Montgomery Park to Hollywood Transit and Land Use Development Strategy

Northwest Portland Opportunities and Challenges Report

April 26, 2021

Prepared for: City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability
City of Portland Bureau of Transportation

Final Report

ECONorthwest
ECONOMICS · FINANCE · PLANNING

KOIN Center
222 SW Columbia Street
Suite 1600
Portland, OR 97201
503-222-6060

This page intentionally blank

Table of Contents

This page intentionally blank

1. Executive Summary

This report analyzes the potential development outcomes of four different land use and urban design scenarios for the Northwest Portland portion of the Montgomery Park to Hollywood Transit and Land Use Development Strategy. The purpose of this analysis is to understand how the impacts and implications of different land use scenarios and development outcomes could respond to expanded transit service through an extension of the existing Northwest Streetcar alignment. While development would occur under all of the four land use scenarios evaluated, the outcomes for commercial development, residential development, and value created to fund public benefits varies between the scenarios.

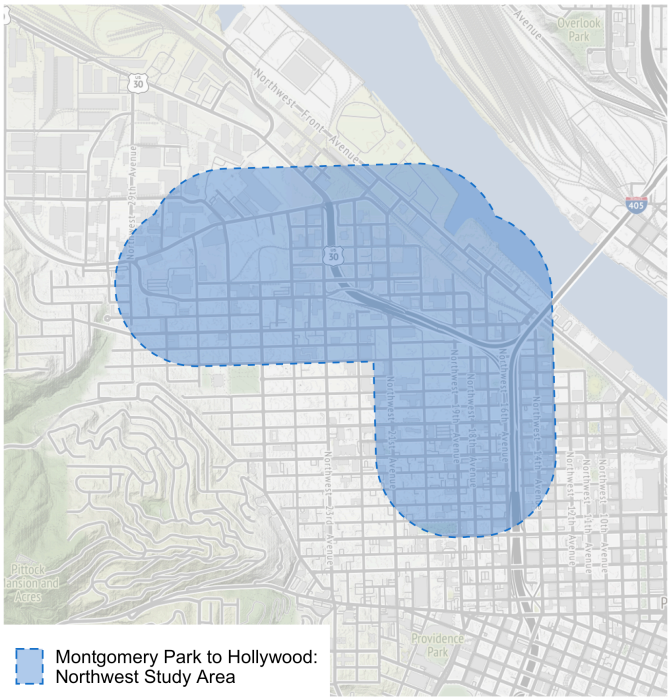
- Development of industrial, employment, mixed-use, and residential prototypes are all feasible at varying levels in the study area
- Low density traditional industrial development types have limited feasibility in the study area due to a combination of relatively low rents and high existing land values
- All urban design and land use scenarios generated residual land value that could be captured to support public benefits
- The mixed-use land use scenario resulted in the least amount of industrial job growth and created the most amount of residual land value through land use changes
- The enhanced industrial results indicate industrial job growth similar to that of the employment scenario but results in the lowest residual land value created of the scenarios that could be available to capture for public benefits.
- The Mixed-Use Scenario creates the most amount of residual land value from land use changes that could be captured to fund public benefits and also results in the least number of jobs created in the district due to the introduction of residential allowances, which compete for land and limit the growth of industrial and office jobs.
- The hybrid enhanced industrial and mixed-use scenario best balances goals for limiting impacts to industrial employment in the district, allowing transit-supportive development to serve future streetcar service, and increasing the supply of affordable housing through the Inclusionary Housing Program.
- Increasing the height maximum to 75 feet to allow for seven-story development in the mixed-use zoned portions of the study area increases development feasibility, affordable and market rate housing production, and the potential for community benefits.
- Deeper affordable housing set-aside targets above 12% of units at 60% AMI create development financing challenges where project revenues cannot support debt service requirements. Deeper affordable housing requirements would cause feasibility challenges without incentives to support increase in net operating income.

2. Project purpose

The purpose of this analysis is to understand how land use policy alternatives play out in different market conditions and zoning designations in response to the introduction of streetcar in Northwest Portland. This analysis was structured to highlight the outcomes of land use scenarios and provide information to help the City of Portland answer the following questions:

- How much development of different types is feasible for the alternative land use scenarios?
- What are the tradeoffs associated with changing land use allowances in the Northwest District?
- What level of change for employment and housing could be possible in the district if zoning permitted higher density employment and residential uses and development?
- What are the impacts of development under the different land use scenarios to existing industrial employment in the district?
- How much value (defined as residual land value) is created from zoning changes in the land use scenarios?
- How much value (defined as residual land value) could be captured in the district from land use changes that could help support public benefits?

