Decreasing Barriers to Missing Middle Housing in Hood River, Oregon

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PPPM 610 Growth Management

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON · HOOD RIVER OREGON · SCI Sustainable Cities Institute · SCYP Sustainable City Year Program

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Acknowledgments

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About SCI

The Sustainable Cities Institute (SCI) is an applied think tank focusing on sustainability and cities through applied research, teaching, and community partnerships. We work across disciplines that match the complexity of cities to address sustainability challenges, from regional planning to building design and from enhancing engagement of diverse communities to understanding the impacts on municipal budgets from disruptive technologies and many issues in between.

SCI focuses on sustainability-based research and teaching opportunities through two primary efforts:

1. Our Sustainable City Year Program (SCYP), a massively scaled university-community partnership program that matches the resources of the University with one Oregon community each year to help advance that community's sustainability goals; and

2. Our Urbanism Next Center, which focuses on how autonomous vehicles, e-commerce, and the sharing economy will impact the form and function of cities.

In all cases, we share our expertise and experiences with scholars, policymakers, community leaders, and project partners. We further extend our impact via an annual Expert-in-Residence Program, SCI China visiting scholars program, study abroad course on redesigning cities for people on bicycle, and through our co-leadership of the Educational Partnerships for Innovation in Communities Network (EPIC-N), which is transferring SCYP to universities and communities across the globe. Our work connects student passion, faculty experience, and community needs to produce innovative, tangible solutions for the creation of a sustainable society.

About SCYP

The Sustainable City Year Program (SCYP) is a year-long partnership between SCI and a partner in Oregon, in which students and faculty in courses from across the university collaborate with a public entity on sustainability and livability projects. SCYP faculty and students work in collaboration with staff from the partner agency through a variety of studio projects and service-

learning courses to provide students with real-world projects to investigate. Students bring energy, enthusiasm, and innovative approaches to difficult, persistent problems. SCYP's primary value derives from collaborations that result in on-the-ground impact and expanded conversations for a community ready to transition to a more sustainable and livable future.

<u>About Hood River, Oregon</u>

The city of Hood River, Oregon has seen vibrant community growth over recent decades, with a current population around 8,000. Bordered by the Columbia River and Washington State to the north, Hood River is the county seat for Hood River County. The City, just 60 miles east of Portland, expands with influxes of visitors seasonally. Hood River is rich in history and scenic beauty, and is commonly recognized for its arts, culture, and world-class outdoor recreation.

Hood River lies at the heart of the Columbia Gorge and its various recreation opportunities and is home to agriculture, high-tech, professional, healthcare and sports recreation industries. The surrounding region is renowned for its apple and pear production, which dates to the late 19th century. The City's proximity to Portland and Seattle allows it to maintain connections to technology industry hubs. Strong winds in Hood River also offer testing grounds for wind-sport manufacturing and other related industries. Hood River also has a growing food and beverage scene.

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Executive Summary

Located in the Columbia River Gorge, Hood River attracts visitors and permanent residents alike. Over time, the area's desirability has contributed to increased living costs and homogenous housing stock that has made it increasingly challenging for existing residents to live and work in the City. Hood River wants to develop mixed-income, diverse housing types, as the City struggles to accommodate continued growth. Currently, multi-family housing is restricted to limited zones, there are barriers to auxiliary dwelling unit development, and nearly 10% of the housing stock is occupied by short-term rentals or secondary homes.

The city of Hood River is advancing a long-term strategy to develop more diverse housing types, including "missing middle" housing. This strategy builds upon a 2016 Housing Needs Analysis and subsequent planning for the West Side Concept Area. This report seeks to help Hood River address and mitigate potential opposition to changes that may arise with housing developments.

Guided by input from Hood River's planning commission and community, this report focuses on recommendations to the development code and messaging tools that the city of Hood River can incorporate when addressing and reducing barriers to missing middle housing types.

These recommendations include zoning changes to allow a greater diversity of housing types, such as the adoption of form-based code to better align zoning with community needs and priorities. To reduce barriers to developing diverse housing, students recommend allowing multi-family housing "by-right," implementing procedures to streamline the permitting process, and reducing the development review costs.

To address barriers to local support, we recommend that the city of Hood River establish a public engagement process and a housing task force, update its code language, emphasize missing middle housing, and shift the narrative of development towards existing Hood River residents.

Utilizing one or a combination of recommendations will ideally bring Hood River closer to achieving their housing targets and providing for the needs of the community.

Introduction

The city of Hood River is considering updating their development code to allow more diverse housing types. In particular, Hood River is interested in cluster subdivisions and cottage codes. This kind of diverse housing type is often referred to as missing middle housing.

Hood River's population remains under 10,000, meaning it is not obligated to develop missing middle housing under Oregon law. However, a recent Housing Needs Analysis showed limited opportunity for Hood River to expand its Urban Growth Boundary, a limited supply of residential land, and an affordable housing deficit. Missing middle housing could address these limitations, but development code and public support barriers may prevent housing development. As planning progresses, consideration of community-wide priorities concerning design, open space preservation, existing neighborhood protection, public facilities, and city service will play a large role in how the City addresses their present housing crisis.

Students collaborated with the city of Hood River planning staff to address barriers to missing middle housing development, including development code and public messaging obstacles. Student research findings and analysis provide various strategies and recommendations to the city of Hood River Planning Department and Planning Commission Board. Recommendations in this report provide options for Hood River to address barriers that may prevent residents' access to affordable and desirable housing.

FIG. 1
**A dahlia farm in front of Mt. Hood (Rob Hammer Photography).**

Background

POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The city of Hood River is located in Oregon's Colombia River Gorge with an estimated population of 8,305 (Portland State University, 2019). A 2015 Housing Needs Analysis (HNA) examined the City's existing housing stock and capacity for future growth. The HNA found that Hood River has limited opportunities to expand its Urban Growth Boundary (UGB), a limited supply of residential land, and a deficit of affordable housing.

Hood River's population has grown 1.9% annually at a rate of 96 individuals per year since 2000, nearly twice the county or state average (ECONorthwest, 2015). By 2025, the City is anticipating a population of over 11,000 individuals. Data summarizing community values and opinions reflects an increasing concern about the pace and consequences of growth, and the implications they carry for the future of Hood River (ECONorthwest, 2015). Chief among these concerns are the rising housing costs and the lack of availability of diverse, affordable housing types (plus providing housing for current residents as well). The data gives additional attention to the increasing diversity of the City's residents, attributed to the aging of Baby Boomers and Millennials, and as well as continued growth of the City's Hispanic and Latino population (ECONorthwest, 2015).

FIG. 2

Population Growth, Hood River Oregon, 2010-2018.

$$y = 96.383x - 186827$$
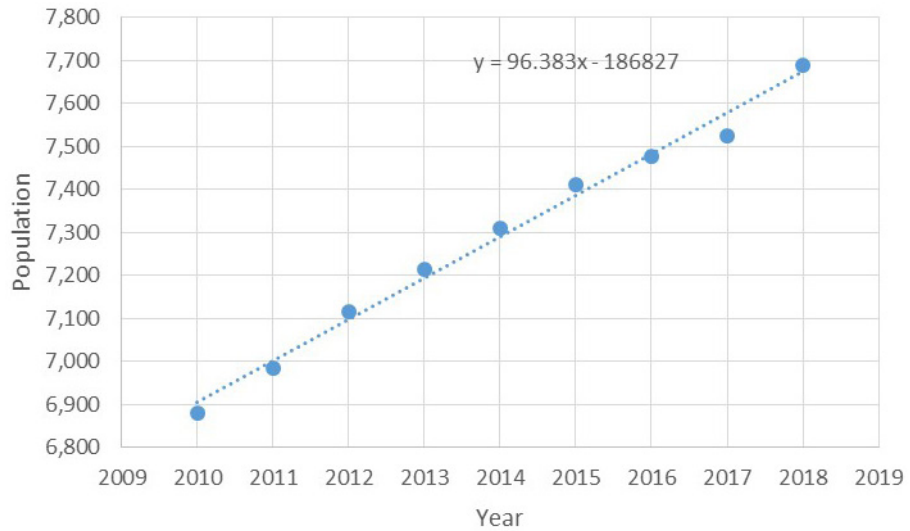
CONTEXT

The city of Hood River lies along the Columbia River Gorge at the border of Washington and Oregon. The City is constrained by Mount Hood National Forest federal lands; the Columbia River; the Columbia Gorge topography; and the jurisdictional intersections of Hood River, Wasco, Skamania, and Klickitat Counties, as well as the states of Oregon and Washington. Buildable land for new housing in Hood River is limited. Recently, the City completed an updated Housing Needs Analysis as required by Oregon Statewide Planning Goal 10. From this, the City determined a need to increase the number of housing units. However, Hood River's unique location prevents the City from expanding its UGB, greatly limiting the number of available and potential housing units.
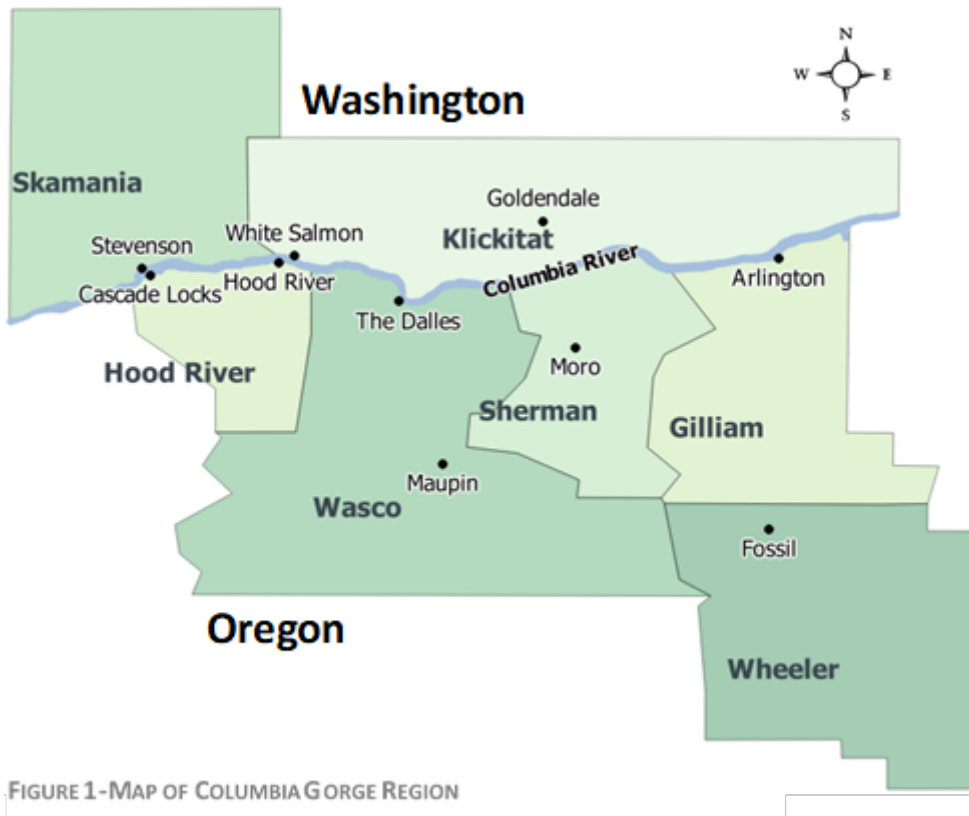
FIGURE 1-MAP OF COLUMBIA GORGE REGION

In addition to limited supplies of land and affordable housing, new housing developments in Hood River are mainly large, single-detached units. Missing middle housing types, including cottage housing, townhouses, duplexes, triplexes, and quadplexes, could provide more affordable housing options. Existing zoning codes often make development of these types of properties unfeasible. To address this issue, the city of Hood River 2020 Work Plan lists "improving the missing middle housing supply through code and zone changes" as one of its main goals. (City of Hood River, 2020).

Political will for diverse housing types is increasing at the national and state levels. Recent major policy changes that expand housing options in single-family residential zones reflect this trend. The Oregon Legislature passed House Bill 2001 in 2019, which allows certain missing middle housing types in single-family zones "by-right" in cities with populations over 10,000. Although this policy does not apply to smaller cities such as Hood River, the bill's adoption reflects the growing political momentum for missing middle housing policies.

Limited Housing Stock Increases the Cost of Housing

Currently, multi-family housing is restricted to a few limited zones. There are barriers to auxiliary dwelling unit development and nearly 10% of the housing stock serves as short-term rentals or secondary homes.

