# SULLIVAN'S GULCH NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN

Fall, 2019



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Adopted By

# SULLIVAN'S GULCH NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION (SGNA)

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## Plan Framework

This 2019 update to the Sullivan's Gulch Neighborhood Association (SGNA) Neighborhood Plan (Plan) retains elements from previous versions while adding new initiatives that respond to emerging issues. An important change is the Plan's framework around three unifying themes: advancing social equity and justice, responding to climate change, and enhancing neighborhood livability.

## Social Equity

SGN is a diverse neighborhood in terms of its housing stock but ethnically is predominantly white. Ethnic diversity has declined since 1990 as the cost of housing has increased. There is a significant homeless population that needs safe places to reside. The following steps are intended to improve social equity and diversity.

- Increase affordable housing choice.
- Increase affordable transportation options.
- Use the public realm to foster a sense of inclusivity for residents.

#### Climate Action

Like most neighborhoods in Portland, transportation is dominated by car use. Sullivan's Gulch is fortunate to be located close to employment and services centers, which allows residents to substitute bike, pedestrian, and transit trips for auto trips. The energy efficiency of existing housing and commercial buildings could be improved. The neighborhood's east-west orientation is favorable for rooftop solar installations. There is interested in community solar investment to reduce the neighborhood's carbon footprint. Climate action goals include:

- Improve transportation options to help reduce motor vehicle trips.
- Increase the energy efficiency of buildings.
- Invest in renewable energy, like community solar.

## Livability

Sullivan's Gulch transportation network needs safety improvements, especially for pedestrians. Pedestrian-scale lighting is needed in many areas to make walking comfortable after sunset. Many sidewalks are more than 100 years old and should be replaced. The neighborhood

lacks an accessible neighborhood park but open space is at a premium with virtually all land developed. There is a significant homeless population with mental health and drug and alcohol abuse issues, which lead to frequent criminal justice system interactions. Trash and safety concerns are high near homeless encampments. Livability goals include:

- Enhance pedestrian safety.
- Invest in pubic open space and recreation.
- Support programs that benefit homeless persons.

The neighborhood Plan is consistent with The Portland Plan vision for inner NE Portland. It is a plan for growth that is sensitive to and reinforces our neighborhood's roots. It is intended to showcase how an inner-city neighborhood can embrace change and thrive.

The Plan's themes inform each chapter, which include a fact-based summary of current and forecast conditions followed by goals, actions, and performance measures. The planning horizon is 20 years to match The Portland Plan.



# 1. Plan Policies

The following policies are taken from *The Portland Plan*. They are cited in the SGNA Plan because of their specific relevance to the neighborhood plan's focus on social equity, climate action, and livability.

## **Social Equity**

- T-11: Focus public investment in community infrastructure including education, recreation, housing, transportation, health and social services to reduce disparities faced by youth of color, families in poverty, youth with disabilities and others at risk of not graduating from high school.
- P-25: Use a community-driven neighborhood economic development approach to build local capacity to achieve economic development outcomes, minimize involuntary displacement and spur commercial activity in underserved neighborhoods.
- P-36: Increase the ability of low-income households to access home ownership opportunities.
- H-16: Encourage development of high-quality, well-designed housing in and around neighborhood centers and near transit at a variety of sizes and cost ranges.

## Climate Action

- T-15: Make it easier to get to school, work, and other needed services on public transit.
- P-18: Increase the use of transit, bikes, walking, carpooling, and telecommuting to reduce both wear and demand on the transportation system and to free up capacity for freight mobility.
- H-18: Link neighborhood centers to each other, employment areas, the Central City and the broader region through a multi-modal transit system. Prioritize safe and attractive frequent transit service, bikeways and accessible pedestrian connections, including sidewalks.
- H-22: Promote energy and resource conservation at a district scale in neighborhood hubs through compact development, rehabilitation of existing buildings and energy efficiencies.

H-24: Preserve and restore habitat connections and tree canopy to link stream and river corridors, landslide prone areas, floodplains, wetlands, and critical habitat sites into a system of corridors.

## **Livability**

- P-10: Continue to promote innovation in public projects related to transportation and environmental services, including the following: ... (2) an innovative active transportation system transit, walking, use of mobility devices, biking, car and bike sharing, etc., and (3) urban parks and natural areas.
- P-39: Continue to expand access to affordable transportation options, including sidewalks, frequent service transit, bicycle networks, car and bike sharing, and other alternatives that allow households to function without a car or with one car. Develop corridor-specific housing strategies as a component of major transit investments.
- H-6: Encourage design and development that improves public health and safety. This includes design that supports active living and healthy housing, better fire safety and prevention, crime prevention through environmental design, and hazard mitigation and adaptation.
- H-7: Preserve the distinctive characteristics and history of Portland's neighborhoods and districts when making decisions regarding growth, urban design and the design of improvements.
- H-10: Support and enhance programs that encourage recreation and physical activity, healthy eating, active transportation, conservation, and community safety and resiliency.
- H-12: Support strong, vibrant and complete neighborhood centers through land use, community economic development, and housing, infrastructure and technology investments.
- H-13: Prioritize the placement of community services in neighborhood centers such as health clinics, day care centers, senior centers, libraries, and educational facilities.
- H-27: Build on Portland's green street, sidewalk and bikeway efforts to create a citywide greenway network of trails and pedestrian and bike-friendly green streets.

H-28: Design neighborhood greenways and civic corridors to integrate safe and accessible facilities for pedestrians and cyclists, sustainable storm water facilities, tree planting and community amenities.

H-30: Preserve older and historic buildings, public places and parks along corridors, where appropriate, to enhance the pedestrian realm and create a unique sense of place and neighborhood identity.

The plan also includes the following policies that carry over from the last version of the neighborhood plan.

- Strengthen business activity in neighborhood centers by implementing the City's Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy including its main street and the Neighborhood Prosperity Initiative.
- Create vibrant neighborhoods where 90 percent of Portland residents can easily walk or bicycle to meet all basic daily non-work needs and have safe pedestrian or bicycle access to transit.
- Reduce per capita daily vehicle miles travelled (VMT) by 30 percent from 2008 levels.
- Expand community-based leadership training programs to build community organizing capacity and the capacity for people to engage in shared governance, focusing on under-represented and underserved communities.
- Use neighborhood planning and development programs to help minority and low-income people stay in their homes and neighborhoods. Raise community awareness of existing programs to prevent eviction and foreclosure.
- Explore opportunities to address policy, code, legislative and financial barriers to onsite renewables and energy efficiency, including solar, district energy and building codes.

# 2. Neighborhood Identity

Sullivan's Gulch has much to offer. Accessibility to the Central City<sup>1</sup> is one of our strengths. Our location is proximate to regional employment and shopping districts and to major transportation facilities. The neighborhood's architecture is diverse with buildings from the early 1900's to the present. The neighborhood's spirit and pride is exemplified by the active involvement of residents in civic matters.

Proximity, however, is not without challenges. The I-84 freeway and adjacent rail lines are noisy. Additionally the vehicles using them generate significant air pollution that is detrimental to the health of neighborhood residents. Our main streets convey "through traffic" to and from other parts of the city, especially NE Broadway, which sometimes functions like a frontage road for I-84. Crossing main streets on foot is a challenge. Rising land values are making affordable housing more and more difficult to find. Our aging housing stock requires constant maintenance, which owners may defer if the stability of the neighborhood is in doubt. In particular there is pressure to replace older single-family dwellings, many over 100 years old, with newer more expensive housing.

