapter 6 Statewide Planning Goal 11 Bibliography

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Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 12: Transportation

Development of a comprehensive transportation system is essential for maintaining a functioning and thriving community, urban or rural. Oregon's twelfth Statewide Planning Goal, Transportation, addresses the manner in which this objective is to be accomplished. The goal states: To provide and encourage a safe, convenient, and economic transportation system (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

The goal has nine requirements for all transportation plans. Some are fairly obvious, such as the need for systems to facilitate the efficient flow of goods and services (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). But the most notable, for the sake of this discussion, are mentioned here. First, plans must consider all modes of transportation – not just cars. This means – mass transit, rail, bicycle, pedestrian, and others. Another notable requirement is that plans must avoid reliance on any singular mode of transportation. This is obviously a lofty goal, as so much of Oregon's transportation landscape is dominated by the automobile, especially in communities outside of Portland's urban hub. Finally, transportation plans are instructed to design a system that reduces costs – social, economic, and environmental (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Once again, this is a lofty goal. However, like the other directions identified here, it encourages planners and communities to contemplate rethinking their transportation systems and redirecting development patterns as a result. Finally, energy conservation impacts and mitigation is required to be assessed in a transportation plan (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010).

As with practically all guidelines for new development, studies and plans are required to detail inventories and conditions of current facilities, as well as the potential carrying capacity of the natural resources and environment in which development may occur (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). The guidelines include directions to orient new development toward the use of existing infrastructure as much as possible.

Another notable guideline is the directive that “Major transportation facilities should avoid dividing existing economic farm units and urban social units unless no feasible alternative exists.” (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) This is a lesson that one can, if so inclined, link to the days of Robert Moses in New York, laying down freeways through slum urban neighborhoods, dividing the already strained social fabric holding those neighborhoods and businesses together (Levy 2009). It is easy to think of a transportation network as a tool for linking together communities, but it is just as important to understand the network’s potential for gutting and pulling apart other communities in that same effort.

One more planning guideline worth mentioning is the direction that high-density developments be principally served by mass transit, while their low-density counterparts be principally served by the car (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). One can hope that, as Oregon’s communities continue to densify within UGBs, more public transit options will become not only available but also more convenient for local residents.

NU Goals Applicable

Transportation networks are a central component of a community design. They are the veins between the arteries, moving goods and people in, out, and around their communities. Development of a transportation system in a manner reflective of thoughtful community values including environmentalism, access, and convenience is a fundamental component of both Oregon’s goals and those of the New Urbanists.

Five New Urbanist principles can be applied to the transportation debate: numbers 8, 12, 14, 15, and 22. Each of these discuss the composition and role of a transportation network as it is

integrated into a community, making provisions for multimodal options and the interaction of the network with the built environment.

NU Principle 8

The argument of New Urbanist Principle 8 is easily applied to Oregon's transportation goal. The physical organization of the region should be supported by a framework of transportation alternatives. Transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence on the automobile (Arrington 2000).

The discussion on the design and arrangement of transportation systems and the incorporation of alternative modes into the everyday transportation model is worthwhile to consider. Walking, bicycling, and riding transit are all realistic options when proper conditions avail. These are transportation options that typically serve residents as they carry out their daily tasks on the local level (as opposed to long distance/interstate travel, which is a different – though still relevant – discussion because of scale). The New Urbanist argument invokes Portland as a positive example of a transportation system built to serve short trips and daily needs of area residents, keeping the length of average daily trips notably lower than in other similarly sized cities (Arrington 2000).

The development of a system where short trips do not necessarily involve the automobile is one that, the New Urbanist argument suggests, can have a substantial impact on the way our transportation system functions. With proper densities and thoughtful financing mechanisms, high capacity transit can be integrated into an urban system, further reducing the need for auto-dependent travel, a central goal of Oregon's 12th Planning Goal.

NU Principle 12

Principle 12 of New Urbanism states that: Many activities of daily living occur within walking distance, allowing independence to those who do not drive, especially the elderly and the young. Interconnected networks of streets should be designed to encourage walking, reduce the number and length of automobile trips, and conserve energy (Kulash 2000).

This final phrase, conserve energy, is exactly the same goal as the state requires from community transportation plans. In addition, developing communities based around a gridded or irregular system – that is, not a collector and cul-du-sac style orientation as is found in most modern subdivision development – creates a wealth of opportunities for residents to access services without a car.

The gridded street system is attributed to a number of positive benefits by the New Urbanists, including keeping local traffic (which they assert composes 70% of all vehicular traffic (Kulash 2000)) off of main streets; improving the directness of travel routes, thus shortening travel distances and times; cultivating centralized town centers that can be accessed from multiple directions; and, most significant in terms of fostering a multi-modal transportation approach, increasing non-vehicular travel in and around urban areas. The New Urbanist argument says that the grid system is the best for promoting a street environment conducive to walking and biking because of the connectivity provided and the reduced congestion and traffic levels on the adjacent streets (Kulash 2000). The typical suburban layout of collector streets and cul-du-sacs, on the other hand, is the worst because it forces non-motorized traffic through inhospitable environments that are built for the automobile and not for the pedestrian.

NU Principle 14

Principle 14 focuses on the role of transportation networks as organizing forces in metropolitan areas. Somewhat like natural features, transportation networks have the capacity to shape and define areas not simply by providing access, but also by creating barriers between otherwise connected places. The discussion opens with a quote from Norman Bel Geddes, an industrial designer from the first half of the 20th Century and often referred to as the father of the modern interstate highway transportation system: “A great motorway has no business cutting a wide swath right through a town or city and destroying the values there.” (Norquist 2000)

In this same light, Oregon’s planning guidelines for transportation networks direct that “Major transportation facilities should avoid dividing existing... urban social units unless no feasible alternative exists.” (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010) Both of these directives clearly illustrate a similar philosophy towards the planning of transportation infrastructure. Its role is to connect rather than divide urban areas. The New Urbanist discussion brings in the example of the installation of an elevated freeway through Milwaukee’s historic Third Ward neighborhood, where a wholesale food district was split in half by the freeway, destroying its old center and landmarks (Norquist 2000).

It is evident from the perspective of the New Urbanist discussion that freeways, as opposed to all other forms of interurban transportation, are the most potentially destructive and wasteful form of infrastructure. Whether one accepts this as truth is a larger debate that New Urbanists actively engage. They assert that rail is a superior form of transit, having the capability to attract high volumes of daily ridership, increasing real estate values along routes, saving users money, and generally serving as a more convenient and preferential mode of travel than the automobile (Norquist 2000). Detractors argue that rail’s inflexibility and high capital costs make it unrealistic, especially in an era where urban sprawl and suburban growth is considered inevitable and desirable. The New Urbanists counter by arguing that freeway expansion in fact increases

pollution and congestion. And when the road system eventually comes to a standstill, a separate rail system can continue to function at peak performance (Norquist 2000).

An analogy for expanding freeways in an effort to reduce congestion is that of loosening one's belt to accommodate obesity. The more room one allows for an unhealthy activity, the more will inevitably be filled if habits don't change. Taking the hard steps of changing one's behavioral patterns (exercising or, in this case, installing viable mass transit options) is the only way the problem can actually be addressed. Making decisions about healthier multi-modal options a reality in urban regions, the New Urbanists contend, involves going back to the drawing board when thinking about how federal funds for transportation infrastructure are both determined and allocated. Options like ISTEA (briefly described in a previous section) regarding the application of this principle are a good first step toward diversifying a currently polarized and inefficient system (Norquist 2000).

NU Principle 15

The fifteenth New Urbanist principle describes the relationship of land use and building massing to a transportation network. Proper organization of the built environment is critical to the success of a transportation system, especially one that involves a multimodal approach, as Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines does (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). The lesson is simple: higher densities of units and intensities of use around transit hubs increase the viability and vitality of a multi-modal system – usually rail and busses. Like many New Urbanist tenets, Principle 15 draws its basis from turn of the century planning standards, where density in all its forms followed mass transit networks.

Methods for designing a built environment conducive to multi-modal transportation include

thinking actively about what kinds of uses and densities should be located within a quarter mile of the transit hub (for example, a bus or light rail stop). These typically include commercial and civic uses such as shops, schools, and post offices; but also should include employment and recreational facilities, as people need access to those on a daily basis as well. Housing development around transit stops needs to be sufficiently dense as well to create a critical mass of potential users for the transit system (Lieberman 2000). Regardless, proper handling of the zoning adjustments necessary for these sorts of development patterns to occur must be the priority of planners seeking to strengthen and diversify their community's transportation network (Lieberman 2000). One can see attempts at this with the implementation of mixed-use zoning or special transportation system overlays, which are becoming more and more commonplace in progressively planned American cities.

NU Principle 22

No discussion of transportation planning in modern American metropolitan areas can be complete without properly addressing the role of the car. Many in the progressive planning community are quick to demonize the car for the plethora of negative societal effects it has caused. However, its role in increasing the mobility and productivity of Americans and people worldwide cannot be denied. Mankind's love affair with it that has influenced much of modern culture (in addition to the built environment). Whether one believes the car has caused more harm than good, one cannot deny that it is the dominant part of the modern transportation system and isn't going to fade away for some time, if ever. That said, the New Urbanists contend it's worth having a discussion about the disproportionate role cars play in shaping our transportation planning system, and perhaps rethinking the appropriateness of the automobile's dominant role (Farr 2000).