Hood River's ideal location creates additional housing demand, including features like a one-hour commute to Portland, scenic views, outdoor recreation access, an attractive downtown, and small-town feel. Hood River is a great place to live as well as popular vacation destination. This
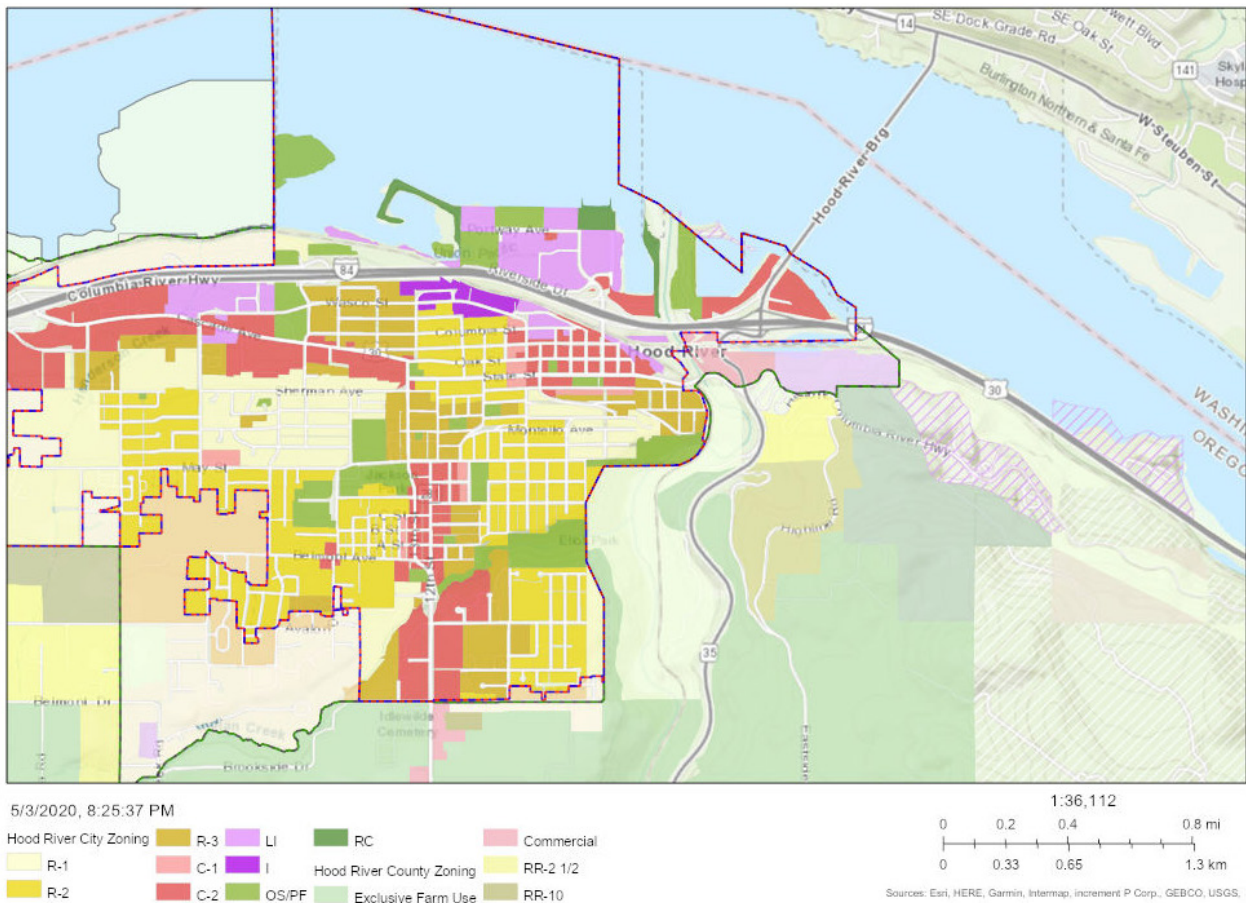
FIG. 5

City of Hood River Zoning Map.

indicates many homeowners may be part-time residents who vacation in the area. The abundance of vacation and second homes further reduces the City's already limited housing stock. These demands may culminate in a housing affordability crisis for the full-time community. Higher rents and home values may displace current community members, especially renters, who make up 50% of the community. They are forced to move to neighboring cities and towns, which increases housing prices regionally by decreasing total available regional units.

The affordable housing crisis is not unique to this area, but Hood River experiences it in particular ways. This is largely due to land constraints and vacation homes. These factors increase home values and limit housing stock while leaving many homes empty for most of the year. The City should update its development code to allow greater housing type diversity that will physically fit within its existing

boundaries and accommodate the growing population, all while maintaining housing that is affordable and available.

The Problem in Developing Missing Middle Housing

As seen in the case studies researched in this report, community resistance is common when city planners work to introduce missing middle housing stock. Residents often push back due to fear that new homes with higher density will change their neighborhood's aesthetic and sense of place. While planners and city officials recognize that newer, denser housing stock is essential, changing regulations to encourage missing middle housing development may not be enough. This report outlines the major lessons of several cities throughout the US that were both successful and unsuccessful in gaining support and communicating with residents regarding new missing middle housing.

FIG. 6
Missing Middle Housing in Walnut Hills by Opticos Design, cc Sightline Institute.

HNA AND BLI INDICATIONS AND LIMITED HOUSING STOCK

While Oregon state law requires that cities provide a 20-year supply of developable land for employment and housing needs, it is important to take into consideration Hood River's unique constraints. According to the September 2015 Hood River Housing Needs Analysis Summary Report, Hood River has about 318 acres of vacant or partially vacant residential land. Because of the complexity of UGB expansion for Hood River, this amount is unlikely to increase. The Hood River Housing Needs Analysis Summary Report identifies increasing efficient land use within the Hood River UGD as the first strategy towards addressing housing needs (ECONorthwest, 2015). The constraints identified in Hood River reinforce the need for this strategy. This report focuses on specific code language that supports and maximizes land use in Hood River.

Hood River's 2015 Housing Needs Analysis (HNA) and Buildable Lands Inventory (BLI) indicate the City has enough land to meet its housing needs for 20 years without expanding the Urban Growth Boundary provided the City develops at higher densities and addresses housing affordability (Thrive Hood River, 2020). Missing middle housing types could help remedy the City's needs. However, the City's desire to address these issues in the short term could potentially clash with the local community's potential lack of support for higher residential densities, which is perceived as incompatible with the City's current atmosphere. As planning progresses, considering community-wide priorities will play a large role in how the City addresses their ongoing housing crisis.

Student Work and Research Methods

Students met with the city of Hood River planning staff and the planning commission, conducting a site visit of Hood River neighborhoods and recent development projects. Students then reviewed industry best practices for messaging, building community support, and potential code changes that advance diverse housing development.

In order to better understand the barriers to missing middle housing, students reviewed comprehensive plans, housing plans and strategies, and housing needs assessments for Hood River and case study communities. Additionally, local news articles and interviews with city employees helped inform community-level responses to planning and public involvement efforts.

Students analyzed several cities as case studies for assessing various housing barriers in Hood River. The team found cities throughout the US and internationally that shared similar characteristics to Hood River's missing middle housing needs in already-developed areas. Students looked at successful and unsuccessful examples of cities that have pioneered unique strategies to develop more diverse housing types and address affordability. Additionally, students researched national literature for public engagement best practices and missing middle housing messaging. A detailed summary of national literature reviews and each case study is available in the appendices.

Finally, each team applied these learnings to a review of the Hood River proposed code amendments to see if the City achieved housing goals and represented the community's values and priorities. Based on that review, this report presents a series of recommendations for Hood River to consider when implementing its middle housing strategy.

Key Findings for Missing Middle Housing in Hood River

DEVELOPMENT CODE BACKGROUND

A development code provides guidance and requirements for how properties within a city may be used or developed. Though technical in form, the development code is an expression of a community's values surrounding urban design and form, environmental stewardship, social consciousness, transportation, livability, and other community priorities (City of Eugene, 2020) Thus, through language specifying building height and setbacks, use, lot size, parking parameters, density, and other variables, a community's values and priorities are translated to the three dimensional form of the built environment.

Current Development Code Key Findings for Missing Middle Housing

- Hood River's policies generally comply with Goal 10 of its comprehensive plan, which strives to provide opportunities to meet the housing needs of Hood River residents at all income levels (City of Hood River, 2019). This excludes the regulation of townhouse development. Though single-family attached housing is a needed housing type, Hood River's zoning code only allows townhouses in R-2 and R-3, where they are a conditional use (City of Hood River, 2019).

- Accessory dwelling units, or ADU's, are a straightforward way to achieve "invisible" density, but the Hood River zoning code imposes significant barriers to their development, to the extent that only about two units per year have been permitted in the 10 years ADUs have been allowed in the City (City of Hood River, 2019).

- Hood River's 2015 HNA Report estimates that Hood River has about 190 dwelling units used as short-term rentals and 150 secondary homes. Together, these 340 units account for 9.6% of Hood River's housing stock (City of Hood River, 2019).

- As of the City's 2015 HNA, single-family attached housing accounts for 3% of the existing mix of housing types, whereas single-family detached and multifamily housing represent 62% and 35%, respectively (City of Hood River, 2019).

- Code section 17.20.040 includes bicycle parking space requirements that only apply to multifamily and group living residential categories. The standards do not apply to single-family and two-family housing (attached, detached, or manufactured housing) or home occupations.

Zone	% Area of Vacant and Partially Vacant Residential Land	Current
R1	59%	Single detached units, no allowance for missing middle
R2	35%	Single detached units, duplexes and townhouses (max two units) subject to HRMC 17.19, four or more townhouses subject to HRMC 17.16 and HRMC 17.19 which require site plan review permit
R3	6%	Single detached units, duplexes and triplexes, and townhouse projects, townhouses (max three units) subject to HRMC 17.19, Four or more townhouses subject to HRMC 17.16 and HRMC 17.19

FIG. 7

Percentage Land Area and Current and Proposed Development Code Language by Residential Zone, Hood River City, 2020

CASE STUDY KEY FINDINGS

Expanding Housing Choices

Cities attempting to encourage new housing construction are concerned that more development will not solve the affordability crisis. Since new housing is often above the market rate for existing stock, this creates the impression that new houses drive up housing costs for everyone. This is true in limited circumstances, like when large quantities of existing housing stock are torn down to make room for new housing. However, new market-rate housing tends to increase housing options for families of all means. Construction of market-rate units allow new and existing residents to migrate into the new stock, alleviating competition for affordable inventory (Schuetz, 2019).

Durham, North Carolina's planning commission encountered opposition from residents who were convinced that providing developers with incentives to develop missing middle housing would lead to existing affordable homes being replaced with costlier units. The Expanding Housing Choices initiative benefited from emphasizing that more housing, even if they are not all affordable, benefits the whole community (Willets, 2019). A messaging strategy that emphasizes Hood River's need to provide more options for everyone who lives and works in the City, rather than reaching a certain density, is more likely to gain support and alleviate fear of further gentrification.

Density Can Conform to Neighborhood Character

Creating more housing options typically requires adding missing middle housing in areas that are predominantly single-family. This is particularly true for Hood River, which is unable to expand its UGB, as described previously. Residents of single-family neighborhoods are often concerned that development will change their neighborhood's character. In Seattle, WA, the governor passed sweeping legislation to address the City's affordable housing crisis (Cruickshank, 2015). Part of the package included up-zoning single-family neighborhoods. However, up-zoning was withdrawn from the bill due to residents' backlash over potential neighborhood changes (Cruickshank, 2015). This was in part due to lack of communication and early engagement about what housing forms would like.

Tigard, OR chose to address this more proactively by placing emphasis on housing form. In the City's code, quads must have two units below and two units above to look like single detached homes (Kenny, 2019). Courtyard housing and cottage clusters must look like smaller neighborhoods within a neighborhood (Kenny, 2019). In Arlington, VA, the County Board created a housing task force that will host a series of community conversations to create a shared definition for missing middle housing (Arlington County, 2020). Based on this, the County plans to build units that are complementary to existing neighborhoods. Following these examples, Hood River could hold meetings with residents to come to an agreement on missing middle housing form and share images that validate that density can conform to neighborhood character.

Public Engagement Builds Trust

Public engagement coupled with transparency builds trust between local city officials and the community. The Congress for New Urbanism provides a best practice strategy for this. The process includes:

1. identifying supporters and opponents;
2. connecting the local government's story within the context of the community's story;
3. creating a definition for success;
4. forming feedback loops to allow for goal refinement and community methods; and
5. creating opportunities for short-term successes that give advocates and community members opportunities to celebrate (Doyon & Brown, 2012).

The story of Minneapolis, MN's public engagement process is a model example of this process. The City has a strong culture of collaborative planning between advocates and elected officials. Pro-housing grassroots organizations, such as "Neighbors for More Neighbors", were included as stakeholders in the planning process to build community support. With their support and local government funding for public engagement, local officials created a "city-wide conversation about Minneapolis 24 years into the future." (Flisrand, 2018).

Minneapolis established a two-year timeline for public engagement processes that allowed for feedback loops to foster communication between the City and the public. This created a shared understanding of housing needs the community faced as well as options that were palatable for the local community. In Hood River, this process could include identifying advocacy groups for renters and low-income individuals, such as Livable Hood River, a local nonprofit that promotes housing for all income levels and regulations on short-term rentals (Livable Hood River, 2020). They also hold events for storytelling by community members. Additionally, Hood River could message its efforts as building workforce housing rather than increasing "affordable housing."