## Geography

The neighborhood takes its name from the ravine on its southern border. Once home to 'Hooverville' shanties and a golf course, the Gulch today is a major transportation corridor that includes the I-84 Banfield Freeway, the MAX light rail line, and a BNSF rail freight line. The neighborhood has a solid residential core with a diverse mix of housing types. There is very limited vacant land within the neighborhood but there are opportunities along the Gulch for open space and commercial uses. See Figure 1.

## History

SGNA has developed a detailed summary of the neighborhood's history and its context within the city of Portland. That history can be reviewed on the SGNA web-site at:

https://www.sullivansgulch.org/sullivans-gulch-history.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Central City as used here refers to Portland neighborhoods that are subject to the Central City Plan, which includes the Lloyd District.

## Figure 1 - Sullivan's Gulch

West-end

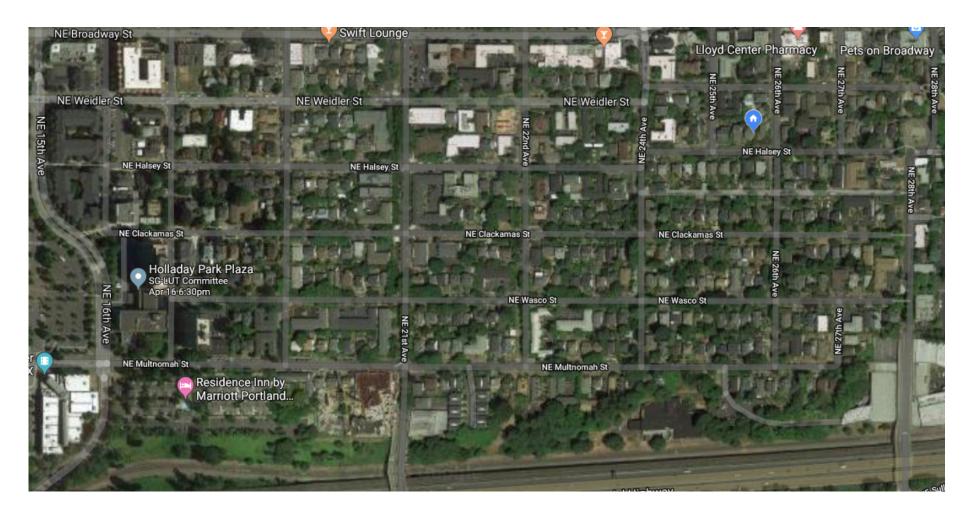
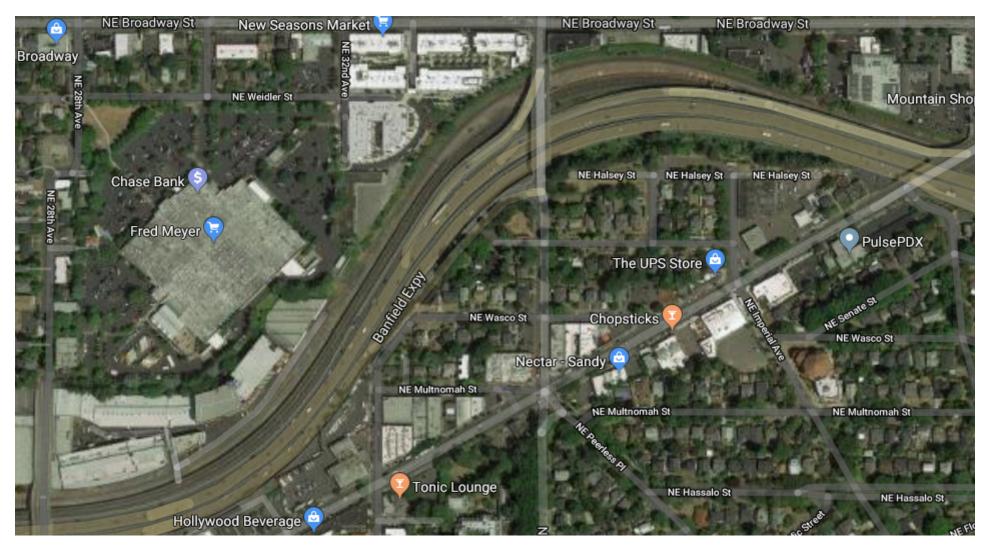


Figure 1 - Sullivan's Gulch

East-end (the neighborhood does not extend south of the freeway)



## Demographics

SGN currently is home to around 3800 residents and is growing rapidly. The age distribution is predominantly young and middle-aged persons living in rental housing. A recent publication found that there were more 'Millennials' living in the 97232 zip code than any other in Oregon, which is a testament to the neighborhood's accessibility and amenities.

The following table shows trends in population growth. The 2020 population estimate includes an assumption that new housing units now under construction will be occupied at 1.7 persons per unit. The estimate is consistent with a recent census survey for our neighborhood, which estimated that between 2012 and 2017 the population increased by >20%. This growth trend is expected to continue in the next decade as the Lloyd Center parking lots east of NE  $16^{\rm th}$  Avenue are redeveloped. More than 700 apartment units were approved for construction in this area.

Table 1 - Population Trends

Year	1990	2000	2010	2020 proj.
Population	2,570	3073	3168	4200

Source: US Census; SGNA forecast

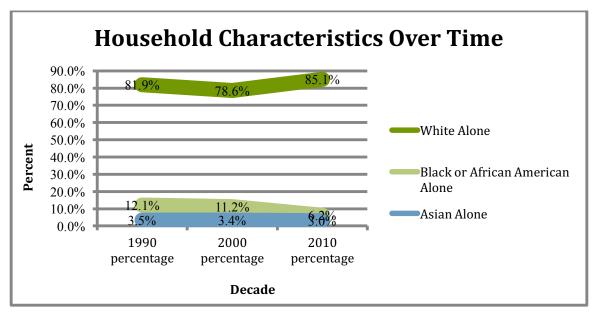
Household composition has changed significantly over the past three decades. The age of residents over 55 is about the same but families with children have left the neighborhood. There are more single person households and households without children than there were in 1990.

Household composition also has become less diverse. In 2010, white households made up 85% of all households, an increase of 7% from 1990 levels. African American household declined from 12% in 1990 to only 6.2%. Asian households held steady at 3%. Mixed race households made up the balance at 6%. Figure 2 shows these trends.

Two conditions that have persisted since the 2000 update to the neighborhood plan: the lack of affordable housing for young families, and investment stagnation along the Broadway main street. Information for housing and employment is presented in later chapters. Goals and actions to address these issues are outlined in the Housing and Economy chapters.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  US Census Bureau, Community Survey, 2013 - 2017, Multnomah County Track 21-02

Figure 2 - Household Characteristics



Source: US Census

# 3. Urban Design / Livability

#### Overview

SGN is designed with a residential core connected to service districts east, north, and west. An overarching urban design and livability concern is that accessibility to and the environment in the Broadway corridor seems to be worsening as a place that provides "Main Street" services that support a "20-minute Neighborhood. We have lost businesses that allowed residents walk and shop locally, including a bakery, a super market, coffee shops, banks, and restaurants. We've become a less walkable neighborhood in a functional sense. Land speculation by absentee ownerships may play a role. So does a lack of private investment and a street frontage that is not inviting for pedestrians.

Figure 3 - Urban Design Orientation



Lloyd Center on the west is transitioning from a suburban-style mall to a mixed-use urban center, but the outcome of the experiment is uncertain. There are many vacant storefronts in the mall. The strategy to remake the mall into a mixed-use urban center has been setback by the recent collapse of housing proposals on adjacent parking lots.