Rethinking a street network so that it is still functional and convenient for the car, but outstanding for the pedestrian and bicyclist is a good place to start. Designing a more complete streetscape that emphasizes at least an equal priority for the non-motorized as it does the motorized can create an environment where not only walking and biking are more convenient, but driving becomes safer. This occurs because, as pedestrian scale urban design elements are incorporated, including street trees, bike lanes, and the like, roadways tend to become narrower. Narrower roadways induce cars to naturally slow and drivers to become more aware of their surroundings (Farr 2000). This multipurpose street design has been proven to cultivate lively and connective neighborhoods not only in New Urbanist communities, but also in older residential areas in central cities. When these kinds of steps are taken, more progressive measures can follow such as making adjustments to parking requirements and rates to be more reflective of a pedestrian and transit-oriented society.

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Chapter 7

Resource Conservation

There are five Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines that fall under the category of Resource Conservation. These are: Agricultural Lands; Forest Lands; Natural Resources, Scenic and Historic Areas, and Open Spaces; Air, Water, and Land Resource Quality; and Energy Conservation. Each pertains to requirements for the protection and proper management of these resources.

Because these categories are rural or resource related in nature and do not pertain to urban development, their relevance in this discussion of New Urbanism within growth managed communities is limited at best. These resources are essential for the enhancement of urban areas by providing the necessary resources, environment, and backdrop for urban communities. New Urbanist Principles, while placing a great deal of value on the preservation of open spaces and the rural and undeveloped fringe, nevertheless concentrate on recommendations for the built environment. There is nothing inconsistent, however, between the state's natural resource goals and the overarching values of New Urbanist Principles. That said, this discussion will be condensed into one piece. This should not be seen as a slighting or rejection of these principles, but rather an effort to hem in the discussion for the sake of relevance and streamlining of the topic at hand.

Regarding the preservation of historic sites, as OR Goal 5 addresses, coordination with the National Register of Historic Places is instructed. This does not clash, nor necessarily directly coincide with New Urbanist philosophy. Both generally support historic preservation; the language in New Urbanist Principle 27 references it directly (Greenberg 2000). But where

the state's goals only discuss protection of historic sites, New Urbanist principles advocate development patterns that reflect or extend historic precedents. While historic precedents cannot exist without properly preserved designs, developments, and patterns, there is no discussion in Oregon's Planning Goals of extending these into modern planning techniques.

NU Principles Applicable

NU Principle 3

The primary connection to New Urbanist philosophy can be found in the planning guidelines of Goal 3: Agricultural lands. It reads: Urban growth should be separated from agricultural lands by buffer or transitional areas of open space (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Methods for accomplishing this involve uses UGBs, TDRs, PDRs, as well as land trusts and other mechanisms for preserving rural or undeveloped land on the urban periphery. It's necessary to understand these natural resource goals because they enhance the setting and resilience of adjacent and nearby built environments.

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Chapter 8

Special Natural Resources: Goals 16 – 19

This category includes four Statewide Planning Goals: Estuarine Resources (16), Coastal Shorelands (17), Beaches and Dunes (18), and Ocean Resources (19) (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). Because each of these goals are discussions about the proper handling of specific natural environments in the state, fewer correlations between New Urbanist development patterns can be drawn than in other sections. While each goal is in reference to a unique natural feature of the state, this is a discussion about urban form within built communities. And, while these natural features can and often are integral parts of built communities, they themselves are not subject to the same scrutiny for the sake of this argument. Thus, it is concluded that each of these goals relates only to one of the New Urbanist principles: number 3; which discuss the relationship between an urban area and its surrounding natural hinterland and landscapes (Arendt 2000). Because this type of natural resource planning is neither directly nor indirectly pertinent to a discussion of the role of the built form, and for the sake of efficiency and argument, each goal will be covered in one brief chapter, instead of four.

Each category for these special natural resources involves the formulation of fully inclusive management programs into communities' comprehensive plans, as well as all other related government bodies. They all have their own specific inventory requirements, documenting and recording information regarding the specific aspects and nature of each resource. Along with these inventories and records, each resource category maintains its own sets of guidelines and implementation measures directing specific action regarding the preservation and protection of these areas.

NU Principles Applicable

Because, as mentioned earlier, these goals refer to plans for preserving specific natural resources, few principles of New Urbanism apply, save for the generalities associated with curtailing sprawl found throughout the movement's literature. An adequate enough example of this is the discussion in New Urbanist Principle 3, which emphasizes the importance of maintaining a relationship between urban and natural environments (Arendt 2000). While much of the New Urbanist discussion involves the importance of preserving space outside the city for farmland, they do allude to the need for natural areas and the vital services those places provide, such as the provision of riparian habitat (Arendt 2000). Oregon's natural areas, be they wetlands or sand dunes are sensitive to the encroachment of development and intensifying uses. Protecting them for preservation, resource production, recreational, or aesthetic purposes is a charge written into the state's land use laws that local governments are forced to comply with when writing and carrying out their plans.

Techniques for the protection of these areas, from the urban development perspective, involve efforts like cluster development, or conservation subdivision design, which the New Urbanist argument endorses (Arendt 2000). This involves the focusing of development onto smaller sections of parcels than would otherwise occur. By practicing this technique in multiple adjacent parcels, all focusing their development into areas where the lots meet, the negative effect onto critical areas located nearby is mitigated substantially while, simultaneously, opportunities for community growth are produced (Arendt 2000). Other tools and incentives for mitigating growth into undeveloped areas include the application of UGBs (already practiced in Oregon and discussed in the chapter on Goal 14: Urbanization), as well as transfer of development rights (TDRs), purchase of development rights (PDRs), land trust organizations, and more (Arendt 2000). While these are all noteworthy methods for curtailing and guiding growth, this paper is

focused on the discussion of a distinctive and prescribed urban form within growth managed communities and thus no further discussion is necessary in regards to special natural resources.

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Chapter 9

Case Study: Northwest Crossing: A New Urbanist Community in Bend, Oregon

Introduction

The city of Bend, Oregon and its Northwest Crossing neighborhood provide an excellent setting for a case study application of New Urbanist planning principles in the context of Oregon's progressive land use laws.

Northwest Crossing is an excellent case study because the majority of Bend's population and economic growth has occurred within the last twenty years. This means that much of the data collection, numbers, and analysis of the city's development is both accurate and comprehensive. There has been the accompanying back and forth struggles with the State of Oregon over its Urban Growth Boundary (UGB) expansion, but the issues have neither threatened the state process nor severely impeded local growth (Stephens 2012).

The case study is relevant because professionals associated with and knowledgeable about the growth of the city, as well as information regarding the specific development examined herein are readily accessible. The data used to make decisions has all been gathered using the latest technology and reporting (Feldman 2012). Information about population growth, new home development, and other statistics and facts are all readily available and easy to analyze and interpret.

Additionally, the case study is able to limit the variables affecting its analysis. The city of Bend exists within its own UGB maintained by its own local regional metropolitan planning

organization (Bend, Welcome to the Bend Metropolitan Planning Organization 2012) (Bend Metropolitan Planning Organization, BMPO). Growth and development patterns are more easily identified and isolated for the purposes of exploration than in larger, more complex communities like Portland. The level of complexity (multiple cities, diverse economies, and more) affecting the growth of communities in larger metropolitan area risk frustrating a meaningful analysis because the number of variables can become unwieldy, and results become diluted. Bend's smaller size reduces the variables that affect Northwest Crossing.

A Brief History of Bend

Bend, incorporated in 1904, existed principally as a logging and farming community (Bend, Bend History 2012), Small and rural, it was located in the sparsely populated high desert region of Oregon. Population growth was slow from 1920 when there were 5,415 people 20,469 in 1990. That slow growth was an average rate of 22.08% every ten years.

Prior to 1920, the population totaled 536 people (Portland State University Population Research Center 2008). Between 1990 and the year 2000, however, the population grew by an astounding 154.2%, climbing in ten years to 52,029. In the following ten years, the population grew by another 47.3% to settle at 76,639 by 2010 (US Census Bureau 2012). The current city population is likely higher than the 2010 estimate by this point.

Much of Bend's growth was fueled by immigration from urban areas in western Oregon and California, as the mobile classes sought an escape from the woes of urban life, an increased access to nature, and an affordable home and lifestyle.

Other major contributing factors to Bend's growth are economic shifts at the state and

subsequently local levels. For years, Oregon's economy had relied heavily on timber resources to generate income. Cities like Bend were geographically well positioned to prosper from that kind of work. Then, the state and the nation began adopting a more environmentally conscious outlook to forest resource management in the mid 1970s.

Major markers of this change include the passage of the Oregon Forest Practices Act in 1971; Senate Bill 100, statewide land use planning in 1973; the National Forest Management Act in 1976; and spotted owl protection and its impact on the health of old growth forests 1979-1986. The timber industry receded over the last 40 years and now composes a smaller portion of Oregon's economy (Oregon Public Broadcasting 2012).

To place the lumber industry decline in perspective, it helps to understand timber production numbers. In 1973 Oregon produced roughly 9,365 million board feet of timber. By 2000, the state produced only 3,854 million board feet. For Deschutes County, where Bend is the county seat, those numbers were 149,732 board feet in 1973, down to 35,306 board feet in 2004 (Andrews and Kutara 2005). This illustrates just how dramatic a drop in timber production Bend and the state experienced, as well as providing insight into the dramatic drop in economic growth that Bend has experienced in this current recession.