Overcoming Barriers

The following key findings emerged regarding efforts to implement programs and policies to address common barriers to affordable housing:

- Housing Task Forces can identify the most feasible projects and policies. In Frisco, Colorado, a Housing Task Force identified prime parcels for redevelopment or infill projects. Additionally, the task force recommended regulations to manage the growth of short-term rentals, developed incentives for building deed-restricted workforce housing, and implemented regional best practices. In Bend, Oregon, the Affordable Housing Committee continuously engages the public to help develop funding priorities and analyze policy needs, including systems development charge waivers, construction excise taxes, parking requirement reductions, and density bonuses. Seattle is a part of the Regional Affordable Housing Task Force, which brings together representatives from various cities across the county to address barriers to affordable housing.

- Deed-restricted housing programs can create more dedicated workforce housing. Deed restrictions can include full-time residency requirements as well as Area Median Income (AMI) restrictions. In Summit County, Colorado, 14% of full-time residents live in deed-restricted housing. Frisco and neighboring communities developed "buy-down" programs to allow the town to convert units, as well as incentivize property owners to opt into deed restrictions. This program is supported through a local sales tax increase. Bend is also focused on increasing the supply of deed-restricted units to ensure that new housing is built for local workers rather than second homeowners.

- Communities need a dedicated funding source for affordable housing development. Summit County voters approved a 0.6% sales tax increase dedicated to affordable housing development across the county. The revenue goes to the county-wide housing authority to develop dedicated affordable and workforce housing projects. Like Hood River, Bend's affordable housing fund uses a Construction Excise Tax of 0.33% on all new building permits. This generates $1 million annually and provides a steady stream of funding for affordable housing development. In 2017, Seattle voters approved a $290 million seven-year Housing Levy dedicated to increasing affordable housing units across the City.

- Public-private partnerships can advance projects that are otherwise not financially viable. Bend negotiates

with developers to determine which City policies needlessly increase development costs. By including developers and housing-seekers in public engagement efforts, Bend diversified representation in public meetings and increased political will to address the housing shortage.

- Cross-city up-zoning is designed to be equitable. Seattle's need for more housing caused the City to review zoning ordinances across the City. Seattle's most recent Comprehensive Plan up-zoned urban villages across the City to allow more housing types to be built in a compact manner. Frisco's Future Land Use Map also makes broad use of up-zoning, either from single-family to multi-family, or from commercial to mixed-use.

Building Community Support

The following key findings emerged regarding efforts to build community will for developing more diverse housing types in case study communities:

- Regional partnerships and shared learning opportunities can help to build community will. The Housing Task Force in Frisco organized a regional housing panel to discuss short-term rental challenges and opportunities with guests from other rural resort communities across Colorado. As communities across the region are impacted by similar issues, regional collaboratives provide opportunities to leverage outside funding and other resources.
- Employing diverse engagement strategies can build a more diverse coalition. A design charrette in Frisco allowed developers, city staff, and affordable housing advocates

to identify parcels immediately ready for redevelopment or infill projects. The results became priority projects in seeking out private sector partners, outside funding, and beginning neighborhood-level community engagement. In Bend, the City partners with community organizations, realtor groups, and the Oregon State University Bend campus as the Bend Collaborative Housing Workgroup. This coalition engages the public to draft policy and funding priorities with the goal of increasing middle market housing opportunities. The city of Seattle has its Office of Planning & Community Development, which maintains ongoing community engagement efforts throughout the City. Through this office, the City hears and considers the concerns of the community.

- Trainings on fair housing law can give decision-makers tools to resist objections to housing development. The city of Bend provides trainings to its city council and community members to increase awareness of anti-discriminatory laws and policies. Knowledge of fair housing laws helps the city council make fair decisions without being swayed by discriminatory comments.
- Sunset clauses increase political will for controversial policy changes. The city of Bend includes sunset clauses in its most controversial policy changes, such as its construction excise tax. The city council must renew this policy every five years, giving decision-makers more flexibility to pilot innovative housing solutions.

Cottage Court Housing

Case Study: Ashland, OR

Ashland, Oregon, a city with a population of roughly three times the size of Hood River, faced similar problems regarding high housing costs and the need to efficiently use limited development sites within the City's urban growth boundary (National Association of Home Builders, 2019). Their code aimed to allow more housing on larger single family lots while keeping the additional units small and in physical consistency with current neighborhoods. As a result, development language required that the units be small, organized around a large, shared open space, and allowed only in single-family zones. The final code allowed clusters between three and 12 units, with a maximum lot size of 1,000 square feet and a density maximum of approximately 17 units per acre. Up to half of the units may be attached (National Association of Home Builders, 2019). If implemented in Hood River, we recommend establishing clear standards of height and density. For infill development, the City can explore setting the collective maximum lot size for a cottage housing development to correspond with that of the largest single-family detached unit.

FIG. 9
Cottage Court Housing,
Ashland, Oregon, 2017.

Case Study: Wood Village, OR
The city of Wood Village, Oregon also uses cottage housing as a creative infill development between higher density mixed-use areas and lower-density single family neighborhoods. The site design includes windows, doors, and porches on the exterior facade oriented towards community activity on the street. The development focuses on compactness with both private and public ground space. Similar to the standards for Ashland, the maximum unit size is set at 1,200 square feet with a cluster range of 4-12 units per acre. In Hood River, space required for parking could be alleviated by implementing bundled parking. Additionally, a height restriction of 18-20 feet at the eave and 28-30 feet at the roof ridge to maintain consistency with character of the surrounding low-density residential neighborhood (Oregon Metro, 2009).

Form-Based Code
Case Study: Novato City, CA
Novato City, California implemented a mandatory form-based code that replaced existing zoning in a single neighborhood within the City. This remedied restrictive zoning and neighborhood opposition towards higher density multifamily housing, much like Hood River. For new buildings and additions, the code applies development standards through six building types ranging from carriage houses to ADUs, detached houses to duplexes, triplexes to six-plexes, and cottage court up to courtyard buildings (Oregon Metro, 2009).

Streamlined Permitting
Case Study: Montgomery County, MD
Located in Montgomery County, Maryland, the Green Tape Program involves three major components: the designation of a redevelopment zone, pre-design consultation and assistance, and 'top of the stack' two-week permit issuance. By designating a redevelopment zone in which permits and inspection are accelerated, the program focuses development in a particular area. The program applies to both new construction and renovation. Pre-design consultation helps identify and address zoning and code issues as well as provide assistance with filing, review, and inspection processes. This enables permits to be issued within two weeks of receiving the application. The overarching intention and impact of this program is to render the development process predictable and fair (EPA, 2017).

Case Study: Vancouver, WA
The Vancouver, Washington Municipal Code, passed in December 2019, also implemented standards that specifically address infill development. These standards include expedited development review process to "encourage development of underutilized and challenging parcels." (Vancouver Municipal Code 20.920.060). While subject to City staffing capacity, the policy "endeavor[s] to complete review of an infill project within a 60-day time period" for projects that do not require a hearing. While it is too soon to know the impact of this particular code change, previous efforts to relax standards have had a significant impact (Hastings, 2018). Between March 2018, when the policies were enacted, and October 2018, 13 ADU permits were issued. Combining past planning efforts with more recent code revision is likely to further incentivize ADU development.

LITERATURE REVIEW KEY FINDINGS

Types of housing that are missing from our cities are not necessarily new. It is the modern zoning system that may preclude a variety of housing choices from being available. Though Oregon House Bill 2001 made strides to allow missing middle housing to be developed in more neighborhoods, it only applies to cities of over 10,000 in population. The effort is part of a larger national trend to build more diverse housing types within cities, especially those facing displacement and affordability crises. Creating a campaign to bring awareness to the benefits of up-zoning and developing missing middle housing will be essential for all communities moving forward. Students reviewed best practices and recent research on how to best message and build community support for diverse housing development. Several strategies emerged that could be potentially be applied to Hood River as they advance code amendments. A full literature review is available in the appendices.

- Ground efforts for more diverse housing in a larger coalition. Increasing the diversity of housing stock in a community is not just important for affordable housing advocates, but also those who care about aging in place, addressing a legacy of segregation in cities, existing school segregation, and fighting climate change. Importantly, this coalition reached across more diverse community groups than traditional white, upper middle class YIMBY (Yes in My Backyard) efforts (Kahlenberg, 2019). A diverse coalition includes labor organizers, tenants' rights groups, community-based organizations, environmentalists, AARP, and employers.
- Building community support is also more effective when the effort is framed as a community-wide project. Advancing zoning changes to encourage more affordable and diverse housing development requires substantial political will and a willingness to expend political capital. It is also most successful when not focused on specific neighborhoods, lots, or projects. Effective public outreach looks more like a political campaign, with proactive, accessible, and diverse approaches (Berkovitz, 2019).
- Community fears related change can be redirected using more inclusive and wholistic language. The aforementioned community outreach techniques can be used to address fears surrounding changes within the community, especially for those that see change as negative. Redirecting the narrative toward language that invites people to be a part of shaping the future of the community is essential when faced with opposition to growth management. This also includes using language that is less clinical and more wholistic. In aging communities, many may be attracted to a call back to "the old days". Using words like "protect", "local", and "return" instead of "density", "developer", and "transform" will not set off as many alarm bells for community members concerned for the future of their city.
- Encourage the community to be open to people of all income-levels, including those who would work in the community. Marketing is a powerful tool. It can be used to great effect within smaller communities to cultivate a welcoming atmosphere. A city's government has the power to conduct small and large acts, which may encourage its community members to be more open to various types of housing and neighbors. This could include adding language to the

comprehensive plan that calls for a focus on diversifying class types within the community. The City could also publish flyers and articles about the need for diverse housing forms for those who serve and should feel at home in the community, including lower-income households.

- Residents' fears of parking reductions can be addressed through residential parking permits. Residential parking permits can help prioritize curb space for local residents. If cities regulate on-street parking, they do not need to require additional off-street parking spaces that reduce the land supply for housing.
- Cluster developments can ease densification fears by pairing new development with open space preservation. Cluster developments can appeal to a wide range of interests including developers and environmentalists. This type of housing can provide transition zones between urban and rural environments and may be particularly effective at the edge of an urban growth boundary. Cluster developments could help Hood River's Westside neighborhood increase housing options while maintaining its rural character.

Recommendations for Hood River

DEVELOPMENT CODE RECOMMENDATIONS

Housing Type

Townhomes and multi-family housing

Current residential zoning permitted uses adhere to community preferences of lower density development and preservation of a small-town neighborhood character. Single-family detached units are permitted in all three residential zones, while townhomes are restricted to R-2 and R-3. Allowing townhome and multi-family units in a manner that gradually increases the density gradient across residential zones can address the need for increased density that missing middle housing types satisfy while maintaining a gradual transition in density and physical character between zones. Students recommend allowing townhomes in R1 zoning where they are currently prohibited, the addition of cottage-style clustered housing as a permitted use, and the restriction of single-family detached units to R-1 zoning. In R-2 and R-3 zones, higher density duplexes, triplexes, and rowhouses should be permitted, and the threshold number of townhouse units requiring site plan review permitting should be increased incrementally from four to six units in R-2, and from four to eight units in R-3. Furthermore, we strongly recommend pairing these changes with additional messages to disincentivize short-term rentals.

Prioritizing multiple housing types

Increasing housing type diversity allowed in Hood River is a priority. However, with current zoning codes, triplexes, townhouses, and multi-family dwellings are not allowed in over 44% of Hood River. R-1 and R-2 exclude certain multi-unit developments. R-3 is the only zone type that includes all housing types, including single unit detached homes. One way to bring more varied housing developments is to remove limits on the kinds of multi-unit types that can be built in certain areas. In an effort to build more varied housing types, the City could create a single residential zone that allows any housing type. In addition, currently in R-3, townhomes of 4 or more are allowed, but with special permitting. Students propose increasing the number to eight so there is less time and money dedicated to constructing townhomes.

Cottage-Court housing

Students recommend the introduction of cottage-court housing into the R1 residential mix, as this housing type can easily achieve slightly higher densities in this zone while promoting a more affordable, communal-oriented living style that may prove especially attractive to Hood River's senior residents. The City is presently exploring the adoption of a cottage housing ordinance for the Westside Area Concept Plan to address development standards surrounding density, height, and lot size (Angelo Planning Group, 2017). Students underscore these interests and suggest the City to lean towards smaller units and higher densities with additional measures to curb the infiltration of short-term rentals.

Setbacks and height restrictions

Decreasing setback requirements will present Hood River with more opportunities to increase developable land and free up land throughout the residential zone. Options like rowhomes and other building types become more plausible by reducing setback requirements throughout the consolidated R-zone. This mirrors the benefits seen in Floor Area Ratio standards that have demonstrated effectiveness at increasing density without compromising aesthetics. Alexandria, Virginia is an example that has similar lot and building dimensions to maintain the historic feel of the City while trying to address density (Alexandria, Virginia, 2019).