With this backdrop, there are four land use/urban design issues that the neighborhood seeks to confront. Left unresolved, these issues threaten our ability to deliver affordable housing, to reduce reliance on automobiles, and to enhance livability. Our goal to remain a "20-minute neighborhood" depends on these strategies.

## Design Compatibility

The neighborhood seeks to develop design guidelines to encourage infill and redevelopment in context with the neighborhood. The concern is less with adhering to earlier architectural styles and more with design that emphasizes orientation to the pedestrian environment and that is scaled to be compatible with the neighborhood. New buildings should match the setback of adjacent structures. Porches, stoops, courtyards,

and balconies are encouraged to mirror design features now common throughout the neighborhood. Buildings should be designed with centuries-long use and redevelopment in mind.

## Plan - Zoning Inconsistency

There are a number of properties in Sullivan's Gulch with infill and redevelopment potential, particularly older single family properties on NE Weidler between NE 15<sup>th</sup> and NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenues. Some of these properties have been renovated but none have redeveloped at planned density. We suspect that the cost, complexity, and time it takes to obtain a zoning map amendment have deterred owners from redeveloping. The neighborhood advocates a streamlined rezoning program for owner-occupied single-family properties in corridors where the Portland Plan designates them for multi-family or urban mixed-use development. The zone change may incent redevelopment of these sites and add housing in transit corridors. Incentives also could be offered to participants that commit to provide affordable housing.

#### NE Broadway Service Hub

Along NE Broadway between the commercial node at NE 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue in Irvington and the NE 40<sup>th</sup> Avenue gateway in Hollywood is a nondescript 1.5-mile commercial corridor that lacks identity. It is immediately adjacent to established residential neighborhoods. We would like to see a commercial node develop in this reach as a focal point for residents in the adjacent neighborhoods with the primary aim to support walk-in trade. A mid-point intersection is NE 28<sup>th</sup> Avenue. The NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue and NE 33<sup>rd</sup> Avenue intersections also offer service development opportunities. One option would be to designate a pedestrian district in this area and adopt design guidelines for the district oriented toward pedestrian use.

Near NE 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue, buildings were designed with corner-facing entryways that encourage walk-in trade. We support a similar urban design approach for a neighborhood-service district abutting the Sullivan's Gulch and Grant Park neighborhoods. Creative use of available right of way may be needed to address accessibility and challenging site conditions. Accessibility is especially challenging at NE 33<sup>rd</sup>, given its proximity to I-84. Until this district is formally established, we advocate a design approach between NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue and NE 34<sup>th</sup> Avenue similar to the design at the NE 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue / Broadway intersection.

# Non-conforming Uses

Figure 3 below shows that east of NE 21st Avenue there are many multifamily properties that exceed the density limits in the underlying R-2.5

residential zone. It is estimated that 1 in 4 properties in the central part of the neighborhood may be non-conforming. In some blocks virtually all development is non-conforming. Many of these non-conforming properties were built in the 1960s and 70s when the zoning allowed multi-family housing on corner lots and when the discretionary review process was a less rigorous than it is today.

The neighborhood seeks a long-term solution to the non-conforming use problem. These buildings are now approaching 50 - 60 years old and are showing their age. They also provide some of the most affordable housing in the inner city. There is a risk that over time these properties could fall into disrepair if redevelopment at comparable density is prohibited. Should they fall into disrepair the value of other neighborhood properties would be affected. At some point in time, this zoning conflict needs to be addressed. Solution may include the use of an overlay zone that enables continuation of existing developments subject to special rules, or possibly rezoning some blocks where nonconformance is especially high.

## Urban Design/Livability Goals/Actions:

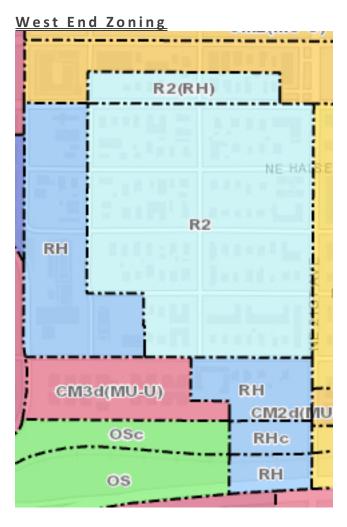
- 1. Develop voluntary design guidelines for new residential development to encourage design that supports and strengthens pedestrian-scale infill and redevelopment.
- 2. Develop design guidelines for NE Broadway that supports transit use and pedestrian-scale infill and redevelopment. Guidelines should enable a mix of residential and commercial uses in the corridor. Source materials to consider include the 2003 Crandall-Arambula Quick Response design study for NE Broadway, and the Division Street Design Project.
- 3. Form a work-group with Grant Park to identify a location for a neighborhood oriented service hub on Broadway somewhere between NE  $24^{\rm th}$  and NE  $34^{\rm th}$  Avenues.
- 4. Form a work group with other east-side neighborhoods to investigate a potential streamlined rezoning process for properties in transit corridors whose zoning is inconsistent with plan designations.
- 5. Develop a legal framework for owners of non-conforming residential uses in the R-2.5 zone to rebuild at current density or transfer the

marginal loss in density to other properties in the neighborhood when these properties redevelop. Consider that rezoning may be appropriate in some blocks where the majority of properties are non-conforming. Analyze the feasibility of density transfers within the neighborhood to minimize loss of housing opportunities.

#### Performance Measures:

- A. Work with the Grant Park and Irvington neighborhoods to develop a location for a NE Broadway service hub somewhere east of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Target completion: 2021.
- B. Work with the Grant Park and Irvington neighborhoods to develop design guidelines for the NE Broadway corridor. Target completion: 2021.
- C. Develop and adopt design guidelines for residential and commercial infill. Target completion: 2024.
- D. Secure City support and assistance for a work group that engages property owners and neighborhood interests to find a solution to the myriad non-conforming housing uses east of NE  $21^{\rm st}$  Avenue, and potentially in other inner east-side neighborhoods. Target completion: TBD.

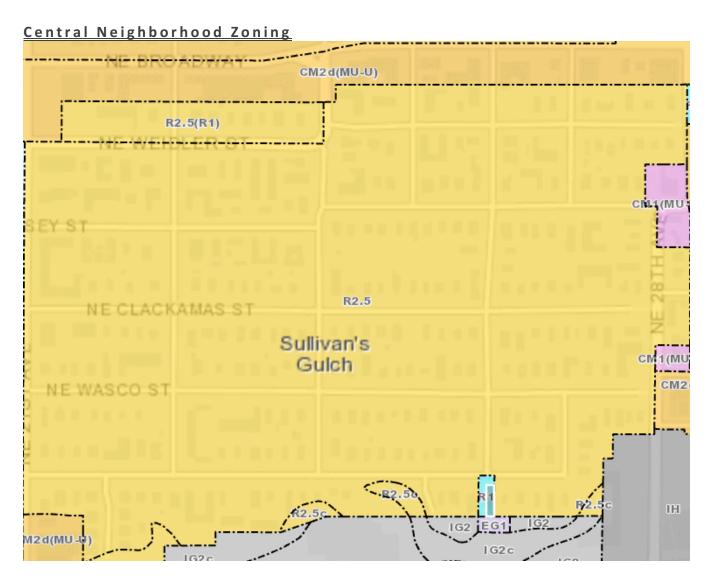
Figure 4 - Land Use and Zoning Maps



Notes: Proposed amendments to Portland's multi-family zoning districts is likely to produce the following changes.