When logging became less lucrative, cities that had been single-industry towns like Bend were forced to diversify their economies. Because Central Oregon has a naturally dramatic landscape and agreeable climate, outdoor recreation had always been a draw for the area. Bend invested heavily in tourism and recreation, marketing itself as a destination for leisure activities. And Bend was successful in this effort. Its recreation-based economy was a major factor in its growth. Its climate drew Willamette Valley residents seeking an escape from the dreariness of the rainy west side and, in the case of Californians, an escape from the negative urban and societal factors accompanying life in major urban centers like the Los Angeles basin or the San Francisco Bay

area.

Bend and its environs were heavily marketed as an escape from the asphalt, crime, and crowdedness of urban life; an escape to a more natural and wholesome lifestyle yet with all the amenities that the targeted, urban, affluent population it attracted had come to expect. The result was a housing boom, pushed by people looking for second homes.

While the influx of residents from outside of Bend is the primary source for the city's population boom, the city made a number of annexations during the 1990's, which contributed to rising population numbers as well. These annexations reached residential areas outside the city but within the area's UGB (Stephens 2012). These annexed clusters (see Bend 2008 UGB expansion map included in visual appendix for a better idea of the expansion reach of the city) originally were platted by Deschutes County and were held to county standards for residential development. This meant large lots with no sewer hookups and low population densities appropriate for rural, unincorporated areas.

As Central Oregon drew more full time and second home residents, developable land climbed in value. Larger and higher end communities were being developed outside of the city limits, and the city of Bend decided to absorb these areas, capitalizing on the new tax bases being formed. The city implemented these annexations, absorbing unincorporated residential clusters where it could, in order to reach population targets that allowed it to register as a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) (defined by the United States Office of Management and Budget as having a stable population of 50,000 (US Census Bureau 2009). This classification entitles a city to be eligible for access to certain Federal funding for designated projects and programs (Feldman 2012).

Ultimately Bend had annexed all the land within and up to its designated UGB by roughly 2000. As noted above, these annexations also drove Bend's population growth; however, it is unlikely

that the city would have made such moves to absorb further existing population to reach MSA status if the in-migration had not put the municipality within an attainable margin. In fact, the State eventually ordered Bend to cease its agglomerative style of expansion-based planning because it was clashing with the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines for growth.

Bend has a long history of low-density development. The city's historical roots as a western logging town with a small population are still present today, though its economy, population, and environs have changed significantly. Also present in the planning culture of Bend and other Central and Eastern Oregon communities is a strong Euclidean philosophy, elevating the single family home (on an amply sized lot) above all other residential land uses (Stauffer 2002). This value coupled with the recent annexations of low-density communities reinforces the community's orientation to large lots with single homes.

Bend's low-density aspirations don't stop with its historic philosophical outlook. Records show that by 1991, residential home lots created by subdivision (a popular method for new home and neighborhood development) fell 67% short of allowable densities within Bend's UGB. In fact, by the same date, 190 single family subdivision lots were permitted in areas within the city and UGB zoned for multi-family density dwellings (Abbott, Howe and Adler 1994). These statistics paint a real picture of the pattern of development present in the city's low-density and sprawling urban form.

Bend's Master Planning Implementation

In 2006 the city, cognizant that the sprawling patterns of development were characterizing its neighborhoods and districts, decided to amend its development code. From that point on, all new large tracts of land over 40 acres in size being prepared for development, called Planned Unit

Developments (PUDs) were required to be ‘master planned.’ This meant that single-family, single-use areas were no longer allowed to be developed without forethought. New developments had to make room for multi-family housing, as well as for commercial services to serve the area.

Throwing out the piecemeal, case-by-case approach to managing PUDs and replacing it with the master planning requirement not only allowed the city to direct growth to more desirable densities, but also provided a guide for developers interested in Bend (Stephens 2012). The policy requires that each PUD adopt a master community plan that describes its approach to meeting the city’s PUD goals. Plans for parks, schools, commercial, multifamily housing as well as all the supporting facilities like water, sewer, and transportation have to be addressed. The State’s Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) supported the city in this rewriting process, strengthening and clarifying the relationship between the two (Stephens 2012).

In 2009, the city embarked on an effort to expand its UGB because of the perceived artificial inflation of land values within the UGB. The city hoped to relieve some tension resulting from the land value differences between properties inside and outside of the UGB. The LCDC adjudicated the proposal and remanded it back to Bend. The remand process requires the city to review all the tasks it must accomplish and products it must create for the state to justify expanding the boundary (Stephens 2012). Bend hasn’t yet finished its work but is reevaluating its approach, as per the guidelines set forth by the DLCD.

Expanding a UGB is a complex procedure. Careful attention is required to ensure that, while more land on the periphery of the city is made available for urbanization, the most intensive growth is still channeled into the urban center. Devising a plan that communicates those goals and anticipates conflicts resulting from the goals needs planners who can devise and articulate complex planning ideas, public officials who can provide leadership to push those initiatives through, and citizens to generate input which builds community support. (Stephens 2012).

While planning in Bend and similar communities on a day-to-day basis does not regularly involve contemplation of the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines, planning staff does periodically consult the goals (Stephens 2012). Among those they refer to most frequently when devising planning policy are goals 9) Economic Development, 10) Housing, 11) Public Facilities and Services, 12) Transportation, and – more frequently due to the current UGB expansion efforts – 14) Urbanization. Other goals such as 15) Willamette River Greenway and 18) Beaches and Dunes are not consulted, because they have no impact or application to planning in Bend.

Northwest Crossing Development Background

The New Urbanist style community of Northwest Crossing, located in the western end of Bend is a good case study for the examination of New Urbanist principles applied in the context of growth management goals of the state of Oregon. The Northwest Crossing demonstrates how the land use goals and New Urbanist principles are scaled to neighborhood planning and development.

Designed by Portland based landscape architecture and planning firm, Walker-Macy, and planned and developed by West Bend Property Company LLC, the neighborhood is unmistakably characterized by the developer's attention to New Urbanist design principles. The result is an intentional and, based on my investigation, a successful product.

Northwest Crossing is located approximately 1.5 miles from Bend's central, downtown core to its east. Access between the neighborhood and the downtown is primarily provided through two arterials, one to the north (NW Shelvin Park Road, which becomes NW Newport Ave) and one to the south (West Bend Trail, which becomes NW Galveston Ave). The neighborhood is adjacent to the Deschutes National Forest which is directly to the west. Views of the iconic Three Sisters

mountains, which lie directly west of the neighborhood in the National Forest, are easily accessed from the neighborhood. The city limits are at the edge of the neighborhood. The city's Urban Growth Boundary is located approximately one mile beyond the city limits (to the west) (City of Bend 2012). The included maps can be consulted for further reference.

The Miller family originally owned the 483-acre property that became the Northwest Crossing neighborhood. It was most recently used as a tree farm by the family business, Miller Lumber (Miller Lumber 2012), headed by Bill Miller. Prior to being a tree farm, the area was an active pumice mine from the 1940s through 1970s. Because of these land uses, the property had remained relatively undeveloped throughout much of the initial growth of the city of Bend. Absence of development is evidenced by the mature ponderosa pines that cover the area.

In 1990, in the midst of Bend's real estate and population boom, Mike Hollern, the CEO of Brooks Resources Corporation – a real estate development company in Central Oregon – and Mike Tennent – a real estate developer in Bend – both independently began discussions with Bill Miller about purchasing the land. Bill Miller had had prior dealings with both developers and held both in high regard. He determined that he could not select one over the other. Bringing Tennent and Hollern together, Miller decided to sell the property, but only if both developers formed a jointly owned company, with each owning fifty percent. He succeeded.

In 1998, West Bend Property Company (WBPC) was formed through an agreement among the three men. In 1999, WBPC acquired the acreage and Tennent and Hollern began discussing their vision for the future of the property (Ford 2012).

One of the most interesting and notable New Urbanist features of Northwest Crossing is the way in which the developers and designers integrated elements of the natural environment, landscape, and vegetation into the central design of the community. Preserving elements of the land's

previous uses as both a pumice mine and a tree farm through the preservation of the undulating landscape, rocky outcroppings, and existing tree cover pushed goals of integrating local contextual elements into the essential fabric of the area. In this way, the natural features which are a critical part of not only what makes the neighborhood attractive, but what in all likelihood will ensure the area's longevity help to accomplish goals set by Oregon Statewide Planning Law in the shaping and management of development in growth managed communities, like goals 5 (Natural Resources, Scenic and Historic Areas, and Open Spaces), 6 (Air, Water, and Land Resource Quality), and 8 (Recreational Needs).

Northwest Crossing Overlay Zoning

The Northwest Crossing developers decided that they were interested in a pattern of development not typical in Central Oregon's planning landscape. The two development entities agreed they wanted a mixed-use community specifically guided by the principles of New Urbanism. Their vision for this new neighborhood would be unique in Bend. The site's master plan included areas for a broad range of uses including residential (multiple densities), commercial, industrial, institutional, as well as parks and public, community space.

WBPC encountered roadblocks in designing their project because Bend's development code had no provision for mixed-use development and communities. Consequently, this required the development and adoption of a new provision to the code specifically for Northwest Crossing. Working together, WBPC and the City of Bend planning staff created the Northwest Crossing Overlay zoning designation, which permitted construction of the new neighborhood to proceed.

Making the case for the Northwest Crossing Overlay with the city proved easier than anticipated. The process involved planners, landscape architects, architects, and other consultants, and was an exercise in public and private collaboration. The city planners supported the process, recognizing

the importance and opportunity to rethink Bend's neighborhood development in a more progressive manner than had been seen in recent years and its overt application of the principles of New Urbanism (Ford 2012).