One of Hood River's largest challenges is its limited land availability. In order to increase the number of units in Hood River, the height restriction should be increased to 50 feet in all zones. This will open up square footage across all of the zones; provide an opportunity to increase tax revenue; and allow more diverse housing options such as mixed-use. One example is Palo Alto, California, which maintains its 50-foot height limit that was installed in the 1970s (Sheyner, 2016). Palo Alto has maintained the City's feel while not compromising on density, though recently they have contemplated raising the limit to accommodate more growth.

Generally, it is recommended that missing middle housing stays within two and a half stories. However, Hood River's unique location and amount of available land requires a slightly more intensive approach (Parolek, 2020).

Parking requirements

When considering maximizing use efficiency of land within the Hood River UGB, it is important to look at how developers are required to use that land. In 2009, Sandpoint, Idaho implemented parking reform. Ten years later, Sandpoint found that this reform allowed development to occur that would not have otherwise because of the additional cost that required parking incurs (Qualls, 2019). In Hood River's case, the City is less likely to expand horizontally outside of the UGB. Therefore, requiring parking is requiring the developer to put a significant investment into the real estate that space requires. This in turn results in the cost of the completed development being raised for the future home buyer. One option to encourage development that better reaches lower income levels is to help decrease the cost of development. Allowing the developer to calculate the parking needed under the City requirement is one way to address that.

Additionally, alternative transportation methods should be considered in order to minimize the square footage lost to vehicle storage and encourage development. Appendix C illustrates an international case study of suburban Japan and how land was used efficiently when dealing with constraints such as Hood River might face. Appendix D goes into more depth about the different opportunities Hood River might have in context of transportation due to those constraints.

Non-Financial Incentives

Vacancy Tax

To fund affordable housing, Hood River currently levies a construction excise tax (CET) on new construction. However, affordable housing is not the only type of housing needed in Hood River, and so a CET may prove counterproductive in the long run, as the tax increases the costs (and therefore the eventual price) of other housing types (Gruber, 2013). As today's new, expensive housing will become

tomorrow's old, inexpensive housing, a CET may not be the most effective way to approach the greater housing problem.

Hood River's current housing shortage is exacerbated by the presence of absentee owners. Many homes with absentee owners sit vacant through most of the year, only occupied when the owners come to Hood River for vacations. Other homes are used for short-term rentals, a service appreciated by tourists, but which otherwise does little to relieve the City's housing problems.

Instituting a vacancy tax for these homes may represent a partial solution. Such a tax could both discourage the practice of using perfectly serviceable existing housing for short-term lodging, and could financially offset any loss of revenue from the discontinuation of Hood River's current CET. This swap could both remove a fiscal drag on the process of building new housing and help to bring existing housing back online for permanent residents. While such taxes apply to vacant land exist in Vancouver, WA, Oakland, CA, and Washington D.C., and while we have not found any information to suggest that such a tax would be specifically prohibited by Oregon state law, legal counsel should be consulted before moving down this path.

Infill and up-zone focus areas
New Single Unit Detached Tax

With Hood River attempting to prioritize developing various housing types to address more housing needs, it must deter building types that do not help the City reach its housing goals. In the residential zone, there is currently no zone that excludes single unit detached homes, a housing type that takes up more valuable land resources in a restrictive area. During the class visit to Hood River, it was mentioned that the market was building single unit detached homes because that is what "pencils out" for the developer: it is the best way to maximize their profits. If that is not a building type that addresses the goals of the City, then there should be a way to deprioritize the housing type from the side of the developer in order to reach city housing needs. One way to address this might be a tax for the development of new single-family detached homes, of which the revenue can go towards assisting other housing goals for Hood River.

Location
Infill and up-zone focus areas

When increasing the housing stock, the City should fully understand the process of infill compared to new development (greenfield or brownfield). City staff has mentioned that Hood River is like a land-locked island. The Columbia River is to the north and mountains surround the remainder of the City, which limits the amount of expansion possible to accommodate new development. With limited space, infill will likely have to be the long-term solution, especially after builders develop the vacant land identified in the BLI.

When deciding where to up-zone and provide infill, the City should strategically focus on areas that are closer to neighborhood centers and along major roadways. Developers consider the following characteristics:
- The type and character of surrounding land uses;
- The adequacy of public services and facilities, such as schools;
- The accessibility of the site to transportation routes and parking;

- The availability of retail stores and services;
- The proximity of amenities such as parks; and
- The safety and reputation of the area.

By thinking like a developer, the City can anticipate characteristics that incentivize the development of diverse housing types. Typically, urban infill projects are best suited in close proximity to transit centers, but the bus network in Hood River is limited and most cyclists in the City use e-bikes due to the terrain. Instead, Hood River could focus new development in locations that have sufficient infrastructure for pedestrians, especially if a development contains mixed-income housing. Additionally, as infill development increases local car traffic, students recommend to site the project in a location where the roads have sufficient service levels.

To achieve a profitable density, developers may have to acquire many parcels to aggregate a larger site. Locations with numerous landowners can complicate the sale of parcels, which discourages development in what otherwise might be an ideal location, challenging infill. Students also recommend that developers target inexpensive parcels to maximize their potential profit (Robinson & Cole, 2002). However, this practice is a leading cause of gentrification and displacement, so Hood River may want to be wary of "revitalization" projects (Moskowitz, 2017). Potentially, Hood River could incorporate examples of form-based code language into infill projects (see Form-Base Code section) so that new development, shown in Figure XI, does not clash with the current housing stock.

FIG. 10
Infill Project in Hood River, 2020.
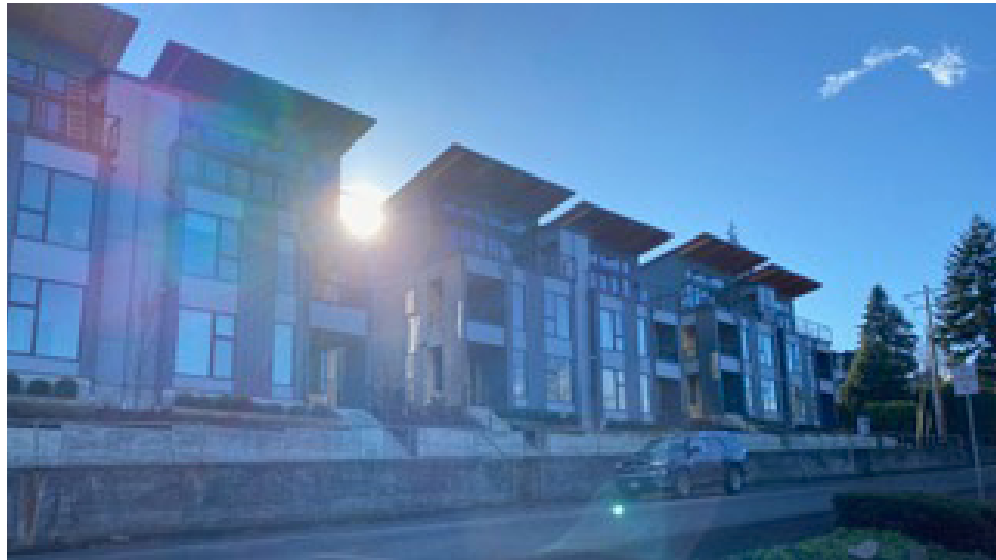
Developers usually prefer new, greenfield development, since the land is cheaper and contaminated land is almost non-existent (Anderson et al., 2005). Other cities in the U.S., such as Austin, Texas, are also attempting to promote infill and discourage sprawl. The Austin, Texas Comprehensive Plan identified infill as one of their main goals for accommodating growth, but their Plan admitted that suburban development has been more rapid than infill development (City of Austin, 2012). In Austin, it has been more cost-effective to build in greenfield areas. Hood River's Westside Plan identified primarily vacant locations that developers might find appealing, and it is important to utilize the Westside Plan to encourage multi-family housing in those vacant locations since developers can be slower to provide an "ideal" infill development project.

Within the BLI, the City identified vacant and partially vacant areas in the Westside Plan, which developers prefer. The scenarios in the Westside Plan proposed to designate additional R1 zoning, which primarily results in single-detached housing, like the development in the southeast corner of the City.

While the Westside Plan proposes R-2, R-2.5, and R-3 zoning in strategic areas that are along transit corridors, close to grocery stores, and near schools, students recommend that the City be cautious about zoning more land as R-1. Given the Hood River's constraints, students recommend using only R-1 zoning when an R-2 zone is politically or financially impossible. In the Westside Plan's proposed zoning, Scenarios A, B, and C all allow for more R-1 development in a significant portion of the plan, which would result in about 200 new single-family homes (Dills & Hewitt, 2017).

Housing Type	Scenario A		Scenario B		Scenario C	
	R1	R2	R1	R2	R1	R2
Single-family Detached	206	158	206	175	206	175
Single-family Attached	0	75	0	83	0	83
Multi-family	0	55	0	60	0	61

FIG. 11

Estimates of New Housing Units in the Westside Plan, 2017.
Source: Hood River, Westside Concept Plan.

Rather than zoning for R1, the planning commission could consider zoning R2 as the lowest possible density because it allows for diverse housing options as well as a limited supply of single-detached homes. In the three scenarios, the housing estimates include additional missing middle housing types, but the estimates relied on the assumption of 100% completion of the Westside Plan. Hood River should be wary that, under current plans for the Westside Area, single-family detached

homes might be built before missing middle housing, since that is what the market has provided thus far. The commission could make it easier for developers to build middle income housing by streamlining the permitting process for missing middle housing such as duplexes and cottage clusters. (see Multi-Family Housing, By-Right).

Consolidating into a single residential zone

In the Hood River Housing Summary Report, action 1.1 is to "Identify land to rezone to allow additional multifamily development" (ECONorthwest, 2015). The report identifies some areas for this rezoning. After taking into consideration the constraints of the City, students concluded that all of Hood River's residential areas would benefit from rezoning. While Hood River does not meet the population requirements to adhere to HB 2001, eliminating strictly R-1 zones within the Hood River UGB would assist in reaching housing goals beyond just the 20-year needs and into the affordability aspect. The Hood River Housing Summary identifies Hood River as meeting Goal 10 requirements in everything but townhomes. In order to maximize housing efficiency and assist in reaching housing needs in a manner that would reduce cost burden on residents, opening up all zones for at least duplexes could help better reach those needs.

By consolidating all the R zones into a single Residential Zone, the City would decrease the minimum lot size to 5,000 square feet. This will provide the City with an opportunity to increase developable land, which can lead to development of multi-family and affordable housing units. For example, currently, assuming all lots are 7,000 square feet, R-1 in can hold approximately 1,400 lots. In comparison, if those same lots were 5,000 square feet, there would be approximately 1,965 lots available, freeing up land for development.

Development Process

Currently, planned unit developments and subdivisions are required to undergo relatively costly and time-intensive permitting processes. To expedite this process and alleviate one potential barrier to developing missing middle housing, students recommend code changes to allow multi-family housing options "by-right," streamlining of permits, reducing the cost of development review, and applying rigorous environmental standards for new single-detached development.

Allow multi-family housing options by-right

A code change to allow multi-family housing options by-right eliminates the review and permitting process. The term by-right in this context means that the use is explicitly allowed in the determined zone(s) and therefore does not require additional review. The code implementation for the Westside Area Concept Plan includes allowances for cluster subdivisions, cottage court houses, and co-housing in specific zones (see Appendix B) (Dills & Hewitt, 2017). Students recommend going further by enabling more robust by-right code language to allow the following missing middle housing types in R-1, R-2, and R-3 zones:

- Townhomes (R-1, max 2 units; R-2, max 6 units; R-3, max 8 units)
- Duplexes (R-1 and up)
- Cottage Clusters (R-1 and up)
- Triplexes (R-2 and up)
- Quadplexes (R-3 and up)

Alternatively, this policy can be restricted to specific zones or implemented through an overlay to localize development in the desired location. The city of Eugene's Affordable Housing Tools and Strategies supports by-right zoning as a strategy to improve housing affordability and diversity (Bennett, 2018). By-right zoning is bolstered when paired with form-based code, which helps shape a cohesive community form that is challenging with conventional zoning, therefore eliminating the design review process. While implementing form-based code standards can be challenging in Oregon, it can help "enabl[e] communities to confidently let go of discretionary review." (Perez, 2019).

Form-Based Code for new development
A common problem in many communities is that the zoning designations do not reflect community needs and priorities concerning pattern and building types. Form-based codes provide a site-specific remedy to this issue in that a proposal for enhanced site design is negotiated in exchange for adherence to zoning standards. In this manner, higher densities can still be achieved with smaller house-scale buildings that are compatible with present neighborhood character.

In Hood River, students recommend a form-based code for new development so that the City can establish a number of house-scale building types with the same explicitly designated height, density, and lot coverage standards to adhere to Oregon's mandate for clear and objective standards for housing development.