Table 2 - West End Zoning Changes

Current Zone	Proposed Zone	Comment	
R 2	R M 1	The current R2 multi-family zone is the	
		City's least dense multi-family zone. The	
		proposed RM1 zone would allow higher	
		density and greater design flexibility.	
R 2 ( R H )	RM1 (RM 3-4)	The parenthesis indicate a plan	
		designation that would allow a zone	
		change to a higher intensity use.	
RH	RM 3-4	The proposed multi-family zoning differs in	
		height, density, and floor area ratio limits.	
CM-2 (MU-U)	N/C	Commercial mixed-use zoning does not	
		change.	

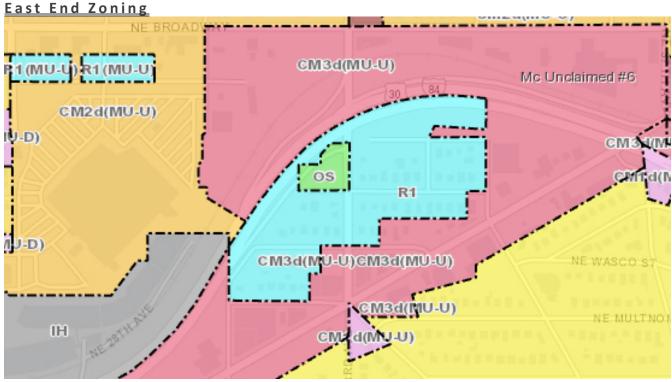


Notes: Proposed amendments to the City's multi-family and single-family zoning districts would result in the following changes.

Table 3 - Central Area Zoning Changes

Current Zone	Proposed Zone	Comment
R 2.5	R 2.5	Changes to this single-family zone would
		permit more variety of housing design and
		one more unit per lot than now.
Current Zone	Proposed Zone	Comment
R2.5(R1)	R 2 . 5 ( R M 2 )	The parenthesis indicates a plan
		designation that would allow a change to
		the higher intensity zone.
R 1	R M 2	The RM2 multi-family zone likely will allow
		residential buildings up to 45' tall.

		Building safety codes limit density.	
CM-1 (MU)	N/C	No change to Commercial/Mixed Use zones.	
CM-2 (Mu-U)	N/C	No change to Commercial/Mixed Use zones.	



Notes: The anticipated amendments to the City's multi-family and single-family zoning districts are not expected to significantly alter the allowed uses in this area. The Portland Plan allows R1 zoned properties that front Weidler Street to be rezoned for higher intensity mixed uses.

Table 4 East-end Zoning Changes

Current Zone	Proposed Zone	Comment
R 1	R M 2	The RM2 multi-family zone likely will allow
		residential buildings up to 45' tall.
		Building safety codes limit density.
R1 (MU-U)	RM2 (MU-U)	Changes to this multi-family zone would
		allow taller buildings than current zoning.
		The MU-U plan designation would allow
		mixed-use development and even taller
		buildings with application for a zone
		change.
IH, CM	N/C	



Note: The underlying zoning for virtually all of the properties between NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue and NE 28<sup>th</sup> Avenue is R2.5 single-family. The red numerals indicate lots where the number of dwellings exceeds the allowed density. Many of these properties will continue to be non-conforming even if the proposed changes to the R2.5 zone by the "Residential Infill Project" are approved.

# 4. Transportation

#### Overview

Sullivan's Gulch could become a mostly car-free neighborhood. It is located within walking and biking distance to the Central City. Downtown is 3-miles away and is accessible via transit or bike. The Lloyd District to the west is a regional commercial district that is transitioning from an auto-era shopping mall to a mixed-use urban center. NE Broadway is the neighborhood's 'Main Street' and has a mix of retail, professional service, and entertainment businesses. East of NE  $28^{\rm th}$  Avenue is a major shopping district with two full-service grocery stores, a variety store, and retail services. Proximity to these amenities makes Sullivan's Gulch one of the City's most accessible neighborhoods.

Sullivan's Gulch was platted at a time when there were no cars. It has an excellent pedestrian framework. Block lengths on north/south streets are 200' long. Block lengths on east/west streets vary: there are 400' super-blocks between NE 17<sup>th</sup> and NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue, 200' blocks from NE 24<sup>th</sup> to NE 28<sup>th</sup> Avenue, and a mix of standard and super-blocks east of NE 28<sup>th</sup> Avenue.

It is easy to ride bikes in the neighborhood. The terrain is relatively flat. There are designated bike routes that pass through the neighborhood, including "The 20's" north/south greenway and east/west bike routes on NE Multnomah Street. There are bike lanes on the Broadway/Weidler Couplet. A major off-street bike trail is envisioned in Sullivan's Gulch through the neighborhood. There are direct linkages to river crossings on the Broadway and Steel bridges.

The neighborhood also has excellent transit service. The MAX light rail station at Holladay Park is an important asset. A new north/south bus route is planned that would travel along NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue and NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue and connect to destinations through the central east-side between Concordia College and Sellwood. High frequency east/west bus service is available most of the day in the NE Broadway/Weidler corridor.

While SG truly is a "20-minute" neighborhood, it is not without transportation challenges. Foremost is transportation safety. Analysis by the City as part of the Vision Zero initiative revealed that the NE

Broadway corridor has the #1 crash rate for bikes, the #5 crash rate for pedestrians, and the #14 crash rate for automobiles city-wide. It is labeled a high crash network street and a priority for safety improvements to reduce the occurrence of injury accidents.

The automobile is currently the neighborhood's primary transportation mode. If our neighborhood and Portland in general are to effectively combat climate change, then we need to find ways to incent the use of alternative transportation modes. People should not feel it necessary to encase themselves in 3000 pounds of steel to travel a few blocks or miles. The following discussion reviews how we intend to respond.

## Broadway/Weidler Corridor

NE Broadway Boulevard is the neighborhood's 'Main Street'. The neighborhood has long favored decoupling Broadway-Weidler and returning it to a two-way street grid. It is designed primarily for cars and functions like a frontage road to I-84. If Broadway is to function as a "Main Street", speeds need to be reduced and traffic needs to be managed in a way that is more compatible with other transportation modes. For reference, the Portland Pedestrian Plan calls for crosswalk spacing not less than 350 feet in major corridors and crosswalks at bus stops.

Pedestrians face a significant challenge navigating the Broadway-Weidler corridor within the neighborhood. In the couplet reach of NE Broadway and Weidler there are only two signalized intersections that pedestrians can reliably use: NE 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue and NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue. There is a signal at NE 24<sup>th</sup> and Broadway, but not at Weidler. The crosswalk on the eastside of NE 24<sup>th</sup> and Broadway is uncomfortable for pedestrians because traffic approaching Broadway intending to turn east have a free-right turn. Visibility is poor at this location and drivers frequently do not stop for pedestrians.

Crossing conditions worsen on Broadway west of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue where a third travel lane is added. It is not possible under state law to install cross walks without a traffic signal or control devise on roads with a three-lane cross section. The east-west block spacing between NE 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue and NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue is >400' and there are bus stops either on Weidler or Broadway at NE 17<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, and 24<sup>th</sup> Avenues. There are no crosswalks at these intersections. To meet the safe crossing guidelines in the Portland Pedestrian Plan, pedestrian crossings are

needed at these intersections. So either the number of lanes needs to be reduced so that crosswalks can be installed, or signals need to be installed.

Pedestrian crossing safety improves on Broadway east of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue, where either crosswalks or signals are present every other block. For bikes, however, conditions become very unsafe. There is not enough road width on Broadway to accommodate vehicle lanes, bike lanes, and on-street parking. The discontinuous nature of local streets north and south of Broadway east of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue makes designating parallel bike-ways challenging.