As a result, the addition of the overlay language to the development code opened the door for other mixed-use developments. Today, developers can create a similar neighborhood by using the methods pioneered by WBPC to move their respective visions forward. The city of Bend routinely points to Northwest Crossing as an example of how development should be carried out and what they prefer to see in the future. The amended Bend Development Code included language for all master planned areas, including residential clusters.

Within the Northwest Crossing Overlay, a base residential zone called Residential Standard, or RS, was designated. This is the standard zoning for single-family lots, allowing for freestanding homes on partial acre lots. On top of the RS zone, the Northwest Crossing Overlay allowed for the development of townhomes, apartments, residential mixed-use (including live-work units) and cluster housing, all of which could be applied to property at the developer's discretion. This overlay allowed WBPC to master plan and develop the community at the higher density of 5.2 dwelling units per acre (Pirie 2011). This allowed for the development of the different forms and scales of housing at Northwest Crossing.

The flexibility of the Northwest Crossing Overlay allowed builders to adjust their plans as market demand shifted, with the capacity to respond to demand with more options than in the conventional RS zone. In many cases, the neighborhood has had property slated for townhome development but, after partial construction, demand in the market shifted. In those instances, the builder changed plans and converted the remainder of the lots into standard single-family dwellings. This amounted to a more nimble financial and logistical flexibility in responding to the market. The dynamic has also created a more varied and interesting streetscape and urban

form to the neighborhood. The pattern of development itself tells a story through its changes, and creates a more visually varied and mixed-use environment.

Another critical piece of the Northwest Crossing Overlay code was the retooling of street standards. New Urbanist principles discuss extensively both urban form of the streetscape and its role in cultivating quality of life in addition to circulation. The city's standard street design code originally called for streets that approximately 35 feet wide (Duncan 2012), excluding pedestrian right-of-way. Standard street design also called for roads characterized by excessive paving, and held a general disregard for the pedestrian and other non-motorized forms of transportation.

The city's adherence to wide and extensively paved streets was rationalized by an argument about public safety vehicles needing to move with ease throughout all segments of the city. Fire safety has always been an especially high concern in Bend's arid high desert climate. Convincing the city's public safety professionals that the narrower street design of Northwest Crossing was compliant with moving fire trucks, ambulances, police vehicles, and even more with ease was difficult. Working with public safety officials, convincing them that the narrower and more complex street design of Northwest Crossing could accommodate their vehicles, took approximately two years. Ultimately, the public safety officials gave their approval and the design was allowed to proceed (Ford 2012).

Even after approval had been given, the fire department continued testing to ensure that the development proceeded in compliance for adequate street width and configuration. Numerous practice events were staged, moving fire trucks in and out of alleyways, often with other fire trucks parked in difficult locations around the moving vehicle to create obstacles. In the end, the design worked and satisfied safety officials.

Building on the enthusiasm of the city planning staff, the project received positive reviews from

the city council and the public. The community, however, especially those living in proximity to the new neighborhood, remained nervous about its density, which tops out at 7.3 units per acre (Stauffer 2002). There had never before been a Bend project with the proposed densities of Northwest Crossing. Prior to development of Northwest Crossing, most subdivisions were on fairly large lots, starting at about one-quarter of an acre and going up.

Marketing Northwest Crossing

In order to garner public support, WBPC focused much of its marketing effort on the historical roots of New Urbanism dating from pre- World War II neighborhood and city design philosophy. Though the levels of density would be new to Bend, the ideas behind Northwest Crossing were, in fact, both familiar and tested. Bend was not being subjected to an experiment without precedent.

Public education involved community events where WBPC described the vision for this New Urbanist community; visually conveyed the look of the project; and demonstrated how it would work for the average person. The largest challenge of this process involved helping citizens understand what Northwest Crossing would be like after reaching a critical mass of build out and unit occupancy. Marketing efforts for the first five to six years focused on educating people about mixed-use communities, defining New Urbanism, and illustrating how the sometimes abstract community design principles are applied to the construction of a new community. This education process required WBPC to produce promotional materials (Ford 2012), which are in the appendices.

After the five to six years of intensive public outreach through traditional marketing methods (fliers, mailers, television and print advertising), the development had progressed with sufficient construction that it was appropriate to have neighbors and future residents get an on-the-ground,

look at the physical environment. Schools, office space, retail space, parks, residential units, and streetscape were all there to be seen and experienced by prospective buyers. This shifted the marketing of the neighborhood from traditional media to an events-based effort, focused on getting people to the site instead of sending the site to them through advertising materials.

It is this marketing strategy, along with careful real estate market decisions (as well as the neighborhood design strategy itself, which will be discussed later) that contributed to Northwest Crossing's ability to drive home sales through the economic recession that hit Bend and the rest of the country beginning in 2007. David Ford, general manager of Northwest Crossing, speculated that it was these decisions that kept the neighborhood moving forward with intensive development, while almost every other development east of the Cascade Mountains stalled (Ford 2012). Since 2008, the neighborhood has recorded improvement in home and lot sales each year while the economy of Deschutes County has been among the most devastated in the nation.

The Housing Recession and Northwest Crossing Market Performance

Along with the rest of Bend, Northwest Crossing was not immune to the state and national economic recession. Much of Bend's contemporary economy had been based on home construction and sales, having left timber processing behind as the Oregon logging industry shrank earlier in the century (Oregon Public Broadcasting 2012). During the economic downturn of the late 2000s, Bend's housing market took a particularly powerful blow. During the housing crash, Central Oregon and Bend's economies plummeted because such a large portion was dedicated to housing construction (Bernton 2009). New home construction in Bend – well known for being an already inflated real estate market – came to a standstill sometime around 2008 (Feldman 2012). Between 2000 and 2007, real estate prices ballooned, rising by 130%. When the market crashed and the bubble burst, they dropped by 34% (CNN Money 2010).

This destructive volatility in the housing market caused development in the city to stagnate after 2008. Existing home prices dropped precipitously. To add perspective to the extremely stressed economic times, the city's unemployment rate as of 2010 hit 14.9% (CNN Money 2010). It has since subsided slightly to 12.3% (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). This bleak state of affairs has been part of the economic scene since WBPC began planning and developing Northwest Crossing.

In an effort to head off the declining market impact on Northwest Crossing, its Board of Directors took a calculated risk in 2009. The board headed off the home sales market drop by reducing new lot and home prices by 40% to 50%. This decision came from an analysis which projected when and how the market would bottom out. The Board decided that, instead of incrementally cutting prices as the market slid downward, they would cut prices immediately to the level they projected the prices would ultimately fall.

Home and lot prices were cut to 2003 levels. Homes that once were selling at rates of \$500,000 to \$600,000 are currently selling between \$300,000 and \$400,000 (Moore 2010). New home construction on undeveloped lots is selling for around two hundred and ten dollars per square foot, on average. Despite those circumstances, Northwest Crossing has rebounded and homes and lots are presently rising in value. New construction continues in Northwest Crossing. Its economic health is far better than almost every other development in Bend (Moore 2010).

Neighborhood Design

Along with nimble economic planning and a comprehensive marketing strategy, there is one more element that has contributed greatly to the vitality of Northwest Crossing: it's architecture.

A central pillar of the New Urbanist movement revolves around architectural style (Poticha 2000). WBPC paid close attention to this piece of the NU philosophy. At its conception, Northwest Crossing instituted strict standards for all building design in the neighborhood. WBPC compiled a group of 25 builders they believed had the capability and experience to design and construct to those standards (Doran 2011), which they called the “Guild”. To provide guidance to the Guild, WBPC assembled a team, the Architectural Review Committee (or, ARC) which maintains the authority to approve or reject designs put forth by builders. The ARC’s primary role is to help guide designs into the vision for Northwest Crossing).

The careful attention to detail and adherence to NU design principles has, according to Mr. Ford, been as instrumental as any other effort in creating, retaining, and growing value in the community. He observes that, while the organization’s rigid design guidelines have created numerous conflicts and opportunities for developers and designers to gripe and complain, he can confidently say that they know these strict rules are an instrumental and fundamental piece of what makes the neighborhood attract and maintain residents and value (Ford 2012).

New Urbanist Principle #24: Architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice (Kelbaugh 2000), is readily apparent in this self-imposed aesthetic legislation. All homes and buildings in the Northwest Crossing neighborhood are designed based on historical precedents, making their design distinct in a region increasingly covered with cookie-cutter and McMansion style homes, unreflective of the context of the Central Oregon region (see visual appendix for images of architecture representative of the styles used in Northwest Crossing).

Additionally, the imposition of design standards and codes coincides well with NU principle #17: The economic health and harmonious evolution of neighborhoods, districts, and corridors can be improved through graphic urban design codes that serve as predictable guides for

change (Lennertz 2000). Organizing development in a way reflective of these values, Mr. Ford has admitted, was a conscious decision and one that he and the team at WBPC knew would not only create a slower design process, but a more costly one too. Despite those realities, the decision to honor that principle, was determined to be the right course of action. As a result, the neighborhood's urban design and architectural aesthetics make it distinct and reminiscent of some of the city's older, established neighborhoods.