Streamlined permitting
If it is not feasible to allow multi-family housing by-right, students recommend code revisions to fast-track the review and permitting process. The first step to streamline the process includes pre-design support to both identify potential obstacles and assist with filing permits. The Green Tape Program illustrates one approach to efficient development review (EPA, 2017). Vancouver, Washington has also implemented expedited development review specifically addressing infill development.

Reduced development review charge
In addition to expediting the development review process, students recommend adjusting the costs of both development review and system development charges (SDCs) for all missing middle housing types (Bennett, 2018). Springfield, Oregon recently implemented a policy to waive SDCs for new ADUs permitted through June 30, 2022 (City of Springfield, 2019). The City estimates that this will save about $5,000 to $6,000 per ADU in Springfield. Understanding that housing development can be time- and cost-intensive, reducing this burden incentivizes development of missing middle housing types. While this policy may not, on its own, contribute to improved housing affordability, it would bolster either by-right zoning or streamlined permitting. Financial incentives that reduce costs could alleviate another burden.

FIG. 12
An ADU in Portland,
Oregon.

Environmental standards for single-family homes

To help shape the form of new development, students recommend rigorous environmental standards to disincentivize new development of single-detached housing. Single-detached housing is the most resource-intensive housing type, so disincentivizing that form could potentially encourage new multi-family housing development that will not only provide needed housing but also yield a lower environmental impact. LEED certification involves attainable standards that may add a barrier to single-detached development and reduce the environmental impact (U.S. Green Building Council, 2020). This would be a progressive policy without U.S. precedent, and would require further research to verify that such a requirement would be legal in Oregon.

LEED Residential Design and Construction standards can partially mitigate the environmental impact of new single-detached home development. The registration and certification process add time and money to the development process. Standards are designed in terms of "credits;" the more credits are attained, the higher the certification level (U.S. Green Building Council, 2020). Criteria are delineated under the following categories:

- Location and transportation
- Sustainable sites
- Water efficiency
- Energy and atmosphere
- Materials and resources
- Indoor environmental quality
- Innovation
- Regional priority

31

MESSAGING RECOMMENDATIONS

Build Community Support

Establish a public engagement process

- **Invest in a public involvement strategy that goes beyond public hearings.** Public meetings are not necessarily the most effective method of gathering public input and can be both difficult to contribute to for everyone but the "usual suspects." As a result, these meetings may overrepresent homeowner perspectives and those in opposition to housing development (Berkovitz, 2019; Einstein et al, 2019). Effective public outreach looks more like a political campaign, with proactive, accessible, and diverse approaches.

- **Have a thoughtful plan for public engagement that brings staff, local officials, and missing middle advocates together to engage with the public before changes are made.** The City and its residents need a mutual understanding of the need to develop within the UGB before housing becomes increasingly inaccessible to those who live and work in the community. This engagement should occur before any real changes are made to city regulations or action items to build trust with the public. Elements of an inclusive planning process could include: (1) open houses and information sessions, (2) creative public events with interactive engagement allowing community members to identify missing middle housing images they like, and (3) incorporating public engagement focused on housing into other community events like farmer's markets and festivals.

  This method was modeled in Minneapolis' successful public engagement process. The City's collaboration between elected officials and advocates, such as Neighbors for More Neighbors, enabled the City to change its regulations for missing middle housing development without difficulty. In Hood River, fostering grassroots support and identifying advocacy groups (e.g. renters, low-income families, and local workforce) could bolster public engagement efforts and make the City's efforts more relatable to the whole community.

- **Have a third-party consultant start the engagement process.** Having a private liaison between city staff or council and the public signals that the City wants to have a community conversation with its residents rather than making changes without residents' input. A concern for Hood River, like many cities, is choosing how to initially bring stakeholders together and how to give equal attention and treatment to all stakeholders. One way to achieve this is by hiring a third-party consultant to start the engagement process. This consultant could dedicate their time to building relationships and bridging gaps between stakeholders. For example, Minneapolis' Civic Engagement Plan included a Neighborhood & Community Relations Assistance team (Minneapolis2040, 2020).

Housing task force

- **Establish a housing task force to generate on-going policy and project recommendations.** By engaging a diverse coalition to work directly with the City on a housing strategy, Hood River could successfully connect diverse housing development interests with other important community goals. In addition to

developers, the taskforce should include those interested in addressing climate change, housing advocates, local employers, public schools, and more. This body could serve to build political will for more changes down the road.

Deed-restricted work force housing development
- **Advance deed-restricted housing development targeting the local workforce.** Some missing middle projects in Hood River may be unpopular (like the townhomes we saw) because they resulted in projects that are potentially obtrusive within neighborhoods and are still relatively high cost. Unless units are restricted for lower-income households, increasing the supply of new housing may not have the intended benefits for the local workforce. Deed-restrictions limit access to affordable units for the local workforce and within a specific AMI range, avoiding displacement of current residents. Action 3.5 in the Hood River HNA seeks to "support the development of primarily owner-occupied housing" through a community land trust model (EcoNorthwest, 2016). Deed-restricted housing partnerships with private developers or a buy-down program initiated by the City could also accomplish this goal.

Messaging through Hood River's Code
- **Use clear and approachable language in the code comments and purpose and intent statements.** Code amendments provide an opportunity for language that builds support as guides the reader. To improve messaging in these sections, Hood River could eliminate jargon, use clear and concise language, and replace triggering language.
- **Address density fears through language changes and photos of neighborhood appropriate middle housing.** Many residents fear the word "density" because it brings to mind large multiplex housing that does not fit with existing community design. In public meetings, residents often cite increasing density as a major factor in opposition of new housing developments (Einstein et al, 2020). Many people have a hard time imagining duplexes or quadplexes that don't "look dense" or integrate with the existing neighborhood design. One opportunity to calm this opposition is including photos of well-designed middle housing developments within the code updates. Additionally, Hood River could consider using other language than density, such as voluntary inclusionary zoning.
- **Mitigate opposition by directly addressing the most unpopular code amendments.** Reducing parking minimums is a widely agreed upon strategy to make middle housing development more viable, but it is also very unpopular in most communities. As an alternative to requiring off-street parking, the City could apply a residential permit parking requirement for on-street parking. This policy can draw on support from a diverse group of residents, including entrepreneurs, property rights advocates, environmentalists, affordable housing advocates, seniors, and contractors (Brown et al, 2018). Similarly, a density bonus is likely to draw criticism, but simple language changes could mitigate opposition to anticipated contentious issues.

CODE AUDIT

Students reviewed the recommended development code updates as outlined in the Westside Area Concept Plan. The review focused on the six sections dedicated to residential zones and development, considering the language/messaging proposed in the code update and how it may inspire or deter community support for change.

Neighborhood-specific frame

The proposed code amendments use the West Side Concept Area as strategic development area for diverse housing development. The current language offers the opportunity to apply some changes city-wide but makes no commitments. When changes to zoning and development code are made neighborhood by neighborhood, they often draw more opponents who feel targeted by the changes (Berkovitz, 2019). For example, the code proposes a new residential zone with smaller minimum lot sizes. This is a change that could be implemented across the City as a strategy to build more diverse housing across Hood River. Similarly, the code amendments allow for cluster subdivisions that increase flexibility for developers by allowing development on smaller lot sizes in exchange for preserving natural features. This change will be particularly beneficial in developing near constrained land, such as wetlands or steep slopes. Expanding this typology to the code city-wide could add housing options throughout Hood River. Cluster subdivisions may encounter less neighborhood opposition than other housing typologies, especially in communities that prioritize ecological preservation. Developers may also support the expansion of cluster subdivisions because they eliminate barriers associated with constrained land.

Contentious code amendments

Hood River's existing development code requires each dwelling unit to have at least two off-street parking spaces. However, the amended code allows developers to reduce the number of required parking spaces for affordable housing to one per unit. In cottage dwellings, off-street parking requirements are linked to the number of bedrooms, which is intended to encourage the construction of smaller units. The first draft of the code amendments also linked parking requirements for all dwellings in R-3 zones to number of bedrooms, but this was removed in later drafts due to public concerns (Memo, 37). Concerns from public commenters about the amended code's parking requirements reflect national trends. Parking complaints can reduce the size of housing developments or halt them altogether (Einstein et al, 2020).

Hood River's draft code includes a density bonus for affordable housing. The density bonus is recommended at 50% above the maximum requirement for the zone. However, the amended code states that the actual size of the density bonus is a policy judgement (Memo, 62-63). Community residents are often concerned that new housing developments will increase density and negatively impact their neighborhoods (Opticos Design, 2019). In public meetings, residents often cite increasing density as a major factor in their opposition of new housing developments (Einstein et al, 2020). The term "density bonus" may carry negative connotations that could affect the level of support for this policy. Residents may be more receptive to a policy that does not include the word density, such as "voluntary inclusionary zoning".

Messaging for support

Hood River could supplement its existing affordable housing policy incentives. Other ideas for incentives include inclusionary zoning, regulated on-street parking permits, and tiered systems development charges for smaller units. The problem with these proposals, and many of those already included in the update, is the language in which these are packaged in is generally unpopular. Many people dislike change, especially when it concerns their neighborhoods. It is important to consider ways in which these policies might be packaged in more approachable or even popular language as to seem not as threatening to the general public.

The proposed code amendments include a memo summarizing the changes, as well as the "purpose and intent" for each section. This is an effective way to highlight specific changes and guide the reader. As written, these statements often use jargon and technical language and lack the necessary clarity for a lay reader. Staff could consider using plain-language statements to inspire community support. Similarly, the amendments include commentary boxes, which can be used to guide readers in a public-friendly manner. Reducing jargon and replacing triggering language from these comment boxes could serve the code well. Some examples of more public-friendly wording related to missing middle housing policies are located in Figure XIV. However, the City should take care not to cause contention by creating flexible language. One specific example can be found within the commentary box on Page 10 of Chapter 17.03. The commentary says, "if this causes concern, it could be limited to…" While attempting to message flexibility, statements like this read as easy points of contention for neighbors looking to find issues within the code update.

MISSING MIDDLE RE-FRAMES

AVOID: REPEATING SCARE TACTICS; JARGON; AND MISLEADING, UNFAMILIAR, OR INACCURATE WORDING.	ADOPT: CONCRETE EXAMPLES; EVERYDAY LANGUAGE; AND A FOCUS ON BENEFITS TO COMMUNITIES.
STOP SAYING THIS…	**SAY THIS INSTEAD…**
Single-family	Single-detached
Supply bill, density bill	Workforce housing bill, missing-middle housing bill
Get rid of single-family zoning	Lift bans that prevent modest home choices, like duplexes and backyard cottages
Bold, dramatic, transform	Low-impact; a return to modest homes; protecting mixed-income neighborhoods
New housing types, legalize	Re-legalize familiar, modest home choices like duplexes and triplexes
Units	Homes; choices for renters; plenty of homes, all shapes and sizes
Multi-unit	Duplexes, triplexes, and quads
Developers	Local builders and contractors

Find more **tips and talking points** in our full MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING MESSAGING MEMO at www.sightline.org.

Sightline
INSTITUTE

Update code at community-wide scale

- Initiate development code updates at a community-wide scale. Building support is most effective when the effort is framed as a community-wide change, rather than focused on specific neighborhoods, lots, or projects (Berkovitz, 2019). By only focusing on the West Side Concept Area, neighbors may feel targeted and create a concentrated campaign against the project. By dispersing changes, Hood River could message this as an effort to address a broad, community-wide need. In Bend, a time-limited housing strategy rather than geography-limited, allowed the City to advance more innovative strategies with less community opposition.

LANGUAGE CHANGES & MISSING MIDDLE RE-FRAMES

Speak to values, not numbers

- Tell a story with characters. People don't relate to facts, figures, and infographics. A story about someone's struggle to find housing that fits their needs will be far more compelling than a substantive, data-driven explanation of the affordable housing crisis in Hood River. It is helpful to find examples and stories of government policy leading to positive change in someone's life. The Seattle up-zoning initiative experience highlights the need for establishing a messaging platform that emphasizes community values and stories of individuals, rather than nebulous facts and figures. Seattle's attempt to up-zone failed because it relied too heavily on data, and not enough on the plight of working families who struggle to find affordable housing in one of the most expensive cities in America.

- Create an online resource that makes images of missing middle housing available and accessible to the public. A picture is worth a thousand words and can be far more effective in allowing the public to understand the types of housing the City wants developed. A missing middle handbook that can be accessed online and distributed to the public can show how the types of housing needed in Hood River will not upset the form and appearance of existing residents' neighborhoods. Eugene has a "Missing Middle Housing Types" handbook that defines missing middle housing, community housing needs, and associated goals (City of Eugene, 2020). It describes the characteristics of these housing types in words and design graphics using examples of local homes that represent the missing middle. This resource is online, making it publicly accessible for interested parties to see what the City intends with its up-zoning efforts.