Finally, traffic speed is a concern on NE Weidler and NE Broadway, especially west of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Pedestrians are intimidated by the speed of traffic on west-bound Broadway after the cross section changes from two-way to one-way traffic. Speeds seem especially high in the stretch between NE 24<sup>th</sup> and NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenues. Speed on east-bound Weidler is a problem at the approach to the NE 24<sup>th</sup> 'chicane', where visibility is limited for both pedestrians and drivers, resulting in crashes by vehicles traveling too fast to make the turn.

## Goals/Actions:

- 1. The lack of safe pedestrian crossings makes walking to destinations on Broadway uncomfortable for residents and especially so for the elderly and for children and students. Traffic signals and/or crosswalks are needed at NE 17<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 22<sup>nd</sup> Avenues on both NE Weidler and Broadway.
- 2. East/west bike safety is a concern in the Broadway/Weidler corridor. Develop new circulation routing for bikes, which could include two-way cycle tracks and routing on parallel residential streets.
- 3. Participate in updating the Broadway-Weidler Corridor Plan.
  Advocate a thorough analysis for decoupling the one-way couplet as the preferred solution.
- 4. Identify and pursue funding for Broadway-Weidler crossing improvements, speed moderations, safety enhancements, as well as street furniture and street trees to enhance the pedestrian environment.

## Safe and Convenient Transportation Options

There still is heavy reliance on cars, even for short trips, but most trips in the neighborhood could be made without driving. Steps can be taken to provide safer more convenient bike and pedestrian links to services to encourage use of these modes. Incentives could be put in place to make using transit, car share, car rental, bike share, and delivery services more convenient than driving. This section reviews options to incent the use of these transportation alternatives.

## Pedestrian Needs

Most sidewalks in the neighborhood are approaching 100-years old. Sidewalks on some blocks are narrow, e.g. on Clackamas Street east of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Settling and tree roots have caused cracking and seasonal ponding that pose trip hazards. Figure 4 shows sidewalk conditions as of Spring 2017.

NE Clackamas Street is the neighborhood's east/west pedestrian spine. It lies halfway between NE Weidler and Multnomah Streets and connects important shopping destinations. Safety improvements have been discussed previously to enhance pedestrian access to NE Broadway between NE 17<sup>th</sup> and NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenues. Figure 5 at the end of this chapter shows proposed locations for crosswalks. Table 5 lists proposed safety remedies.

Table 5 - Pedestrian Crossing Safety Improvements

Primary Street	Cross Street	Preferred	Alternative
NE Broadway	N E 2 2 n d	Hawk Signal	Crosswalk
NE Broadway	NE 19 <sup>th</sup>	Stop Light	Hawk Signal
NE Broadway	NE 17 <sup>th</sup>	Hawk Signal	Crosswalk
NE Weidler	NE 24 <sup>th</sup>	Stop light	Crosswalk
NE Weidler	N E 2 2 n d	Flashing Beacon	Crosswalk
NE Weidler	NE 19 <sup>th</sup>	Hawk signal	Crosswalk
NE Weidler	NE 17 <sup>th</sup>	Flashing Beacon	Crosswalk
NE Multnomah	NE 19 <sup>th</sup>	Crosswalk	
NE 28 <sup>th</sup>	NE Weidler	Crosswalk	

NE 28 <sup>th</sup>	NE Clackamas	Crosswalk	

Another pedestrian challenge is poor visibility after sunset. Newer LED streetlights focus on a "tighter" area than older streetlights. In spring, summer, and fall the tree canopy prevents lighting from reaching beyond their immediate location. Pedestrian lighting is better in winter months when the tree canopy is bare but residents are less inclined to walk in winter. Private lighting illuminates sidewalks in places but it is inconsistent. Pedestrian scale lighting in key locations would improve safety and may help reduce car trips.

#### Recommendations:

- Traffic signals, Hawk Signals, flashing beacons and/or crosswalks, are needed at the locations listed in Table 5.
- Sidewalk replacement/enhancement program focusing on primary pedestrian routes.
- A pedestrian lighting program focusing on primary pedestrian routes.

#### Bike Routes

Sullivan's Gulch major bike routes include:

- NE Multnomah Street east/west bike route, which links the 20's Greenway at NE 26<sup>th</sup> Avenue to the Steel Bridge and Waterfront Esplanade trails.
- The 20's Greenway, which extends north/south through the neighborhood via NE 26<sup>th</sup> Street to Wasco and then east to NE 28<sup>th</sup> Avenue where it continues south across the I-84 / 28<sup>th</sup> Street Bridge into Kerns. The addition of the 'Hawk Signal' at NE 26<sup>th</sup> and NE Broadway has made this an attractive route for cyclists.
- Broadway-Weidler bike lanes between the river and NE 26<sup>th</sup> Avenue.
- The NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue cycle-track and bike lane across the I-84 bridge.

Two of these routes are dangerous. The Broadway / Weidler route is documented by the Vision Zero program to have the highest bike crash rate in the city. This east/west route serves local and commuter bike

traffic through Lloyd, Elliot, Sullivan's Gulch, Irvington, and Grant Park. East of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue the routing is unclear. NE Broadway is not wide enough to accommodate bike lanes. Parallel routing is needed.

A second concern is NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue between NE Broadway and NE Multnomah Street, which provides an important link between the Tillamook Greenway in Irvington and the Ankeny Greenway in Kerns. The bike couplet on the NE 21<sup>st</sup> Street Bridge over I-84 attracts riders to NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue but there are no bike lanes or shared roadway signs n the section between Multnomah and Weidler.

Solutions to these bike safety issues will be analyzed as part of the Broadway/Weidler Corridor Plan update and include:

- Return Broadway and Weidler to two-way streets with an eastbound bike lane on Weidler and a west-bound lane on Broadway;
- · Protect the bike lane on Broadway, as shown below;
- Improve bike safety on NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue between Broadway and Multnomah by extending the two-way cycle-track on one side of the street, and/or
- Lower the speed limit on NE 21st Avenue to 25 MPH and sign this reach as a shared roadway so that bikes can more safely use the shared travel lanes.

Figure 6 - Separated Bike Lane



These bike routes complement the future Sullivan's Gulch Trail, which is envisioned as a regional bike/ped facility running parallel to I-84 in the Gulch. There is no design for this facility at this time. Access to the trail should be provided at Lloyd Blvd/NE 16<sup>th</sup> Avenue, and near the over crossings at NE 21<sup>st</sup>, NE 28<sup>th</sup>, and NE 33<sup>rd</sup> Avenues.

#### Driving Alternatives

To incent car-free travel in the neighborhood, the following strategies are recommended.

- Adopt design guidelines that include spaces for car share/taxi loading for developments in RM 2, 3, and 4 and mixed use zones.
- Work with the city to attract rental car locations to the neighborhood.
- Work with TriMet to develop a transit pass program for neighborhood residents and to improve weather protection at neighborhood bus stops.

 Extend the Bike Town boundary to include all of SGN west of NE 33rd Avenue.

## Parking

City policy favoring affordable housing allows construction of high-density residential developments with limited or no parking. This is likely to impact the on-street parking supply-demand relationship unless more residents choose not to own cars. Demand on parking supply also is affected by commuters and construction workers who park in the neighborhood while at work.

Strategies to address the growing parking shortage include:

- Enacting a parking district(s) to preserve the limited on-street supply for residents.
- Offering transit passes, car share membership, and bike share membership at reduced cost, especially for residents that do not own cars.