The master plan for Northwest Crossing was developed with New Urbanist principles at its core. Walker-Macy Landscape Architects and Planners, an established Portland firm, was responsible for drafting the blueprint for the neighborhood's unconventional layout. David Stauffer's article in the journal, *Urban Land*, "The New Urbanist New West" (Stauffer 2002) listed the goals of the project, which included the incorporation of a mixed set of uses (live, work, play) in the neighborhood. This is accomplished by the inclusive approach to neighborhood planning that includes space for residential units, schools, parks, offices, shops,, open space, and sites for industrial uses. This mixed-use approach to the development of the neighborhood is in alignment with NU Principles #17 and #24 (see above for their descriptions from the Charter of the New Urbanism). Additionally, Principle #16: Concentrations of civic, institutional, and commercial activity should be embedded in neighborhoods and districts, not isolated in remote, single-use complexes. Schools should be sized and located to enable children to walk or bicycle to them (Moule 2000), is applicable to the neighborhood design as fundamental elements like commercial development and an elementary and high school are integrated into the community layout.

Another Northwest Crossing goal listed by Stauffer was the preservation of the site's natural setting of hills, pine trees and junipers, and views of the Cascade Mountain Range to the west (Stauffer 2002). This is evident in the abundance of older trees that fill the neighborhood. Special attention was given to preserving as many existing trees as possible. In fact, before construction an inventory of all trees on the site was conducted and the results had an influence on the

layout of streets, parks, lot lines, utilities, and home siting thus maximizing the number of trees the development was able to preserve. The result is a neighborhood that conveys a sense of permanence and presence, suggestive of its existence predating its actual groundbreaking (Ford 2012). This attention to tree preservation is something many prospective buyers and community members notice immediately upon visiting the neighborhood.

In addition to the preservation of tree cover, the Northwest Crossing layout has made considerable accommodation to the site's rolling slopes and undulations. Unlike most conventional development patterns which typically level a site before proceeding with construction (Ford 2012), the neighborhood has a distinct character created by its natural topography. It is not unusual for homes in Northwest Crossing to be situated higher or lower than the street, in deference to the lot terrain. In fact, design requirements for home construction directs grading to conform to the natural slope of the land whenever possible (West Bend Property Company 2003). Despite its somewhat rigid, grid-like plan, the neighborhood's streets and lots are carefully draped over a hill that gently slopes south, with the forms of a number of shallow cuts and former creek beds preserved as landscaping features. Steep slopes were mapped and preserved as open space or easements. While not a design technique distinct to New Urbanism (there are many conventional suburban developments that are also responsive to the landscape), this conscious decision has contributed to the site's unique sense of place.

New Urbanism cannot be discussed without talking about the intentional decisions made regarding urban form and architecture in a project like Northwest Crossing. The designs of all its buildings are subject to detailed guidelines, stipulating the allowable architectural styles and containing a long list of the sub-requirements for each. In the residential areas, six architectural home styles are allowed: Craftsman, Tudor Revival, Colonial Revival, American Foursquare, Prairie, and Mid-Century Modern. These styles were selected for their significance as traditional and characteristic of both the New Urbanist urban fabric reminiscent of pre-World War II styles

of construction, and for their applicability to the current and historic motif of Bend. Multi-family residential units are also subject to a long list of design guidelines.

For example, the Craftsman style home guidelines in the Northwest Crossing guidelines stipulates a list of essential architectural elements, including: exposed rafter tails; large entrance porches with tongue and groove ceilings; low-pitched roofs with large over-hanging eaves; exterior walls covered in horizontal clapboard, brick, shingle, or stucco, as well as unique corresponding details; the use of local materials for masonry; and simple building massing of one to one and a half stories (West Bend Property Company 2011). Also discussed are appropriate paint colors and schemes, front porch design, building materials, lighting, cladding and rafter detailing, as well as appropriate window and doors (treatment, style, and placement) (West Bend Property Company 2011).

This level of detail is provided for each home style and includes the multi-family structures to ensure accurate representations of the urban form, reinforcing the NU values. These stringent regulations on building design, governed by the ARC, Mr. Ford has observed, are chief sources of headaches for the Guild of builders allowed to construct at Northwest Crossing. However, the end product is a neighborhood with houses that are diverse and representative of the style in which they were built, rather than simple homages to Americana front-porch whimsy – something New Urbanism can be accused of breeding in the exercising of its principles.

Street Grid, Circulation, and Connectivity

One of the most notable and identifiable aspects of the Northwest Crossing development is its unique streetscape. Viewed in plan form, the neighborhood is a clear combination of an axial grid and a radial network. The grid-like form is evocative of the NU design philosophies

emphasizing dense, walkable streets that are easy for pedestrians and alternative transportation forms to navigate. The radial design, with the circular Compass Park as its center, is evocative of a postmodern take on the monumental design of cities from the Classical era (Rome during its imperial height or Paris during its Haussmannization era) through the City Beautiful movement (Washington, DC's radial boulevards, or the failed Bogue - Civic Center Plan of Seattle, influenced by the City Beautiful Movement during the early 1900s (City of Seattle 2011)). Northwest Crossing's gridded system, unique outside of the historic core of the city, provides a large amount of connectivity and travel options for cars, bicycles, and pedestrians, as well as other modes of transit. The gridded and narrower system slows down and calms vehicular traffic, and allows pedestrians to move with ease throughout the neighborhood.

A system of alleyways allows parking, utilities, and other services less conducive to a pedestrian friendly environment to be located in the rear of buildings, preserving the front façade for human-scaled details like porches, eaves, and landscaping.

A network of trails and separated sidewalks winding throughout the development also allow students to move between their homes and schools without constantly sharing their path with traffic (Pirie 2011). And residents have easy walking paths.

While it can be argued that much of the architecture within the neighborhood is representational of Bend's historic vernacular, the street layout – while admittedly gridded and dense – bears little resemblance to anything with historic precedence. The central hub of the semi-spoked design, Compass Park, with its circular form and radiating arterials, is unique in form in the city. Whether one decides that this shape and the subsequent influence it has on the outwardly radiating grid of streets that echo the round form outwards for the duration of several blocks is a good or bad feature of the neighborhood, its striking presence cannot be avoided. This design is, in fact, a break from the neotraditional philosophies that have guided much of NU literature.

It introduces a strong geometry with no historical precedent in the area – a decidedly modernist move in an otherwise postmodernist setting. How this clashes or incorporates NU design principles in the movement's tenuous relationship between clinging to vestigial forms and designs (such as the area's architecture or a gridded base street pattern) while embracing future trends (like environmental systems incorporation or the provision of ample space for cars integrated into the overall framework) is likely up for debate. In the form's favor, the circular design creates a large, one-way roundabout for vehicular traffic routing through the area. This creates two effects, the first of which is slower traffic due to the roundabout nature and disjuncting effect for drivers navigating the suddenly broken grid. The second is that the roundabout design creates a one-way traffic circle, which improves predictability for pedestrians seeking to cross the street to enter the park, as they only have to check in one direction for cars.

Simply because a central design element is not a neotraditional design or has no relationship to other parts of the neighborhood or city's urban fabric does not necessarily make it a negative or positive overall impact. Although one can argue that much of NU can be seen as a conservative response to the changing fabric of the urban form, the integration of a new idea into that practice for the sake of artistic originality or engineering innovation should not be demonized. It may yet have the potential to spur and influence future development patterns on its own, if its merits are proven worthwhile and worthy of reproduction. Tearing down the new simply for being new is a practice that has the potential to limit intellectual growth, especially in the field of urban design. Architectural and design decisions should be judged both artistically, as well as on their productive merit. For this reason, it will be interesting to see how the role of Compass Park and its influence on urban travel and mobility patterns evolves as the community matures.

Transportation and Transit Incorporation

Transit oriented development is a commonplace and reoccurring theme in much NU literature.

The intermingling of mixed use, mixed density, and local or regional connectors is a key factor in developing holistically at a local and regional scale. Evidence of this theme is evident in everything from Ebenezer Howard's writings on his fictitious "Garden Cities" with a hub and spoke design, all the way to contemporary NU projects around the country and world. Building a neighborhood that intentionally embraces a mass transit connector service like bus, streetcar, light rail, or other alternative mass transit system has become a standard discussion in the planning community, if not already standard practice.

A look at the Bend public transit map (for the purposes of this paper, the map referred to is the one downloaded from the city's website, updated February, 2011) reveals the intentional incorporation of the neighborhood into the transit system. The bus service, known as Bend Area Transit (BAT) which started service in 2007, runs a route directly through the Northwest Crossing neighborhood, linking it to the downtown and the greater city (City of Bend 2011).

BAT's Route 3 bus runs from downtown Bend, the historic commercial and retail core of the city, out to the Northwest Crossing neighborhood. The current route runs west from downtown across the Deschutes River along Newport Ave, a primary arterial on the city's west side. At the fourth roundabout, and after the street name changes to NW Shelvin Park Market Road, the bus turns left onto NW Crossing Drive. It runs through one more traffic circle before turning right and navigating around the central park of the neighborhood, Compass Park, in the heart of Northwest Crossing. Immediately upon emerging after navigating around roughly half the circle, the bus stops on NW Crossing Drive, where residents can board and disembark the system. The bus leaves the neighborhood by taking a right (turning north) onto Mount Washington Boulevard, and completes a wide loop above the neighborhood, reconnecting with NW Shelvin Park Market Road and running back towards the downtown (City of Bend 2011).

The neighborhood's primary bus stop is located at a juncture of the neighborhood's Compass

Park and its commercial center, which is located 2 blocks to the west, near the intersection of NW Crossing Drive and Mt. Washington Drive, at yet another roundabout. Along with the park and the commercial activities, which include shops and restaurants, the bus stop is also located in close proximity to High Lakes Elementary School (approximately 0.12 miles), Summit High School (0.4 miles), Lewis and Clark Park (0.33 miles) and the area's industrial zones, located near the high school.