Emphasize form

- Emphasize form and appearance rather than facts and metrics. Density is not an end but rather a means to the end. The end is more options and freedom of choice in housing beyond high-density apartments and single-family homes. Hood River can create missing middle housing to fit housing typologies typical of single-family neighborhoods. The Arlington, Virginia case study provides an example of how to start the process of working with the community to create a shared definition of missing middle housing between the City and the public. Based on this input, Arlington will build housing that is complementary to the neighborhood form. In Tigard, the City changed its code language to require missing middle housing types to conform to single-family neighborhood form. For Hood River, the City can conduct community meetings to start a discussion of how missing middle housing should look and feel using images. Following this, the City could adjust their code to require new missing middle housing to conform to these preferences.

Frame a positive message

- Stay away from words and phrases that are loaded or come with negative connotations, e.g. "affordable housing," "density," "dwelling unit," and "mobile home park." Where possible, replace them with terms like "homes," "neighborhood," "community," and "manufactured homes." Whether in the code,

comprehensive plan, or other publicly available documents, these terms can bring out negative assumptions about Hood River's efforts to make more missing middle housing available. Words like "density" and "affordable housing" can elicit images of massive developments. This detracts from the reality that most of the housing that is needed will fit into the single-family built form.

For example, the first page of Chapter 17.03 Land Use Zones in the Zoning Code calls the R-3 zone "Urban High Density." The city of Hood River could consider renaming this zone to match the county designation: "Multi-Family Residential," or "Multi-Family Neighborhood/Community" to avoid use of the loaded term "density." Rephrasing terms like "density," "affordable housing," and others to be more neutral or emphasize communal orientation will help temper reactionary response (see: Sightline Institute, "A Blueprint for Better Housing Messages").

- Shift the narrative from density and affordability to housing needs and workforce housing. Terms like "affordability" and "density" can encourage anti-growth sentiment and evoke images of large-scale developments that change the nature of a city. Confronting these fears with facts about development will only reinforce negative opinions. Instead, it is important to emphasize the need for a variety of housing options for the whole community, which will provide individuals with the freedom to choose what type of housing meets their needs. Tigard's experience with rezoning reinforces the value of messaging that emphasizes "need for housing" rather than "need for affordable housing." Additionally, the Brookings Institute's research shows that increasing housing stock alleviates competition for affordable housing units.

In Hood River, this could mean shifting the narrative from housing affordability to housing needs and a need for workforce housing. This emphasizes how housing availability affects the entire community – not just new residents but also the people who already live and work there. Centering current, full-time residents in this conversation will reinforce their support and trust in the planning process.

FIG. 14
View of the Columbia River Gorge.

Conclusion

The future success of Hood River's zoning code amendments will rely on the City's ability to engage a diverse group of stakeholders and build strong community support for housing policies. By building a broad base of support for housing options in the community, Hood River can overcome potential densification fears and concerns about neighborhood change.

Potential community pushback is often rooted in residents' love for their community. Introducing new housing stock can create fear that the community's sense of place will be altered. To address these concerns, students recommend the city of Hood River to shift its language, both in the code and in community engagement processes, from terms that elicit images of density to more neutral terms that emphasize community, such as "multi-family neighborhood." Along with shifting terminology, the City can reframe the narrative around housing needs and workforce housing. By emphasizing this, the City can reassure residents that the City is focused on the existing community's housing needs rather than attracting vacationers or those looking to purchase a second home.

The City could build community support by creating an affordable housing task force and developing a robust public engagement strategy. By addressing the need for deed-restricted affordable housing units in the community and implementing changes at a community-wide scale, the City can create a broad coalition in support of missing middle housing.

To start this process, the City can create a thoughtful public engagement strategy. The student team recommends that the City collaborate with elected officials and grassroots advocates to build a shared understanding of the constraints Hood River faces with limited buildable land and a need to meet the local community's housing needs. Public engagement processes could include storytelling about local residents' struggle to find housing that meets their needs, creative public events that allow community members to identify images of missing middle housing they like, and holding spaces for discussion around housing in other community events like farmers markets or festivals.

Additionally, creating a publicly accessible physical and online resource guide demonstrating how missing middle housing can look like single-family could be used as a tool for conversation. As the Minneapolis case study showed, including the public in the process early and often establishes trust between the City and its residents. This allows the community to be authentically represented, informed, heard, and empowered. This will ultimately promote public backing of the necessity of new regulations and ensure public trust in the results of new development.

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Appendix A

Connor Case Study Summaries

BAINBRIDGE ISLAND, WA

Bainbridge Island, Washington, located across the Puget Sound from downtown Seattle, faces similar growth management challenges as Hood River. Bainbridge Island created a Growth Management Committee, which produced policy recommendations, to address these issues. Based on these suggestions, the city changed the code to allow ADUs as well as allocated funding sources to incentivize affordable housing. Nonetheless, Bainbridge Island has struggled to keep up with the demand for affordable housing, thus is considering a 0.01% increase in sales tax to add an additional revenue source; the tax will have to be voter approved. Bainbridge Island is also attempting to consolidate growth into downtown and three additional neighborhood centers. These centers will provide opportunities for mixed-use and multi-family units while maintaining the "rural" feel of the island. Hood River should consider guiding development in a similar fashion, concentrating growth into key areas where density can be increased and people have access to resources, such as food and employment.

COTTAGE GROVE, OR

Cottage Grove recently undertook a development code review in order to try and encourage the development of more affordable and missing middle housing, both of which are, as in Hood River, in short supply. Discussion soon landed on the fact that housing of all types is desperately needed, and so rather than trying to channel developers into providing a preferred sort of housing, changes were made to try and encourage developers to provide any sort of housing. Changed code sections included the reduction of minimum lot sizes, reducing required setbacks and number of parking spaces, as well as a reduction in the size of required parking spaces (Ferguson, 2019).

KOBE, JAPAN

Suburban areas in Japan face a lot of the same obstacles that Hood River, Oregon faces. Obstacles such as restricted amounts of buildable land, hills, streets too narrow to build sidewalks on. So what elements have they employed to keep community character while building enough housing for a variety of people?

- Floor Area Ratio: Japanese zoning isn't determined by use, but rather by floor area ratio. By restricting building size to different floor area ratios, neighborhood character is preserved, even if the building goes up a little taller than some of the other buildings. (JICA, 2007)
- Mixed-Use: All residential zones are inherently mixed-use. This allows for maximum efficiency in a small amount of land. (JICA, 2007)
- No On-Street Parking: No on-street parking allows for the cities to meet housing needs by allowing for more narrow streets and providing more land for housing to be built upon. (Barter, 2014)

These elements in combination maximize efficiency in housing for Japan's suburbs, meaning they are closer to meeting their housing needs. This allows for more affordable housing options in this area. Figure 4 depicts a suburban landscape where a variety of housing types are all built at 2.5 stories- all having a similar "neighborhood feel" despite each of the buildings being very different housing types.

FIG. 15

Street View of Suburban Japan in the Osaka-Kobe Region, 2018, depicting a variety of housing types of similar height including single family detached homes, ADUs, and an apartment complex

CONSTRAINT BASED OPPORTUNITIES: TRANSIT

Hood River is in an unusual position in that its eventual growth is severely constricted by both geographical and political realities. While this comes with many challenges, there are also certain opportunities that come along with those challenges.

Most cities have trouble with meeting both frequency and coverage goals with transportation and are usually trapped between picking between the two in order to retain ridership. Because of the constrained area that Hood River experiences, coverage might be a more attainable goal than for areas like Eugene which is currently undergoing a study to balance between these options (Lane Transit District, n.d.). While in the comparison of these two ideas, frequency is more likely to ensure ridership, the lack of space in Hood River might set up the case for also addressing coverage as well.

Additionally, if Hood River wants to invest in transit, the limited ability to expand any farther would assist in developing a transit system that is more reliably effective in the long term. While most cities change over time, in Hood River, one can easily determine with reasonable accuracy the eventual boundaries of the city, thus making a permanently installed transit system viable in the long term. An effective transportation system would assist in encouraging lessening the dependence of cars and assist in making more land available for homes rather than car storage.

Appendix B

Whalen Case Study Summaries

The current cost of subdivision and permitting are as follows:
- Planned Unit Development - $4,330 plus $503 per unit;
- Subdivision - $3,605 plus $52 per parcel.51

Allowing multi-family housing by-right in all (or some) single-family zones would not only remove the time burden that can impact development feasibility but also reduce the cost.

The proposed code implementation for the Westside Area Concept Plan includes allowing the following structures by-right:
- Cluster Subdivisions – permitted by-right in R-1, R-2, and R-2.5;
- Cottage Court – permitted by-right in R-1, R-2, and R-2.5;
- Co-Housing – permitted by right in R-2.5 and R-3.

While this amendment begins to address Hood River's housing shortage, we recommend more robust policy that allows multi-family housing in all residential zones (R-1, R-2, and R-2.5).

For the future, programs and policies such as the Local Innovation and Fast Track Housing Program (LIFT) or a Mixed-Income Transit Oriented Development are likely to further support the development of lower cost market-rate housing and affordable housing.

Local Innovation and Fast Track Housing Program (LIFT)

This Oregon Housing and Community Services (OHCS) program is intended to serve rural communities with less than 25,000 people by providing affordable housing units as quickly as possible.53 Municipalities may apply when the OHCS offers funds through notices of funding availability.

Mixed-Income Transit Oriented Development

This particular program prioritizes the review of affordable or mixed-income housing projects and establishes a set review period for applications. This is achieved by creating a "one-stop" multi-disciplinary review committee. While Hood River does not have significant transit capacity at this time, it is an opportunity to co-locate housing with current and future potential transit service areas.

Jurisdiction	Link	Category	Description	Case Study Code Language	Recommendation
Ashland, OR	Diversifying Housing Options with Smaller Lots and Smaller Homes https://www.ashland.or.us/Page.asp?NavID=17903	Cottage Court Housing	Ashland faced similar problem regarding high housing costs and limited land supply. Their code aimed to allow more housing on larger single family lots while keeping additional units small and consistent with neighborhood character.	The final code allowed clusters between three and 12 units, with a maximum lot size of 1,000 square feet and a density maximum of approximately 17 units per acre. Up to half of the units may be attached.	We recommend establishing clear standards of height and density. For infill development, the city can explore setting the collective maximum lot size for a cottage housing development to correspond with that of the largest single family detached unit.
Wood Village, OR	Cottage Housing in the City of Wood Village https://www.oregonmetro.gov/sites/default/files/2014/05/11/wood_village_case_study.pdf	Cottage Court Housing	Wood Village uses cottage housing as a creative infill development between higher density mixed use areas and lower density single family neighborhoods. The site design includes windows, doors, and porches on the exterior facade to orient towards community activity on the street. The development focuses on compactness with both private and public ground space.	The maximum unit size is set at 1,200 square feet with a cluster range of 4-12 units per acre	We recommend implementing bundled parking and adding a height restriction at 18-20 feet at the eave and 28-30 feet at the roof ridge to maintain consistency with character of the surrounding low density residential neighborhood.
Novato City, CA	Northwest Neighborhood Study	Form Based Code	Novato City implemented a mandatory form based code that replaces existing zoning in a single neighborhood within the city. This came as a remedy to restrict the zoning and neighborhood opposition towards a higher density multifamily housing.	For new buildings and additions, the code applies development standard through six building types ranging from carriage houses and ADUs, detached houses to duplexes, triplexes to six plexes, and cottage court up to courtyard buildings.	We recommend a form-based code for new development so that the city can establish a number of house scale building types with the same explicitly designated height, density, and lot coverage standards as to adhere to Oregon's mandate for clear and objective standards for housing development.
Austin, TX	Imagine Austin Comprehensive Plan. Vibrant, Livable, Connected https://www.austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Planning/imagineAustin/web/iac-produced.pdf	Infill vs. New Development	While the Austin Comprehensive Plan identified infill as one main goal for accommodating growth, suburban development has occurred more rapidly than infill. In Austin, it is more cost effective to build in greenfield areas.	-	Infill can be challenging and can move slowly, so it is important to utilize the Westside Plan to encourage new multi family housing.
Eugene, OR	How can we increase housing affordability, availability, and diversity? https://www.eugene-or.gov/DocumentCenter/View/43729/Housing-Tools-Options-and-Explanation-11_28_18_Final	Multi-Family Housing "By Right"	The City of Eugene's Affordable Housing Tools and Strategies supports by right zoning as a strategy to improve housing affordability and diversity.	-	Go further than the Westside Plan does currently, allowing the following missing middle housing types in R-1, R-2, and R-3: - Townhomes (R-1, max 2 units; R-2, max 5 units; R-3 max 7 units) - Duplexes (R-1 and up) - Cottage Clusters (R-1 and up) - Triplexes (R-2 and up) - Quadplexes (R-3 and up)
Montgomery County, MD	Make Development Decisions Predictable and Fair -Green Tape Program https://www.epa.gov/smartgrowth/make-development-decisions-predictable-and-fair-green-tape-program-silver-spring	Streamlined Permitting: the Green Tape Program	Render the development process predictable and fair by designating a redevelopment zone, providing pre-design consultation and assistance, and delivering 'top of the stack' two week permit issuance.	-	If by right zoning is not feasible, consider this program as a model for streamlined permitting.
Vancouver, WA	Vancouver Municipal Code § 20.920.060 https://www.columbian.com/news/2018/oct/13/adu-interest-on-the-rise-in-southwest-washington/	Infill Development	Municipal code revision to address infill development by expediting review to encourage development of underutilized and challenging parcels. Seek to complete review within 60 days.	Vancouver Municipal Code § 20.920.060 H. Expedited Development Review Process. An applicant may request an expedited review process for infill projects. An expedited infill project shall be contingent upon city staffing and other resource availability. Community and Economic Development will endeavor to complete review of an infill project within a 60 day time period from Fully Complete (FC) to issuance of the land use decision for projects that do not require a hearing; and 90 days for projects that require a hearing.	Vancouver offers an alternative option to the Green Tape program which also seeks to incentivize infill development.
Springfield, OR	Accessory Dwelling Units in Springfield https://www.springfield-or.gov/accessory-dwelling-units-in-springfield/	Waive System Development Charges	Recently implemented policy to waive SDCs for auxiliary dwelling units (ADUs) until June 2022. The city estimates a savings of $5,000-$6,000 for an ADU in Springfield.	-	We understand that this is not a top priority but believe that, if paired with other policies, this can bolster infill development.