#### Transportation Options Goals/Actions:

- 1. Invest in alternative mode infrastructure so that Sullivan's Gulch may become a Portland neighborhood with the lowest automotive use and ownership.
- 2. Form a work group to investigate incentives for transit, bike share, car share, taxi, and other alternative transportation service options in conjunction with other inner-city neighborhoods.
- 3. Develop direct safe access to neighborhood services destinations for non-auto users.
  - a. Work with the PBOT to implement City policies and invest in pedestrian safety enhancements with an emphasis on routes to neighborhood service districts.
  - b. Work with PBOT to develop neighborhood-based financing tools for addressing sidewalk safety and pedestrian lighting needs.
  - c. Work with PBOT to resolve bike route safety concerns on NE 21st Avenue and Broadway/Weidler as part of the Broadway/Weidler Corridor Plan Update.
- 4. Work with PBOT to establish one or more residential parking districts in Sullivan's Gulch.

#### **Transit**

#### Bus Service

Three bus routes serve Sullivan's Gulch. Figure 7 shows existing bus routes and stops. SGN and neighborhoods to the north are served by the #17 route, which runs down Broadway from NE 24th Avenue into the central city and downtown. The #77 bus is one of the longest routes in the region. It extends from Troutdale to Montgomery Park. Both the 17 and 77 routes run on frequent service intervals during the day (i.e. every 10 minutes).

The #70 route provides north/south service between Concordia and Milwaukie. The route is somewhat circuitous through SGN and service frequency is not high. This route has long-range importance, however, because it may someday be realigned through the central eastern part of the city via 20's avenue blocks. This route is referred to as 'Line Y' in TriMet's long-range service plan. A 20's blocks alignment would provide a north/south transit link to the main east/west districts south of SGN, including Burnside, Glisan, Stark, Belmont, Hawthorn, Division, and Powell. It also would maintain the transit links we now have to the districts north of SGN, including Freemont, Alberta, Killingsworth, Ainsworth, and Dekum Streets.

#### MAX Service

SGN is within walking distance of the Lloyd Max Station on the south side of Holladay Park. SGNA supports efforts to expand MAX ridership and enhance service. The neighborhood in particular supports construction of a subway through downtown that would begin at portals in Sullivan's Gulch near Lloyd Center. Holladay Park could be a suitable construction staging area for the subway and for a station beneath the park. A subway would let TriMet increase east-west service frequency, which now is constrained by the Steel Bridge. It also would provide a safe reliable connection under the river after a major earthquake. Expanding MAX capacity also may alleviate congestion on NE Broadway/Weidler and allow the couplet to be reconfigured for two-way traffic.

The neighborhood supports adding a MAX station at NE 28<sup>th</sup> Street. This stop would become feasible with construction of a subway that would reduce travel time through downtown. A station at NE 28<sup>th</sup> would be proximate a major shopping district serving east-side transit riders.

There currently is no plan for a central city subway system. That plan also will need to consider repurposing the MAX tracks after the subway is constructed. One consideration should be to run streetcars on the central city fixed guide routes, including through the Lloyd District to Holladay Park.

#### Streetcar Service

SGNA does not favor streetcar expansion up NE Broadway to Hollywood. This service would be redundant to the existing frequent service bus lines that serve the corridor. We support streetcar expansion in the warehouse district that lies on the south side of I-84 up to Sandy Blvd. This area is not served by transit, has many buildings with redevelopment potential, and is better able to finance the service.

## Transit Goals/Actions:

- 1. Support expansion of frequent service on the #77 bus route.
- 2. Support continued frequent service on the #17 bus route.
- 3. Support the addition of the Line Y route to provide a north/south through route in the 20's streets on the east side.
- 4. Support consolidation of bus stops on the #70 bus route to improve service reliability as follows:
  - a. Eliminate stops on NE  $21^{st}$  at Weidler in favor of stops on NE  $21^{st}$  at Clackamas.
  - b. Shift the stop at NE  $22^{nd}$  to the east side of the intersection and close the stop at NE  $24^{th}$  and Weidler.
  - c. Shift the stop on Multnomah near NE  $21^{\rm st}$  Street to the west to pair with the stop at NE  $19^{\rm th}$  Avenue.
  - d. Shift the stop on Multnomah at NE  $16^{\rm th}$  Avenue to the west side of the intersection.

# Sullivan Street Freight Crossing

The only at-grade freight crossing on the BNSF line between I-205 and the river is at Sullivan Street in the Gulch. Sullivan Street goes under I-84 and provides access to a small industrial area. This area could be served from the north via NE  $30^{\rm th}$  Avenue, which would eliminate the need for the at-grade crossing. Access via the Sullivan Street underpass

could be maintained for emergency use but otherwise be closed. This would eliminate the need for warning whistles as trains pass through Sullivan Gulch and a significant source of noise.

Figure 7 - Sullivan Street R.R. Crossing



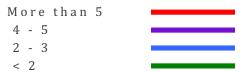
#### Sullivan Street Goals/Actions:

1. Work with development interests and the Kerns Neighborhood to eliminate the Sullivan Street Rail Crossing.

Figure 8 - SGN Sidewalk Condition Assessment

Spring - 2017

#### Condition and safety issues/block



Condition issues may include broken or uneven concrete, ponding, intrusive vegetation or tree root buckling, missing ADA ramps, etc. Sidewalks less then 6' wide on designated pedestrian routes are deemed obsolete. Primary Routes include NE Clackamas east/west, and NE19th,  $21^{\rm st}$ ,  $22^{\rm nd}$ ,  $24^{\rm th}$ ,  $26^{\rm th}$ ,  $28^{\rm th}$ , and  $30^{\rm th}$ .