Many different housing types, including a cluster of higher-density row houses are located immediately around this stop (Walker Macy Landscape Architects 2000). This central location provides residents with the option to access the city's bus system, moving between their immediate environs and downtown Bend, where they can then connect to the larger network which runs throughout the city. The stop with its amenities, location near services and access to multimodal transportation options may become an integral link to greater Bend from the neighborhood.

As of early 2011, transit stops located in the Northwest Crossing neighborhood were recorded as having the highest use rate anywhere in the city (Ford 2012). It is assumed by Ford that people who have bought into the New Urbanist lifestyle of Northwest Crossing maintain a strong commitment to supporting and utilizing local transit as part of their lives. He notes that WBPC has supported mass transit in its development of Northwest Crossing by encouraging the city in its efforts and by suggesting ideal allocations for stops in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood also makes reasonable accommodation for the car, a New Urbanist lesson conveyed in Principle 22: In the contemporary metropolis, development must adequately accommodate automobiles. It should do so in ways that respect the pedestrian and the form of public space (Farr 2000). Ample parking is provided on street, which most houses face as closely as possible. Private parking, with a few exceptions, is almost entirely located behind houses in

garages and driveways in alleys. Building off the design principle that public space should be shared between the pedestrian and the car (as well as other modes of transportation) Northwest Crossing incorporates an extensive and complete sidewalk network that allows pedestrians to move about the grid with ease and cross the street at safe, marked areas. Streets are lined with trees and natural planting strips to provide a pleasant and a safe experience for pedestrians. During the time this researcher spent observing the neighborhood, walkers were limited. However, temperatures were not conducive to pedestrians, as it was March and Bend's average temperatures remain quite cold until later in the spring. For the sake of argument, it is assumed that area residents occasionally use the walkable street network, as it is one of the neighborhood's major selling factors.

Street parking is provided as well. Cut outs abound throughout the neighborhood where cars can pull to the side and park, out of the traffic flow. Because of the gridded street pattern, traffic is encouraged to move slowly and parked cars provide an extra sense of security for pedestrians moving on the inside of blocks. Numerous traffic circles, noted above in the discussion about public transit integration, also serve to calm traffic, as well as ease congestion and limit idling.

In terms of traffic safety, the Charter makes note that, when the city of Seattle instituted traffic calming projects like roundabouts, it reduced accidents by 94% at otherwise traditionally engineered intersections (Farr 2000). By characterizing the transportation system within Northwest Crossing with roundabouts and a tight street grid as traffic calming measures, one can see that motorist and pedestrian safety are central pillars to the design of this New Urbanist neighborhood – while acknowledging that cars will inevitably be a piece of the transportation dynamic today and in the future.

Influence on Future Development in Bend

Northwest Crossing has opened the door to a new way of thinking about urban growth in Bend. It was responsible for the Northwest Crossing Overlay, becoming a part of the city development code. Northwest Crossing also pushed the new directive that all PUDs be master planned to include aspects of livability. These livability elements include incorporating Neighborhood Commercial (NC) which are small scale commercial development such as shops and office uses to service the surrounding residential and commercial areas. They also include Convenience Commercial (CC) which is a finer-grained commercial development placed intentionally into residential areas to serve residents (Stephens 2012).

Liability also means providing ample accommodation for multifamily development which is a milestone for Bend. The required mix of housing types allows residents to stay in one neighborhood for extended periods of time, by upgrading their housing as their living situations change. For example, a young, single adult can rent a small apartment in a multifamily area. When his or her lifestyle changes either by adding a partner (roommate, spouse, child), or through career advancement and higher income the resident can move to a new residence to accommodate changed spatial needs and financial means. This is a conscious feature on the part of those responsible for the planning of Northwest Crossing and other similar New Urbanist communities. Most conventional suburban developments are characteristically monotype in their housing styles, resulting in a predictably homogeneous population.

Bend Planning Director, Colin Stephens, observed that the success of Northwest Crossing has created expectations that large tracts of land in line for future urbanization in Bend will follow suit. He credited the new development code and PUD standards and the successful implementation of a New Urbanist community, for setting the stage for future developments (Stephens 2012)

He further noted that specific standards for minimum densities, walkable distances between commercial areas, minimum block sizes, and more all set an easily definable precedent for development in the city when its housing market recovers (Stephens 2012). New regulations in the development code are now in place requiring many of the features pioneered by WBPC in the development of Northwest Crossing.

Applicability of Northwest Crossing to Oregon Statewide Land Use Law

While the discussion of a specific case study creates a number of case-specific circumstances that become difficult to evaluate in a larger, theoretical context. Regardless, this discussion would not be complete without explicitly drawing, as best as possible, a relationship between the case study examined in this section and the theoretical, relational construct posed in the paper's previous portion.

It should be readily acknowledged that one New Urbanist community cannot realistically satisfy all of the comprehensive and elaborate planning goals guiding development in the State of Oregon. The planning goals are too complex and, in more than one circumstance, inapplicable to the goals of a NU community. For instance, this is the case with statewide goals that address specific statewide natural resources such as estuarine resources (16), beaches and dunes (18), or similar categories. However, a comprehensive NU community like Northwest Crossing can provide valuable and previously unexplored solutions and responses to statewide goals more applicable to advancing the state of urban development and growth, such as Goal 14 (Urbanization), Goal 10 (Housing), or Goal 8 (Recreation Needs) to name a few. This is accomplished through the comprehensive and finer grained scale at which development adherent to NU design and philosophical principles take the concept of neighborhood and city planning to incorporate numerous aspects of livability that for decades have been eschewed in favor of other

values.

Taking the axial coding process to its final step in this exploration, an exploration of how Northwest Crossing, as a comprehensive and effective example of a NU community, fulfills or attempts to fulfill the statewide planning goals of Oregon is a worthwhile exercise. In addition to telling the story of how a community like Northwest Crossing, unique to the Central Oregon region, came to be, functions, and how its presence may influence future growth in the state, this case study would not be complete without using that background information to explicitly assess the ways in which this community truly advances statewide goals and guidelines. Using the grounded theory approach, a third column is added to the coding process wherein a simple Yes or No can be marked in the rows where the neighborhood in some way contributes to the advancement of that specific statewide goal.

Working with the city and the public to bring about a development that was not only potentially profitable for the development team but also accomplished the goals of the city of Bend are reflective of the involvement of government and citizens in the public involvement and land-use-planning process. Both of these are Statewide Goals (Goals 1 and 2) and are some of the most complex directives to carry out, because they require the involvement of a citizenry in the shaping of the political and physical layout of the community in which they live. The back and forth between developer, elected official, planning professional, and citizen is what makes this process so cumbersome and confusing, which is why it is canonized in Statewide Planning Law.

Encouraging a pattern of development like that seen at Northwest Crossing has the recognizable potential to relieve pressure on future growth if and when it returns to the city and region. Bend's historic growth has accommodated the growing urban population at the expense of the city's livability, sustainability, walkability, and consideration for the region's attractiveness and ambiance which unchecked growth has the capacity to influence negatively. Maintaining an efficient use of

land within the city's urban growth boundary is a central pillar of Oregon's Statewide Planning Goals, and Northwest Crossing, through its integrative and efficient plan can easily be seen to accomplish aspects of Statewide Goals 9 (Economic Development), 10 (Housing), 11 (Public Facilities and Services), 12 (Transportation), 13 (Energy Conservation), and 14 Urbanization (Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development 2010). It is readily apparent that, in an effort to accommodate growth, the high density and mixed use patterns of development provide a much more livable model for a community than what is seen outside of Bend's central, older, downtown and historic residential districts where gridded street patterns and walkability are still the norm. By changing the planning landscape of how growth is to be carried out in the future in Bend, using Northwest Crossing as a model for future dense, mixed-use, and master planned development (as is the role and right of local government under Statewide Planning Law), a new and arguably more sustainable model for growth has been established in a city that for the last twenty years has been the fastest growing in the state. In this way, Northwest Crossing's interpretation of the principles of New Urbanism can be seen as playing a direct role in influencing the city of Bend's goal of operating within Oregon Statewide Planning Law.

Finally, the New Urbanist development – though quite urban in nature – plays an integral role in protection of the area's natural and scenic environment, as well as resources. Central Oregon is a resource rich area, and its rural lands are used primarily for recreation, ranching, farming, and timber. Urban growth, while necessary, has the serious side effect of limiting amounts and productivity of those land uses which are sensitive to the encroachment of incompatible urban land uses. By providing a new and far more efficient model of land use for a city like Bend, pressure to further expand the city's UGB can be reduced, and a further environmental sensitivity can be promoted throughout the community. These effects can engender a strengthened understanding and healthier relationship between the occupied urban land and the sensitive, rural land necessary for the region's long-term productivity. In this manner, Oregon Statewide Planning Goals 3 (Agricultural Lands), 4 (Forest Lands), and 6 (Air, Water, and Land Resource

Quality) can be advanced through the more comprehensive nature of NU community planning like, arguably, that seen at Northwest Crossing.