Appendix C

Rausch Case Study Summaries

This appendix summarizes key housing policies and initiatives from three case study communities – Bend, Oregon; Frisco, Colorado; and Seattle, Washington.

BEND, OREGON
Bend is the largest city in Eastern Oregon and is located just east of the Cascades mountains. Bend has a thriving tourism industry and is growing rapidly. The current population of Bend is 91,000 but is estimated to grow to 154,000 in just twenty years (Portland State University, 2019). Furthermore, the summer season brings approximately 20,000 additional residents to Bend (City of Bend, Comprehensive Plan, 2016). Bend's rapid population growth and booming tourism industry has created a housing affordability problem for low- and medium-income earners.

Quick Housing Facts
- From 2012-2016, rents increased by 36% while income for renters only increased by 4.8%.
- For homebuyers, sales prices have increased by 42% while incomes have only increased by 8.3%.
- Bend has a deficit of 5,000 housing units for households making half of the Area Median Income.

Consensus Building
   Public engagement efforts played a strong role in the success of affordable housing policies. The city's Affordable Housing Committee conducts ongoing public engagement to determine funding priorities and policy needs. Because the City's affordable housing plans require updates every 5 years, public engagement with vulnerable populations, developers, and people searching for housing is ongoing and iterative. This strategy creates a more representative coalition of community members and helps build consensus for affordable housing policies. (Lynne McConnell and Rachael Baker, personal communication, Feb 13, 2020).
   Consensus-building with developers and the community was also key to successful implementation of Bend's construction excise tax (CET). City Council originally included a sunset clause with the policy so that it would need to be renewed every five years. By piloting the project on a set timeframe, the city helped alleviate fears from the development community. Due to the success of the affordable housing fund, the CET was passed as a permanent policy in 2019. (Lynne McConnell and Rachael Baker, personal communication, Feb 13, 2020).

Legal Support
City employees also discussed the importance of legal support in creating political will to implement affordable housing policies. The City provides trainings to its City Council and community members on fair housing law and anti-discrimination policies, which equips decision-makers with the knowledge to discount discriminatory comments to affordable housing policies. (Lynne McConnell and Rachael Baker, personal communication, Feb 13, 2020).

Implementation
- 2006: Adopted a construction excise tax of .33%.
- 2016: Amended development code to reduce parking requirements, provide density bonuses, and add cottage clusters
- 2017: Adopted system development charge (SDC) exemptions.

The Town of Frisco is located along Interstate 70 between Denver and a concentration of ski resorts, drawing millions of tourists each year, as well as attracting wealthy second homeowners. Frisco is extremely geographically constrained by mountains, Forest Service land, I-70, and Lake Dillion - the main drinking water source for the Denver metro area. Due to these restrictions, Frisco's 2019 Community Plan targets infill and redevelopment as feasible strategies for increasing the local housing supply.

Quick Housing Facts
- 32% of housing units in Frisco are occupied year-round
- Average residential home sold for $554,000 (2015)
- 93% of Frisco workers do not live in Frisco
- 87% of Frisco residents work outside of the town
- 14% of the County's year-round households lived in restricted workforce housing (2016)

Housing Task Force
In 2017, Frisco convened a Housing Task Force to develop a comprehensive approach for affordable and workforce housing development through a series of policy and project recommendations. The Task Force built upon a Summit County Housing Needs Assessment and a voter-approved 0.6% sales tax increase dedicated to affordable housing development across the county. Summit County relies heavily on deed-restricted housing units, many of which are developed through public-private partnerships.

   The Policy Group of the Housing Task Force recommended providing other incentives for deed-restricted units, including property tax rebates, subsidized infrastructure fees, and reduced parking minimums. They additionally encouraged the development of a "buy-down program" that would allow the Town to flip properties to deed-restricted, as well as pay property owners to opt in. The Task Force also outlined policies to address the rapid growth in short-term rentals within the community, to make long-term rentals just as appealing to property owners while recognizing the town's economic reliance on tourism. The Task Force hosted a panel discussion on short-term rental challenges and opportunities with guests from other rural resort communities across Colorado. The Projects Group of the Housing Task Force led a workforce housing charrette to create a vision for affordable housing projects in downtown Frisco.

Building Community Support
Frisco has struggled to overcome local opposition to infill and redevelopment projects in the downtown. In 2018, voters rejected a ballot measure that would have built workforce housing on the site of an existing pocket park and defunct community center. This site was another identified by the Housing Task Force as a high priority parcel to redevelop. Opponents argued the project would eliminate one of the few remaining open spaces within town, harm the "charm" of the downtown, and "increase density in an already overly-dense corridor of Frisco" ("Frisco Residents Resist Ballot Measure"). With the defeat of this project, Frisco only built eight workforce units in 2018. More recently, Summit County has battled with local and statewide opponents to overturn a conservation easement in Frisco in order to develop affordable, senior housing. The land separates an "eclectic" single-family home neighborhood from a large development of county services, including a senior and community center and health care facility.

Implementation
- December 2018: Adopted a new short-term rental ordinance.
- January 2020: Solicited a partner to develop one of the pre-identified parcels near their Main Street.
- February 2020: Adopted the Frisco Housing Helps Program, allowing the town to pay homeowners to deed-restrict properties.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The City of Seattle is located in northwest Washington State. It is surrounded by water on two sides, Puget Sound to the west and Lake Washington to the east, and by metropolitan infill to the north and south. These factors, added to the state mandated Urban Growth Area confinements and requirements, have created barriers to the city expanding outward. Seattle, being within King County, is required to create a Comprehensive Plan. King County is well over the 50,000 population threshold, as Seattle itself had 688,245 people as of 2017 (Explore Census Data). Seattle has been facing rapid growth, adding over 100,000 in just the last 10 years.

Quick Housing Facts

- From 2013 and 2018, the average home price rose 97 percent, and rents by 34 to 38 percent.
- In 2018, not one housing unit within the city was sold for under $500,000.
- Economists attribute rising prices to the rise in number of people moving to the city.
- City added 13,000 new units in 2019, double the amount added in 2017.

Urban Village Model

The city is unique in that it embraces an Urban Village Model. The city form was established in their 1994 Comprehensive Plan in response to anticipated regional growth following the implementation of the Growth Management Act. The original goal of the Urban Village Model was to identify logical business, mixed-use, and residential centers which the city could formally establish and develop into walkable areas well served by transit. Through the neighborhood-centric model, Seattle worked within the existing urban form in order to make efficient use of past and future city infrastructure investments, minimize impacts on established neighborhoods, and revitalize neighborhood business districts. The Seattle 2035 Comprehensive Plan moved to address the increasing stress on the housing system by expanding the urban centers, implementing up-zoning measures across the city, and calling for more affordable housing.

Housing Today

Between 2006 and 2017, 80 percent of the city's growth was concentrated within Urban Villages. Furthermore, 94 percent of the new housing units built were mixed-use or multi-family (Evolving Seattle's Growth Strategy, 2020). On the other hand, surging housing prices have caused land values to increase dramatically as well. The current strategy dictates that three quarters of land in Seattle be reserved for detached single family homes, which incentivizes older, more affordable homes to be bought, demolished, and replaced by larger, more expensive housing. Neighborhood prices increase, pushing even more possible homeowners out of the market. The City has begun to subsidize community housing projects for those who cannot afford the market rate, however there is much work still to be done. According to Seattle Housing Authority Executive Director Andrew Lofton, "from a Housing Authority standpoint, we don't think concentrating low-income is conducive to a healthy community. A mix of incomes is a cornerstone of individuals becoming more self-sufficient and being able to achieve their goals and contribute to a strong neighborhood" (De La Rosa, 2019).

Implementation

- May 2015: Seattle 2035 Comprehensive Plan adopted
- January 2020: Seattle Planning Commission released white paper calling for increased lot density and the addition of new types of Urban Villages throughout the city.
- Anticipated 2023: Adopt updated Comprehensive Plan which focuses on racial equity, housing affordability, climate change, and livability.

This appendix includes a complete literature review on strategies to build community support for missing middle housing types through code updates and key messaging.

Building Community Support

An important strategy in advancing zoning changes to incentivize "missing middle" and affordable housing development is grounding the effort in a larger coalition. Increasing the diversity of housing stock in a community is not just important for affordable housing advocates, but also those who care about aging in place, addressing a legacy of segregation in cities, existing school segregation, and fighting climate change. In Minneapolis, advocates for banning single-family zoning in the City's comprehensive plan built a coalition using three key arguments: fighting climate change, reducing economic and racial segregation, and addressing the affordability crisis. Importantly, this coalition reached across more diverse community groups than traditional white, upper middle class YIMBY (Yes in My Backyard) efforts (Kahlenberg, 2019). A diverse coalition includes labor organizers, tenants' rights groups, community-based organizations, environmentalists, AARP, and employers. In passing House Bill 2001 in Oregon, the coalition included Portland Public Schools, The Street Trust, AARP, 1000 Friends of Oregon, Sunrise PDX, and more (Andersen, 2019).

Efforts to change single-family zoning often meet fierce opposition from neighborhood groups and homeowners who see value in maintaining the status quo. Advancing zoning changes to encourage more affordable and diverse housing development requires substantial political will and a willingness to expend political capital (Berkovitz, 2019). Additionally, any effort will require substantial financial resources invested in sustained community engagement efforts and staffing to develop and implement new policies and projects. Minneapolis leveraged political momentum from a new mayor and five new city councilors, generally representing a younger generation concerned about climate change, equity, and affordability. The divide in the community tended to be one between generations, rather than based on political party (Kahlenberg, 2019). In fact, political ideology is not the biggest predictor of support for housing initiatives, as seen in the strong bipartisan support for Oregon's House Bill 2001.

A transparent, intentional, and diverse community engagement strategy can be the key to advancing affordable housing efforts. In Minneapolis, city staff began outreach two years in advance of zoning changes, including attending local events, providing "Meetings in a Box" for neighborhood groups, and working alongside a local advocacy group (Kahlenberg, 2019). Public meetings are one of the least effective methods of gathering public input and can be both inaccessible and traumatizing for everyone but the "usual suspects." As a result, these meetings overrepresent homeowner perspectives and those in opposition to housing development (Berkovitz, 2019; Einstein et al, 2018). Effective public outreach looks more like a political campaign, with proactive, accessible, and diverse approaches. Building community support is also more effective when the effort is framed as a community-wide project, rather than focused on specific neighborhoods, lots, or projects (Berkovitz, 2019).

Messaging

Though some in the community have voiced that they do not want Hood River to grow, it is important to underline how a more diverse population makes cities better. Accommodating the needs of the existing population is equally important, including those who currently work within the city limits but cannot afford to live within the community. Cities are healthier and "do better with middle-class and workforce homes near jobs [and] schools" (Fahey & Andersen, February 2019). In limiting housing choices, prices will continue to climb and even segregate the city by race and class (Anderson & Fahey, November 2019). A focus on the benefits to the broader community, as opposed using a "eliminate single-family zoning" narrative, can keep the conversation in a more positive place.

The shape of the community is likely at the forefront of people's minds when declaring opposition to "change." It is important to reinforce the idea that the community does not intend to do away with single family homes, but instead broaden the types of people who are able to afford to live within the city. Asking whether the community wants to become more and more expensive through housing restrictions or be a community which embraces better neighborhoods can be a successful tactic in changing people's worldviews.