Figure 9 - Proposed Pedestrian Crosswalks

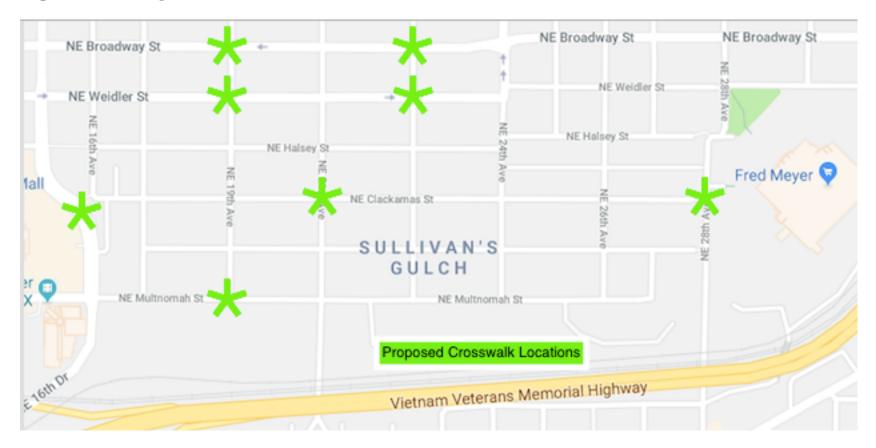


Figure 10 - Bike/Ped Routes

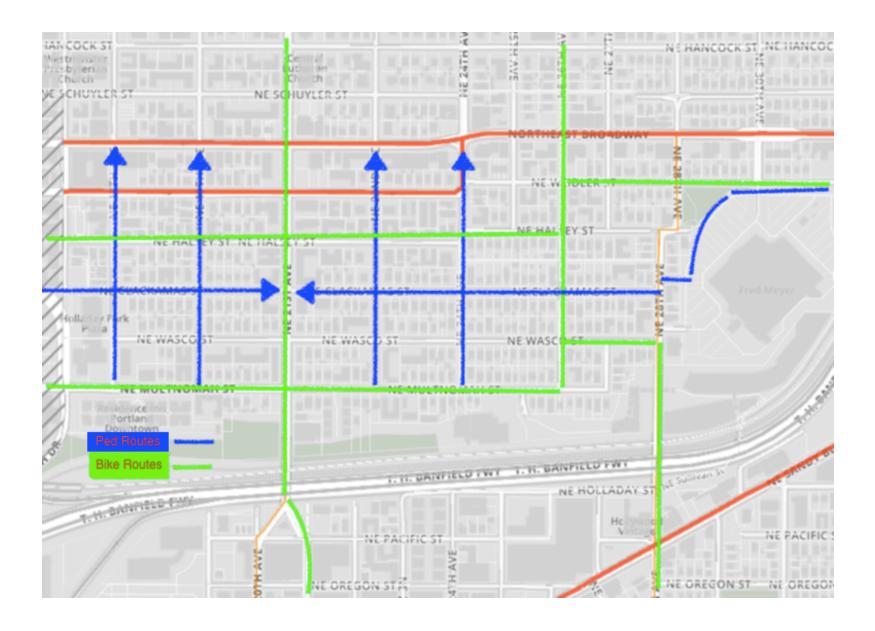


Figure 11 - Transit Service



Source: TriMet - 2018

## 5. Housing

### **Existing Conditions**

The 1987 neighborhood plan focused on strategies to sustain the neighborhood's mix of residential uses and to preserve remaining single-family homes. The area east of NE 21st Avenue is zoned R-2.5, which is the City's highest density single-family zone. Initially this stabilized home ownership and contributed to significant preservation of single-family homes.

In 2010 there were ~1880 dwelling units in SGN. Roughly 30% of the units were built before 1940. Another 30% were built between 1960 and 1969. The overall housing inventory has increased significantly in recent years with construction of several large developments. The average age of our housing stock has gotten younger. In 2010, the average dwelling unit was first occupied in 1960. That date will shift significantly in the next census.

The following table shows some of the larger development projects that have been or are under construction and will come 'on-line' by the end of the decade. It does not include ADU's or SFR homes that have been broken up into rental units.

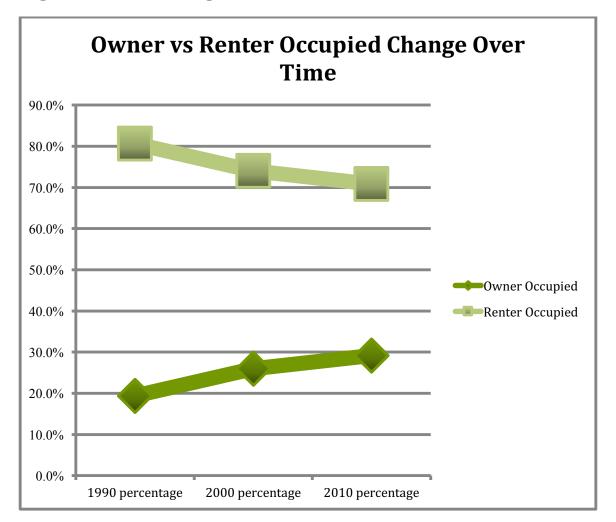
Table 6 - New Housing Construction: 2010 to 2018

Project	Tenure	Units	Completion
		(net)	
Grant Park Village -	Rental	378	Ph. I - 2013
Phase 1 and 2			Ph. II - 2018
Twenty-Twenty	0 w n e r	160	2019 (est)
28 <sup>th</sup> /Halsey	Rental	53	2020 (est)
Apartments			
Holladay Park Plaza	Rental	9	2016
House Conversions:	0 w n e r	4	2019
1 to 2			
Total		604	

#### Tenure

Tenure refers to the mix of owner vs renter households. Figure 8 shows that home ownership in SGN increased between 1990 and 2012 but this trend could reverse in the next decade with the influx of new apartments.

Figure 12 - Housing Tenure Trend: 1990 - 2010



Source: US Census

Home ownership, while a smaller percentage of the housing mix, provides outsized important to neighborhood stability and identity. Efforts need to be taken to maintain a significant presence of home ownership in the tenure mix. What steps can the neighborhood take to encourage more home ownership even as densities increase?

### Residential Design Guidelines

SGN is generally supportive of city initiatives to increase housing choice and density in residential zones. There is a concern, however, that the proposed regulations will lead to an increase in the demolition of single-family homes. Of greater concern is that the replacement housing will not be in character with the rest of the neighborhood. The neighborhood supports adoption of voluntary design guidelines to provide a basic reference for the desired type and quality of infill and redevelopment.

#### **Homeless Residents**

SGN has had a significant population of houseless residents for a very long time. In the 1930's during the depression the Gulch was known as 'Hooverville' with dozens of makeshift shanties and temporary encampments. Today the problem is on the rise again as more and more households find themselves unable to afford market-rate housing or loose their housing to mental health and substance addiction.

- 1. Support city initiatives to incent development of affordable housing within the neighborhood.
- 2. Adopt a preference for higher density owner-occupied development in order to maintain the neighborhood's 30% home ownership tenure ratio.
- 3. Establish a "Homeless Committee" to advise the Board on strategies for helping persons in the neighborhood who cannot find affordable housing.

# 6. 'Main Street' Economy

SGN's economic center is our main street – NE Broadway. To achieve our climate action and livability goals we need a strong vibrant main street that offers a diversity of goods and services that residents can access without driving. The goods and services available on NE Broadway between NE 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue and NE 36<sup>th</sup> Avenue are what make SGN a "20-minute neighborhood". Of concern today is the number of main street businesses that have closed. Businesses like the Irvington Market, Grand Central Baking, Umpqua Bank, coffee shops, pet stores, restaurants, and the QFC in Grant Park made it possible to live car-free. It appears that in spite of all the good intensions in the city-plan and public pronouncements it is now more difficult to live car-free in Sullivan's Gulch than it was 10 years ago.

SGN supports the City's land use plan, which calls for high density housing in high-capacity transit corridors like Broadway-Weidler. The <u>1996 Broadway/Weidler Corridor Plan</u> was developed with this land use framework in mind. It also called for an attractive, pedestrian oriented street environment so that patrons and residents feel comfortable spending time on Broadway. Unfortunately, the transportation investments in the corridor have not supported this vision. Broadway remains an auto-oriented commuter corridor.

In addition, recent city-approved developments subject to design review have not delivered a pedestrian oriented street frontage. This is especially true for Grant Park Village that, while a welcome addition in terms of new housing, delivered a narrow walled-in streetscape. There are no pedestrian amenities. On street parking was removed on Broadway, which had buffered pedestrians from traffic. It is especially disappointing because the initial site plan called for a deeper setback, preserved on-street parking, and included a wider sidewalk with room for outdoor seating, landscaping, and other amenities typically found in an inviting main street.

We want to see the City truly embrace our goal for a main street that supports a "20 minute" neighborhood. Features that are needed include:

- 10' 12' Sidewalks:
- Angled building entrances at corners;

- On-street parking, landscape planters and/or a planting strip to buffer pedestrians from traffic;
- Street furnishings and seating that provide opportunities for people to stop, sit, and interact;
- Bike routes that provide safe access to Broadway but not necessarily on Broadway.