Current Conditions

As of April of 2012 the Northwest Crossing has approximately 650 sold and/or occupied homes of the anticipated full build-out of 1100 to 1200. 739 residential type lots are developed, including townhomes and live-work units. These figures are indicative of the slow-down in growth experienced by developments everywhere in the Bend area. Average sale prices are lower than originally projected, due to the adjustment by the Board of Directors discussed earlier in this case study, and currently rest around the upper \$300,000s and low \$400,000s. New construction costs have settled around \$210 to \$220 per square foot, depending on the size of the home. During the height of the Central Oregon building boom WBPC was averaging approximately 8 homes per month. Currently that figure has been reduced to 4 to 5. Ford, who provided these figures emphasizes that, while growth has slowed and the project's finances have had to be readjusted substantially, Northwest Crossing is still the only project in the city that continues to see new growth (Ford 2012).

The form and pattern of housing and development growth in Northwest Crossing has changed from its original incarnation. The size of homes being constructed in the neighborhood has dropped by 200 to 400 square feet. Whereas homes once averaged approximately 2,000 to 2,200 square feet, the average home size being built in Northwest Crossing today is roughly 1,800 square feet (Ford 2012).

Growth in the neighborhood includes further development of the neighborhood's industrially zoned land to the west, which was a requirement by the city of Bend. WBPC is also working

with Walker Macy Landscape Architects to create an updated and revised master plan for the northwest section of the neighborhood (located to the west of Mount Washington Drive), called the “Discovery Park” area. The newest site will include townhomes and single-family homes located around a formal park space, anchored by a 3-acre lake. Development of the new areas, as well as completion of the central section is intended to progress on schedule over the next several years as the housing market stabilizes itself (Ford 2012).

Northwest Crossing demonstrates the appeal of a New Urbanist community aesthetically, and economically. By educating Bend residents about the NU concepts, by establishing rigid design guidelines, by driving necessary changes in city ordinances, and by responding creatively to a disastrous housing market, Northwest Crossing has succeeded against substantial odds. It presents a viable model, worthy of further exploration for the next iteration of housing developments in Central Oregon.

The development’s ability to work within Oregon land use directives, to apply NU principles and then be managed by experienced developers account for its ability to create demand for a type of housing and community unique in Bend in spite of a challenging economic climate.

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Chapter 10

Conclusion

Linking two separate sets of planning goals, each with myriad subsets makes for some dense and complicated reading and analysis. Applying relevant goals from Oregon's Planning Goals and the Congress of New Urbanism's Charter to a case study begins to bring more clarity to the significance of each set of goals and to their commonalities. Of course there are no perfect prescriptions for planning, but frameworks like these two focus values and intentions into tangible products, be they plans or communities.

The plans of course are just that – plans that hope to translate theories into action. The results are seen in communities, such as Northwest Crossing in Bend, Oregon. Dissecting Northwest Crossing's design and its commitment to certain values helps to identify the elements that made it a successful project, even in a downturned economy.

How success is defined in a community that illustrates the benefits of intentional planning is an exercise in qualitative and quantitative analysis. This paper dealt primarily with the qualitative. The quantitative may have to wait several years as the economy recovers and new investments in housing begin in order to have a balanced model from which to draw conclusions.

Yet, it is possible to place success markers on Northwest Crossing due to its deliberate design encouraging neighborhood community life through careful street design, community centers, housing density and more. Buyers liked it. They bought houses. Their purchases were endorsements of not only individual home design, but of the community promise. They bought into a specific lifestyle and they knew it.

This is where the planning theories of New Urbanism and the land-use laws of Oregon become part of the economic environment of Central Oregon. The ideas, and the specific requirements embodied in both sets of goals created a product and the product needed a market. This is where savvy businessmen, deep pockets, and real estate expertise take over.

The market for a New Urbanist community isn't automatic. It needs to be developed, and Northwest Crossing's most significant marketing was via an education about the benefits of a community planned with NU goals.

Next, pricing had to make sense. And, it had to be responsive. All the great ideas that created Northwest Crossing would become irrelevant if no one could afford to live there. And that could have happened. It did in other developments in Central Oregon when the real estate bubble burst.

Deschutes County was one of the toughest hit of any county in the nation because its economy was based on second home, recreational, and new resident housing. The value of housing stock crashed and many builders and tradesmen went under. But Northwest Crossing, even with its lofty (and expensive) New Urbanist aspirations, survived.

The development survived because its quality product remained unique in the market place – the result of NU principles and adherence to Oregon Land Use Planning. It also survived because housing sale prices were aggressively reduced. The developers made a gutsy call to keep their development healthy in a sick economy. They bucked the expected practice of ratcheting down in tandem with the market. They went below the market; thereby offering deals in Bend, which were mostly unmatched.

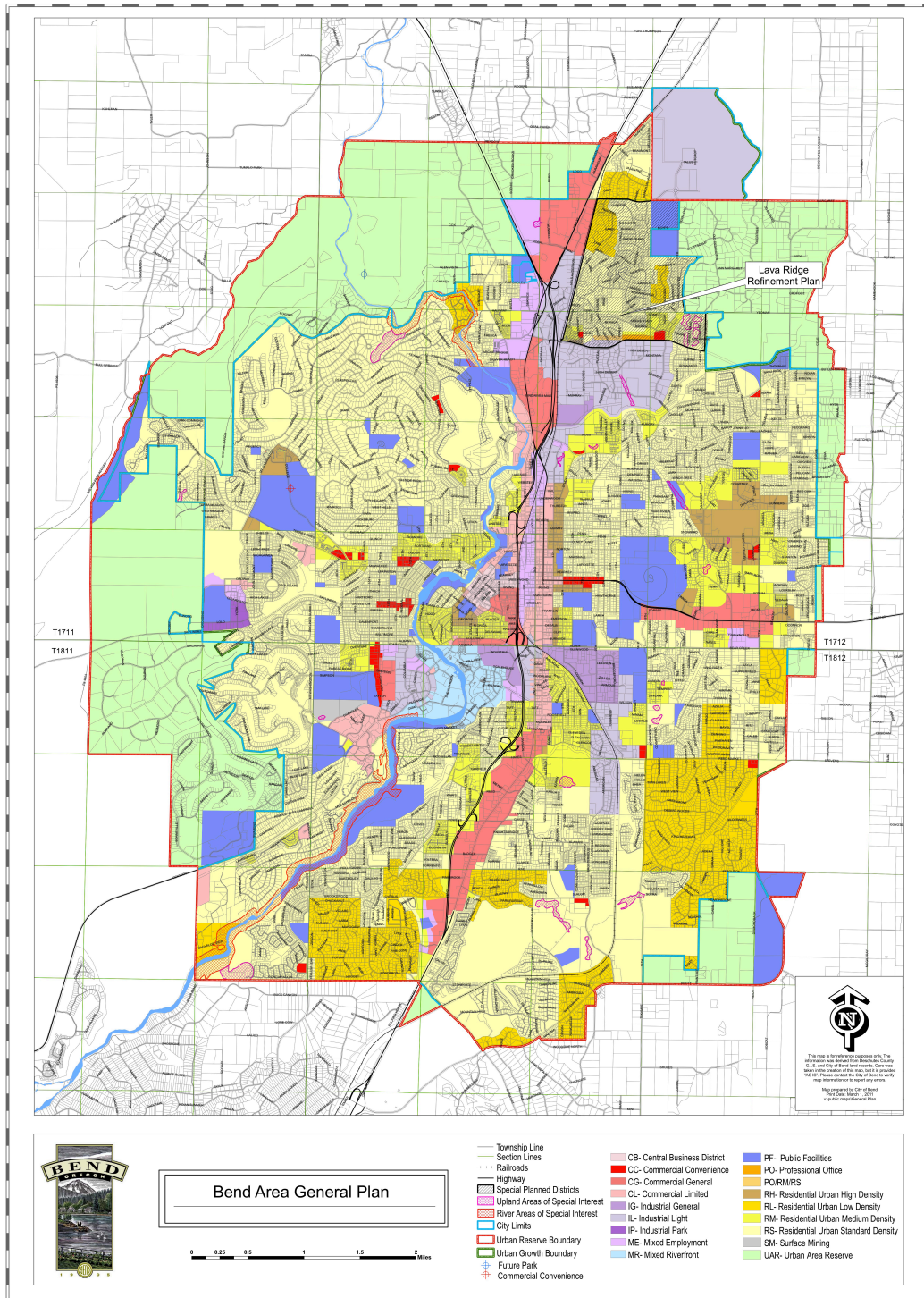
The nexus of planning, state mandates, and effective marketing and pricing all contributed to a

unique and seemingly successful community. How it grows and how Central Oregon recovers from the recession are linked. The integrity of the planning concepts and their attractiveness to buyers, however, is separate. Finding the price point that brings a product with promises of a special lifestyle to willing buyers remains in the purview of the marketplace. The product wouldn't have developed without the values of land use planning and New Urbanist principles. And it wouldn't have a market without the right business model. In the end, Northwest Crossing had both.

Opportunities for further research in this topic area may include conducting a survey of residents who have lived in the community for a set period of time to determine whether their expectations of living in a New Urbanist community were met or not. A pricing comparison of home values over time may also reveal some insights into the economic longevity of this and similar projects, with the possibility of comparing it to similarly sized conventional suburban style developments in the area. Finally, a study examining other New Urbanist developments in the region to identify the design priorities that prove most effective at attracting and retaining buyers would also be worthwhile, though the development process of criteria design may be arduous. At this point, however, it is still worth examining this relationship at the predominantly qualitative level that has been done here, for the purpose of determining the relationship between a movement based primarily on design principles and state growth management law.