Figure 1. Montgomery Park to Hollywood – Northwest Study Area Boundaries



Source: ECONorthwest

3. Overview of Process

The development feasibility and land use outcomes analysis was structured to evaluate various land use and urban design scenarios in collaboration with the consultant team urban design lead Perkins+Will, city staff from the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability and the Bureau of Transportation, and the Montgomery Park to Hollywood Project Working Group. In September 2019 the City of Portland published the Northwest Portland Streetcar Extension and Land Use Alternatives Analysis that summarized preliminary findings about how land use changes and streetcar investment might support economic development, equity, and climate change goals, including the potential creation of affordable housing and job sites. This city-led analysis identified preliminary questions and trade-offs around streetcar investment and land use changes in Northwest Portland that became the basis for further evaluation of streetcar alignment and land use decisions.

Figure 2. Spectrum of Potential Land Use Changes

Source: City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability

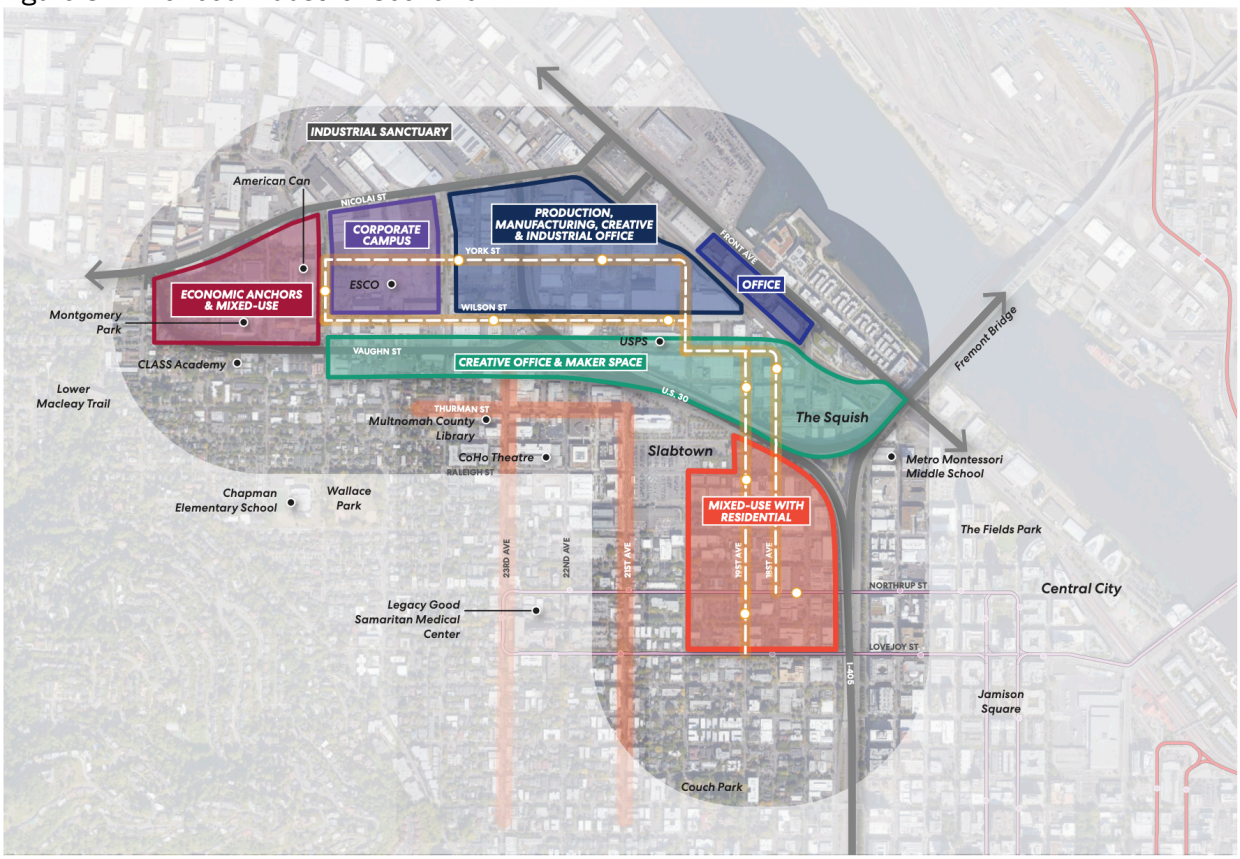
Relationship to the Urban Design Process

Perkins+Will developed three initial urban design concepts to further explore urban form, transportation, and public realm outcomes for each of the land use scenarios in Northwest Portland. Perkins+Will built on the land use scenarios previously analyzed by City of Portland staff with a deeper dive into block and site level impacts of transportation investments and land use changes to identify opportunities to integrate different land use scenarios from various streetcar alignment options.