- 1. Develop a vision for a walkable pedestrian-oriented main street environment for NE Broadway with neighborhood oriented service nodes: one east of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue serving eastern SGN and Grant Park, and one west of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue serving central SGN and southeast Irvington.
  - a. Establish a joint neighborhood committee to work with the City on design guidelines for neighborhood service nodes. The Crandell/Arambula Quick Response report from the 1990s and the <u>Division Street Design Collective</u> may provide insights.
- 2. Seek a more cooperative and collaborative relationship with the business community to foster investment and service diversity in the district.

# 7. Recreation/Open Space

#### **Parks**

Open space and recreation resources are limited in SGN. The lack of undeveloped land in the neighborhood makes siting recreation facilities difficult. Portland Parks claims that Holladay Park, which abuts the neighborhood boundary on the east, is our neighborhood park. Holladay Park, however, is not a neighborhood park. It is adjacent to SGN by way of neighborhood boundary gerrymandering in the 1980s. At that time, in response to a statement in the SGN Plan that the neighborhood lacked a park, the City changed SGN's boundary to include the Lloyd Center parking lot east of Holladay Park. Holladay Park, however, is not accessible to most of the neighborhood. The park is only within ½ mile for residents west of 19th Avenue.

In reality Holladay Park is an enigma. It functions as a landscaped walkway for shoppers headed to and from the Max Station. It provides green space for visitors to the Hilton Double Tree Hotel and respite for residents of the Lloyd District. It is used for seasonal events like summer concerts and the STP bike ride. But it lacks the amenities and proximity expected in a neighborhood park. The Park Bureau has struggled to find an identity for Holladay Park.

The private open space adjacent to Fred Meyer at NE 28<sup>th</sup> and Weidler functions more like a neighborhood park. There is a play area and a grass lawn for relaxing and where pet owners run their dogs. The site is private property and could be repurposed for development if the store changes hands. The Parks Bureau should consider this site for acquisition.

## Open Space and Tree Canopy

The neighborhood's public rights of way may provide opportunities to 'green' the urban environment. Halsey Street for example is quite wide between NE 19<sup>th</sup> and NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenues. The parking strip could be extended in locations for benches or the addition of 'rain gardens'. The alleyways between NE Halsey and Ne Clackamas from NE 24<sup>th</sup> to NE 28<sup>th</sup> may also provide an opportunity to enhance the urban environment by shifting parking to the alley and make space for 'rain gardens'.

The only significant open space remaining in the neighborhood is on the north slope of the Gulch. The land below the Residence Inn Hotel south of Multnomah Street is zoned Open Space. The steeply sloped terraces below NE Multnomah east of NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue is zoned for Residential or Industrial use but an environmental conservation overlay limits development. Portland E-Zone Map 430-3 shows Site 139 – Sullivan's Gulch as a Conservation Area.

The neighborhood has been working to improve its tree canopy. SGN is home to several large heritage trees, for example the Tulip Poplars at NE 24th and Clackamas Street. But overall the tree canopy needs improvement. Many of the neighborhood's older elms and big leaf maple trees are diseased and likely will be removed in the coming decades. The following graphic shows the difference in tree canopy between Irvington/Grant Park and SGN.



Figure 13 - SGN vs. Irvington Tree Canopy

Source: Portland Forestry

#### Historic Resources

The Architectural Heritage Society periodically offers a guided walk through Sullivan's Gulch and features homes with architectural significance, of which there are many. One of these is the home on the southeast corner of NE 16<sup>th</sup> and Halsey that was the residence of Bonnie Mentzer, a patron of the Grace Memorial Episcopal Church and long-time Multnomah County legal aid attorney. The Metropolitan Community

Church at the SE corner of NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Broadway dates to the early 1900's. President Grover Cleveland attended the church's dedication. It was recently sold and is to be converted to an alternative use.

- 1. Work with the Portland Parks Bureau to secure a neighborhood park in SGN.
- 2. Work with Grace Memorial Church to secure protection for the Bonnie Mentzer House at NE 16<sup>th</sup> and Halsey Street.
- 3. Advocate for continued protection of the open space and wildlife habitat in the Gulch while also promoting design and development of the Sullivan's Gulch Trail.
- 4. Support efforts by 'Friends of Trees' to increase tree canopy within the neighborhood.

## 8. Climate Action

In addition to the climate action strategies that are advanced directly within the Land use, Transportation, and Housing chapters, the plan also supports an integrated set of actions that respond to climate change. The overall strategy is predicated on advancing changes on multiple fronts that collectively enable residents to reduce their carbon footprint. The two areas of greatest significance are investing in transportation infrastructure to make it easier for people not to drive to neighborhood destinations, and investing in the NE Broadway main street district so that residents are able to obtain essential goods and services locally without having to use a car.

In the built environment, SGN supports greater investment in the energy efficiency of existing buildings, in the use of solar collectors on residential and commercial rooftops, and the opportunity to invest in community solar. The later will require utility companies to open up opportunities for community investment in large-scale solar generation projects. We urge PacifiCorp to take immediate steps to launch community solar demonstration projects that area residents can invest in.

- 1. Support investments that make it easier for people to live without a car within the neighborhood, such as installing pull outs for taxi/car share drop use fronting multi-family/mixed use buildings, and on-street taxi/car share pick locations.
- 2. Support for investments in residential solar and protection for solar access as well as the addition of roof-top solar on large commercial buildings like Fred Meyer.
- 3. Support the development of a heating district if economically feasible.
- 4. Support for a Community Solar initiative that would allow local sponsorship and investment in larger-scale solar energy projects.

# Appendix A

### SGNA's Neighborhood Plan History

The Sullivan's Gulch Neighborhood Action Plan (Plan) has its roots in a Portland State University study in 1982 called *Sullivan's Gulch - Problems, Issues, and Strategies*. That study used a neighborhood perception survey, a land-use survey, and statistical analyses of Census and other data to formulate land use strategies.

In 1985 neighborhood residents, property owners, and businesses secured an Oregon Communities Foundation grant that produced the first neighborhood plan. Portland State University graduate planning students provided technical assistance. The neighborhood plan was adopted by the Sullivan's Gulch Neighborhood Association (SGNA) on June 28, 1986.

The Sullivan's Gulch Plan was ahead of its time. It was completed before Portland adopted a city-wide land use plan. In the fall of 1986, a collaboration between the SGNA and the Portland Bureau of Planning led to a refinement of the neighborhood plan, which ensured consistency with Portland's Comprehensive Land Use Plan. On July 16, 1987, after Planning Commission review, the City Commission adopted the goal, policies and objectives in the Sullivan's Gulch Neighborhood Plan as a part of the Portland Comprehensive Land Use Plan.

In early 2000, the SGNA Land Use and Transportation Committee (LUTC) chaired by Lynn Coward reviewed the 1987 plan. They found altered conditions in the neighborhood and adjusted the focus of the neighborhood plan to address emerging trends and issues. These included the displacement of residents and businesses, which was attributed to rising land costs, an increase in homeless persons, and a 25% increase in traffic in the Broadway/Weidler corridor. The plan was modified to include:

An urban design vision for the NE Weidler corridor from NE 16<sup>th</sup>
 Avenue to NE 24<sup>th</sup> Avenue predicated on decoupling Broadway and
 Weidler;

- A call for strengthening NE Broadway as a "Main Street" business district, including steps to ensure that redevelopment of the Albina Fuel site did not undermine the business district;
- A call to reclaim public rights of way as a means for 'greening' the neighborhood;
- A call to reduce transient parking, especially west of NE 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue;
- A call to address gentrification and the displacement of affordable housing, which threatened neighborhood diversity.