Visual Appendix

Current Zoning Map of the City of Bend, OR

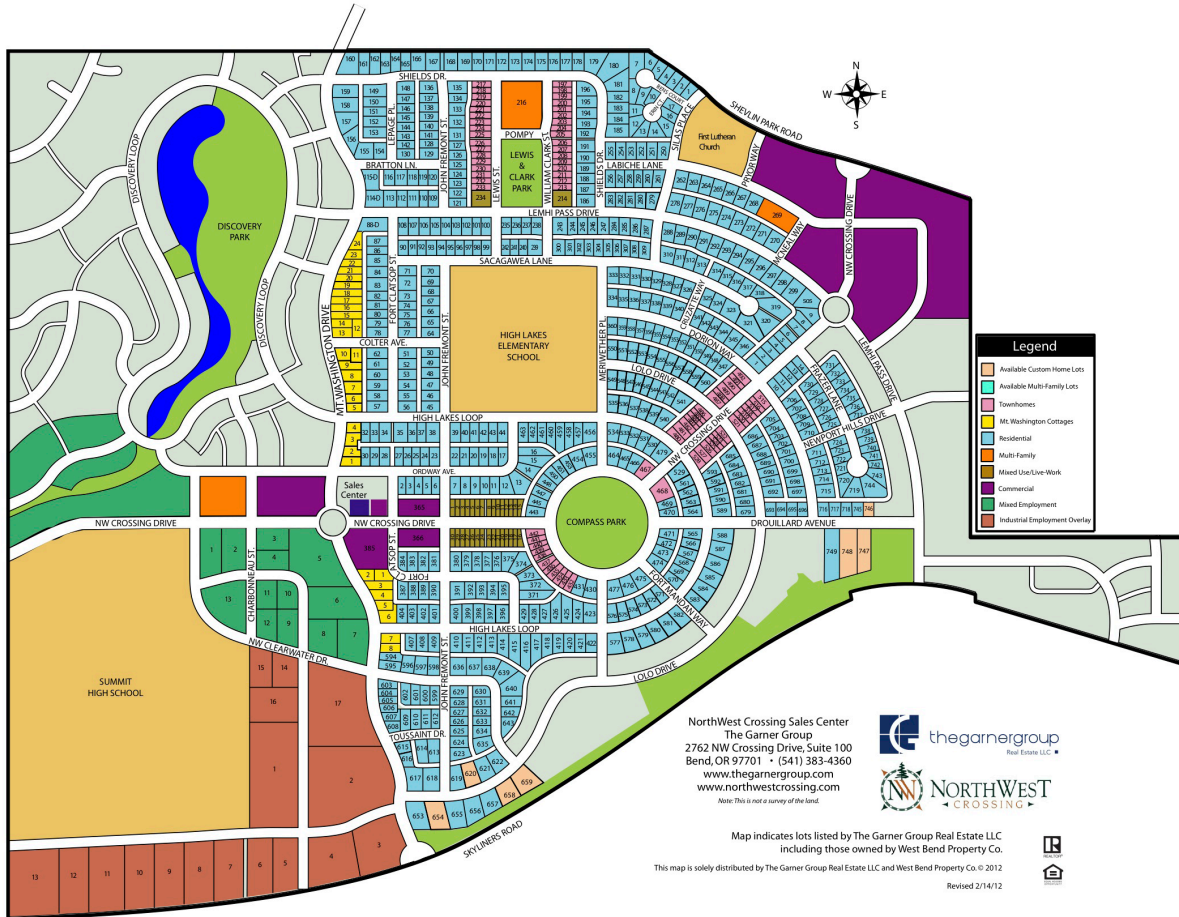


Source: City of Bend Development Code

This map is intended to provide readers with an approximation and familiarity with the city of Bend's layout and land use pattern. Northwest Crossing is located in the central, western section of the city. The city's historic center is located around the downtown area in the center of the map.

Visual Appendix

Northwest Crossing Land Use Map



Source: Ken Pirie, Walker-Macy Landscape Architects

This map is intended to provide readers with a degree of familiarity with the layout of the Northwest Crossing neighborhood in Bend, OR. The axial and gridded design is regularly employed in New Urbanist developments. To the west of this area is the city's downtown, and to the east is undeveloped urban reserve land, with US Forest Service land beyond that.

Visual Appendix

Axial Coding Chart: OR Growth Management Laws/NU Principles/Northwest Crossing Applicability

This diagram provides readers with a visual component to explain the axial coding process involved with my methodology and the way in which I drew connections between the Statewide Planning Goals, New Urbanist Design Principles, and the applicability of Northwest Crossing to those relationships.

Oregon categories:	Oregon Statewide Planning Goals	Applicable NU Goals	NWX Applicability of OR Statewide Planning Goals
Goal #	Name		
Political Design	1 Citizen Involvement	1, 25	Yes
	2 Land Use Planning	1, 9	Yes
Resource Conservation	3 Agricultural Lands	3	Yes
	4 Forest Lands	3	Yes
Resource Conservation	5 Natural Resources, Scenic and Historic Areas, and Open Spaces	3, 27	Yes
Resource Conservation	6 Air, Water, and Land Resource Quality	3	Yes
Urban Growth Issues	7 Areas Subject to Natural Hazards	2	N/A
Population Needs	8 Recreational Needs	2, 18	Yes
Population Needs	9 Economic Development	1, 9	Yes
Population Needs	10 Housing	7, 13	Yes
Population Needs	11 Public Facilities and Services	0	Yes
Population Needs	12 Transportation	8, 12, 14, 15, 22	Yes
Resource Conservation	13 Energy Conservation	26	Yes
Urban Growth Issues	14 Urbanization (UGBs)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 25	Yes
Urban Growth Issues	15 Willamette River Greenway	1, 2, 3, 4, 18, 27	N/A
Special Natural Resource Categories	16 Estuarine Resources	3	N/A
Special Natural Resource Categories	17 Coastal Shorelands	3	N/A
Special Natural Resource Categories	18 Beaches and Dunes	3	N/A
Special Natural Resource Categories	19 Ocean Resources	3	N/A

Source: Cameron Duncan

Visual Appendix

Examples of New Urbanist Neotraditional Architectural Style in Northwest Crossing

All pictures source: Cameron Duncan



A craftsman style duplex ringing the neighborhood's largest feature, Compass Park



A craftsman style home in Northwest Crossing

Visual Appendix



A Northwestern Exposed Timber Home in Northwest Crossing



A New England Style Farmhouse in Northwest Crossing

Visual Appendix



A Traditional Craftsman Style Home in Northwest Crossing



A Northwestern Exposed Timber Duplex Home in Northwest Crossing

Visual Appendix



Multifamily Attached Housing in Northwest Crossing



Mixed Use Development in Northwest Crossing

Visual Appendix



A Traditional Craftsman Home in Northwest Crossing. Note the mature Ponderosa Pine dominating the front yard.



A common New Urbanist feature, alleyways with garages opening onto them are commonplace for all types of housing in Northwest Crossing. This keeps longterm vehicle parking and heavy traffic flows off the streets, making them more pedestrian friendly.

Visual Appendix



Commercial District Streetscape



Commercial building in Northwest Crossing. Modeled after historic traditional urban commercial and industrial designs.

Visual Appendix

❖ So environmentally conscious, ❖
**WE'RE EVEN PRESERVING
A WONDERFUL WAY OF LIFE.**

A WELCOMING COMMUNITY.

That's often what people first notice about Northwest Crossing. Enjoy a friendly chat with your neighbors while you garden or relax on your front porch. And from the comfort of your neighborhood, you can walk to work, stroll to shopping and ride your bike to the park with the kids.



A SERENE AND HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT.

Each home blends beautifully with the natural contours of the landscape. With over 32 acres of public parks, as well as forested areas and open space, there are countless opportunities to marvel at the wonders of nature.



To help protect the natural beauty of the community, Northwest Crossing has made a commitment to be a good steward of the environment.



Clara, Northwest Crossing resident

Source: West Bend Property Management

Visual Appendix

Sample Design Standards for Northwest Crossing Development

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Included in this section are preferred architectural styles for NorthWest Crossing. The styles outlined in this section are not intended to be a complete list of permitted styles. Builders may submit for review alternate ("Other") styles and variations that respond appropriately to a particular building opportunity.



The NW Craftsman Style

History and Character

The NorthWest Crossing "Craftsman style" home takes its cues from the traditions embodied in a distinctive architectural style used by builders in the early part of the 20th century. The classic Craftsman style house is simple, informal, and efficient. Exteriors make use of natural materials. The Craftsman style emphasizes horizontal planes, with large entrance porches and low large overhang eaves. True to the nature of the design, exteriors were painted to blend in with the natural surroundings.

Essential elements include:

- Exposed rafter tails
- Large entrance porch with tongue and groove ceiling
- Low-pitched roofs with large over-hanging eaves (generally greater than 24"), emphasizing horizontal planes
- Exterior walls clad with horizontal clapboard, brick, shingle or stucco and unique coordinated details, such as, beam-end details, knee braces, window and door trims, etc.
- Honest use of natural, local materials for chimneys, foundations, and porch piers
- Simple massing of one to one-and-a-half stories

- Clear interpretation of inner and outer spaces



Exterior Colors

Most Craftsman style homes are painted natural earth tones of brown, green, burgundy or yellow. The main body of the house is typically the darker tone, while a lighter trim color acts as an accent. Craftsman style homes should always be painted at least two tones. Numerous accent colors may occur in small amounts. Most local paint stores have a designated Craftsman style or historic palette of colors from which to choose.