One of the most beloved and recognizable ideas in the United States is the concept of the American Dream. Cities might consider emphasizing that the American Dream is meant to be for all, especially young people and seniors. Building a community which will set up the next generation and allow many seniors from losing what they've built could be a very powerful message for the community (Fahey & Anderson, February 2019). Due to the size of the community, adding affordable housing options close to the rest of the community would expand opportunities for all, young, middle-aged, and old.

Many people oppose the bureaucratic nature of government, no matter how small it is. One easy way to connect with citizens is using language which is less "jargon-y" or even fear-inducing. "Missing middle" housing is likely familiar to most who are immediately opposed to its installment into their neighborhoods. Using public-friendly language can soften the narrative, even allow people to envision a new kind of community.

Code Language

Parking requirements for dwelling units increase the cost of development and reduce the availability of land for housing (Sightline, 2017). However, lack of parking availability is frequently a major concern for existing residents when developers propose new housing projects (Einstein et al, 2020). Reduced parking requirements are a main source of neighborhood opposition to new housing developments (Einstein et al, 2020). Neighbors may fear crowding of on-street parking spaces or new residents parking in front of existing units.

Although parking is one of the most contentious issues surrounding new development, strategies exist to make parking requirement reductions politically feasible. Residential permit parking can regulate on-street parking in neighborhoods. This policy can address neighbors' concerns of crowded street parking as a result of missing middle housing types. Cities can also issue permits for residents to park on-street in front of their own driveway. Because curb cuts are otherwise unusable as parking, this policy creates additional parking for residents who wish to convert their garages into dwelling units or for residents who use their garages to store gear and household items rather than cars (Brown et al, 2018). Residential parking permits can help prioritize curb space for local residents when parking availability is low (MTC Smart Growth Technical Assistance, 2012). By regulating on-street parking, cities can increase density without requiring additional off-street parking spaces that reduce the supply of land for housing.

Adding missing middle housing typologies to development code can increase housing density without raising as many concerns about neighborhood character as more dense multifamily housing. However, many of these designs are recent and residents may oppose their construction on the basis of parking and densification fears (Opticos Design, 2019). Cluster developments can ease densification fears by pairing new development with open space preservation. This type of development is particularly effective at the edge of an urban growth boundary and can help transition between urban and rural environments (EPA, 2012).

The Euclidian zoning system has been proven to make the creation of diverse housing types difficult. The practice separates lots by land use or activities, dividing cities into single-family residential, multifamily residential, commercial, industrial, etc. (How to Regulate, n.d.). Instead of organizing by housing type, form-based codes allow a range of type of development because it regulates by size. There are usually supplemental form standards put in place to control certain aspects of development, such as overbuilding. "Missing middle" housing is regulated and encouraged through defining the types

of housing appropriate for a given area based upon existing community patterns, climate, and style. Euclidian zoning focuses on the use and design of a given space, while form-based coding focuses instead on the form and design, giving municipalities more nuanced options for how they are created. Switching the city to a form-based coding system can effectively remove barriers currently in place against missing middle housing and likely incentivize its development into the future.

Appendix D

<u>Schechtman Case Study Summaries</u>

ARLINGTON COUNTY, VA & THE COLUMBIA PIKE CORRIDOR

TIGAR, OREGON

MINNEAPOLIS, MN.

THOUGHTFUL & INCLUSIVE PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

CASE STUDIES

SEATTLE, WA.

LACK OF PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT AND ACCESSIBLE MESSAGING

KEY LESSONS

ONE OF THE FIRST STEPS THE PROGRAM TOOK WAS TO HOST A SERIES OF COMMUNITY CONVERSATIONS. TOPICS INCLUDED THE INTERSECTION OF HOUSING AND THE ENVIRONMENT, EQUITY AND ECONOMICS. FROM THIS, THE PROGRAM PLANS TO CONDUCT A "MISSING MIDDLE" HOUSING NEEDS STUDY IN APRIL 2020.

1. A SHARED DEFINITION FOR THE TERM "MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING" FOR ARLINGTON

2. A SET OF POLICY OPTIONS TO SUPPORT PRESERVATION OF EXISTING MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING STOCK AND PRODUCTION OF NEW MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING TYPES FOR COUNTY BOARD CONSIDERATION

3. IDENTIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN AND OTHER COUNTY POLICIES AND PRACTICES TO BE FURTHER REVIEWED IN SUPPORT OF THE GOALS OF THIS PROCESS

4. THE ABILITY FOR NEW HOUSING TYPE ALTERNATIVES TO BE BUILT THAT MEET ARLINGTON'S DEFINITION OF "MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING", OFFERING GREATER AFFORDABILITY AND DESIGN THAT IS COMPLEMENTARY AND COMPATIBLE WITH THE SCALE AND STYLE OF THEIR INTENDED NEIGHBORHOODS.

ARLINGTON COUNTY, VA & MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING: COMMUNITY CONVERSATIONS

Arlington County, VA, located within the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, covers about 26 square miles and has a population of around 235,000 residents. In 2015, the county adopted the Affordable Housing Master Plan as part of their comprehensive plan. The county set a goal for 2040—17.7% of the rental housing stock to be affordable to income levels at or below 60% AMI.6 To work towards this goal, the County Board created the Housing Arlington Initiative in March 2019. This program looks at housing policy, financial resources, land use tools and public-private partnerships.

THEMES: HOUSING TASK FORCE. COMMUNITY CONVERSATIONS SERIES THROUGH HOUSING ARLINGTON INITIATIVE. CREATE SHARED DEFINITION FOR "MISSING MIDDLE" HOUSING. HOUSING SHOULD BE COMPLEMENTARY AND COMPATIBLE WITH SCALE.

KEY LESSONS

1. FRAME COMMUNITY DISCUSSIONS AROUND HOUSING NEEDS INSTEAD OF A NEED FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING;

2. REMOVE BIASES IN CODE LANGUAGE

3. EMPHASIZE FORM IN MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING DISCUSSIONS.

The City of Tigard has changed their code language to describe the physical form of housing rather than the form of housing tenure.
Words like "single family", "rental", "group living" and "duplex" have been removed. The term "duplex" has been renamed as an attached accessory dwelling unit (ADU). The City of Tigard emphasizes that missing middle housing fits into existing neighborhoods. Quads must have two units below and two units above to look like single detached homes. Courtyard housing and cottage clusters must look like smaller neighborhoods within a neighborhood.

THEMES: HOUSING NEEDS, NOT NEED FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING. EMPHASIZE FORM TO LOOK LIKE SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES. REMOVE BIASED TERMS IN CODE LANGUAGE.

TIGARD, OREGON

The City of Tigard, a community of 53,000 residents, contains a slightly higher percentage of severely rent burdened households compared to Portland.10 28% of renter households in Tigard spend over 50% of their income on rent.11 Part of the City's approach to addressing the housing crisis is oriented towards changing the messages around housing affordability, both in code language and public processes.
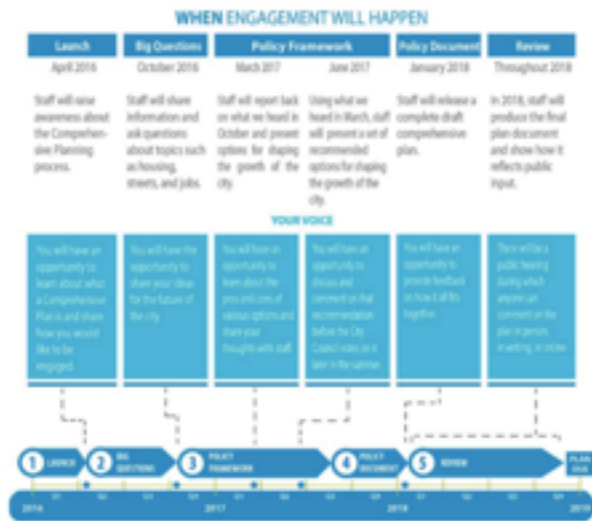
WHEN ENGAGEMENT WILL HAPPEN

Launch	Big Questions	Policy Framework		Policy Document	Review
April 2016	October 2016	March 2017	June 2017	January 2018	Throughout 2018
Staff will raise awareness about the Comprehensive Planning process.	Staff will share information and ask questions about topics such as housing, streets, and jobs.	Staff will report back on what we heard in October and present options for shaping the growth of the city.	Using what we heard in March, staff will present a set of recommended options for shaping the growth of the city.	Staff will release a complete draft comprehensive plan.	In 2018, staff will produce the final plan document and show how it reflects public input.

YOUR VOICE

You will have an opportunity to learn about what a Comprehensive Plan is and share how you would like to be engaged.	You will have the opportunity to share your ideas for the future of the city.	You will have an opportunity to learn about the pros and cons of various options and share your thoughts with staff.	You will have an opportunity to discuss and comment on that recommendation before the City Council votes on it later in the summer.	You will have an opportunity to provide feedback on how it all fits together.	There will be a public hearing during which anyone can comment on the plan in person, in writing, or online.

KEY LESSONS

1. THE CITY HAS A STRONG HISTORY OF PLANNING AND A CULTURE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, ADVOCACY, AND COLLABORATION WITH ELECTED LEADERSHIP.

2. THE LONG-RANGE PLANNING TEAM DEVELOPED A THOUGHTFUL AND INCLUSIVE PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT PLAN THAT BEGAN WITH ENSURING THAT ALL STAKEHOLDERS WERE ON THE SAME PAGE.

3. SUPPORTIVE PRO-HOUSING GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS NEIGHBORS FOR MORE NEIGHBORS WERE VERY POSITIVE, VISIBLE, AND INCLUSIVE.

THEME: THOUGHTFUL INCLUSIVE PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT PLAN
EXAMPLE:
TIMELINE OF ENGAGEMENT FROM MINNEAPOLIS' PLANNING PROCESS

THE PROCESS WAS KEY TO ENSURE ELECTED OFFICIALS, CITY STAFF, AND GRASSROOTS ADVOCATES WERE PULLING IN THE SAME DIRECTION. THEY SECURED AN ENGAGEMENT BUDGET FROM THE PREVIOUS COUNCIL AND MAYOR. WITH THEIR STRONG SUPPORT, THEY STARTED A CITY-WIDE CONVERSATION ABOUT MINNEAPOLIS 24 YEARS INTO THE FUTURE. THEY GREW CITY-WIDE UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. THEY DEMONSTRATED THE POLITICAL SUPPORT NEEDED TO COUNTER THE VOICES WHO TEND TO SHOW UP DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN
THOUGHTFUL & INCLUSIVE PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

The City of Minneapolis recently passed a comprehensive plan that ends exclusionary zoning and allows triplexes in all neighborhoods.

"THIS IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME POLICY THAT THE CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS AND THE STATE OF OREGON WOULD LATER DRAW NATIONAL ATTENTION AND MUCH PRAISE FOR EMBRACING; IN AN ALTERNATE UNIVERSE, SEATTLE COULD HAVE BEATEN THEM TO THE PUNCH BY YEARS. IT WAS ONE OF 65 RECOMMENDATIONS IN FORMER MAYOR ED MURRAY'S SWEEPING HALA (HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND LIVABILITY AGENDA) INITIATIVE, AN ATTEMPT TO REFRAME THE WHOLE HOUSING DEBATE WITH A HOLISTIC PACKAGE OF POLICIES THAT ADDRESSED NEARLY EVERY NICHE CONCERN ABOUT GROWTH AND DISPLACEMENT."

KEY LESSONS

1. RECOGNIZE THAT SINGLE-FAMILY HOMEOWNERS HAVE DIVERSE OPINIONS, MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO FIND COMMON GROUND AND BUILD ALLIANCES.

2. LISTEN TO THE OBJECTIONS THAT WERE RAISED AND UNDERSTAND AND SOLVE RESIDENT'S CONCERNS.

3. MAKE SURE ARGUMENTS FOR ZONING CHANGES ARE ROOTED IN VALUES, NOT IN FACTS AND FIGURES.

4. LINK UPZONING WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ACKNOWLEDGE THAT DISPLACEMENT AND INEQUALITY MUST BE ADDRESSED.

"Missing from these perspectives is a realization that, to date, the proposed zoning changes had not generated broad public support. In the absence of such support, it was unrealistic to expect politicians to stick with the proposals, especially in the face of vocal opposition."

SEATTLE, WA
LACK OF PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT AND ACCESSIBLE MESSAGING

Unlike the success of messaging in Minneapolis, Seattle has not been able to address the city's urgent need for more housing choices for people of all incomes and family sizes through upzoning residential neighborhoods.

THEMES: PLANNERS AND CITY OFFICIALS MUST CREATE A THOUGHTFUL PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT PROCESS TO GATHER COMMUNITY SUPPORT. THIS ALLOWS THE COMMUNITY TO BE AUTHENTICALLY REPRESENTED, INFORMED, HEARD, AND EMPOWERED. THIS WILL ULTIMATELY PROMOTE PUBLIC BACKING OF THE NECESSITY OF NEW REGULATIONS AND ENSURE PUBLIC TRUST IN THE RESULTS OF NEW DEVELOPMENT.

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