Urban Design Scenario 1: Enhanced Industrial

The intent of the enhanced industrial scenario was to evaluate an industrially focused land use pattern that allows for more flexibility for industrial uses, introduces the concept of transit streets to the district, and allows for more intense employment uses than currently allowed in around the ESCO site.

Figure 3. Enhanced Industrial Scenario

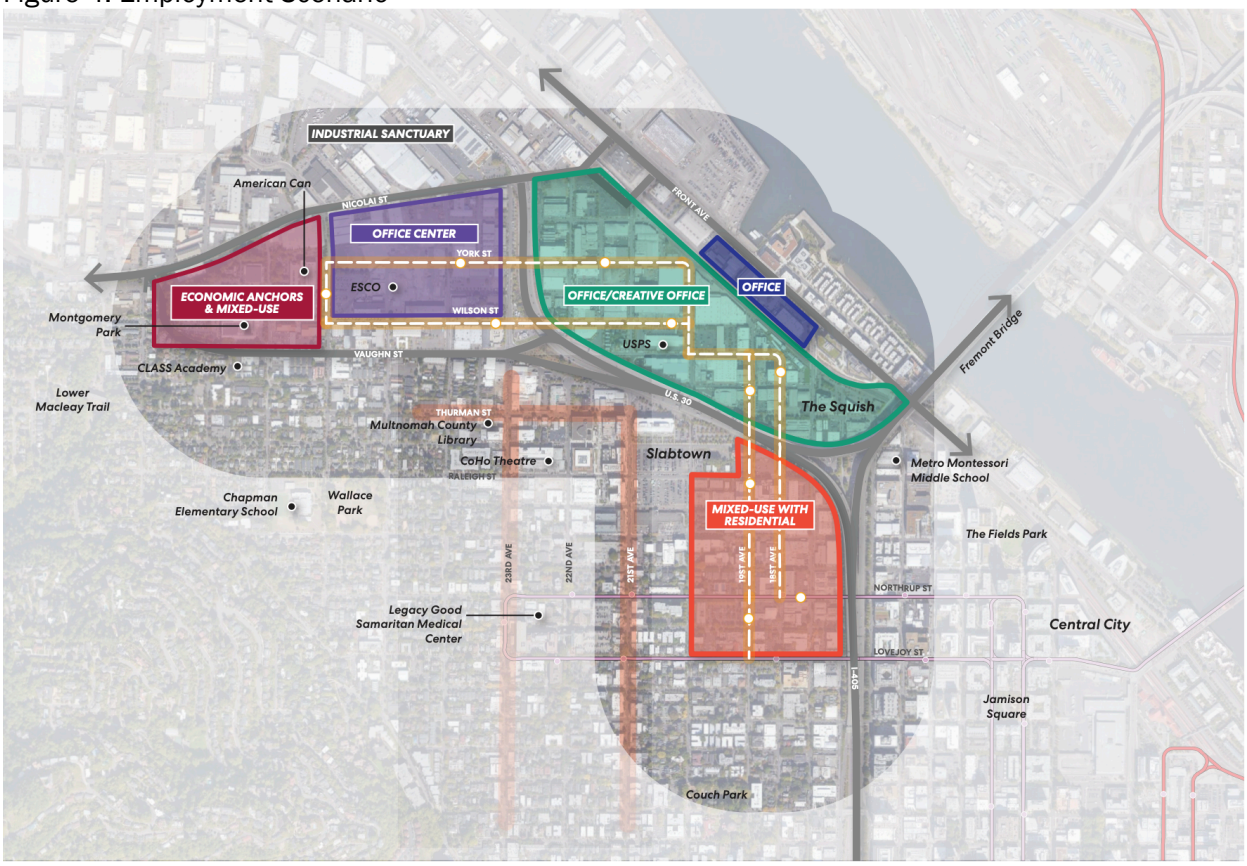


Source: Perkins+Will

Urban Design Scenario 2: Employment

The intent of the employment scenario was to evaluate a denser employment-focused land use pattern that allows for higher density employment uses, broader office allowances across the district. This scenario also introduces a more focused pedestrian environment with public spaces connecting the district.

Figure 4. Employment Scenario

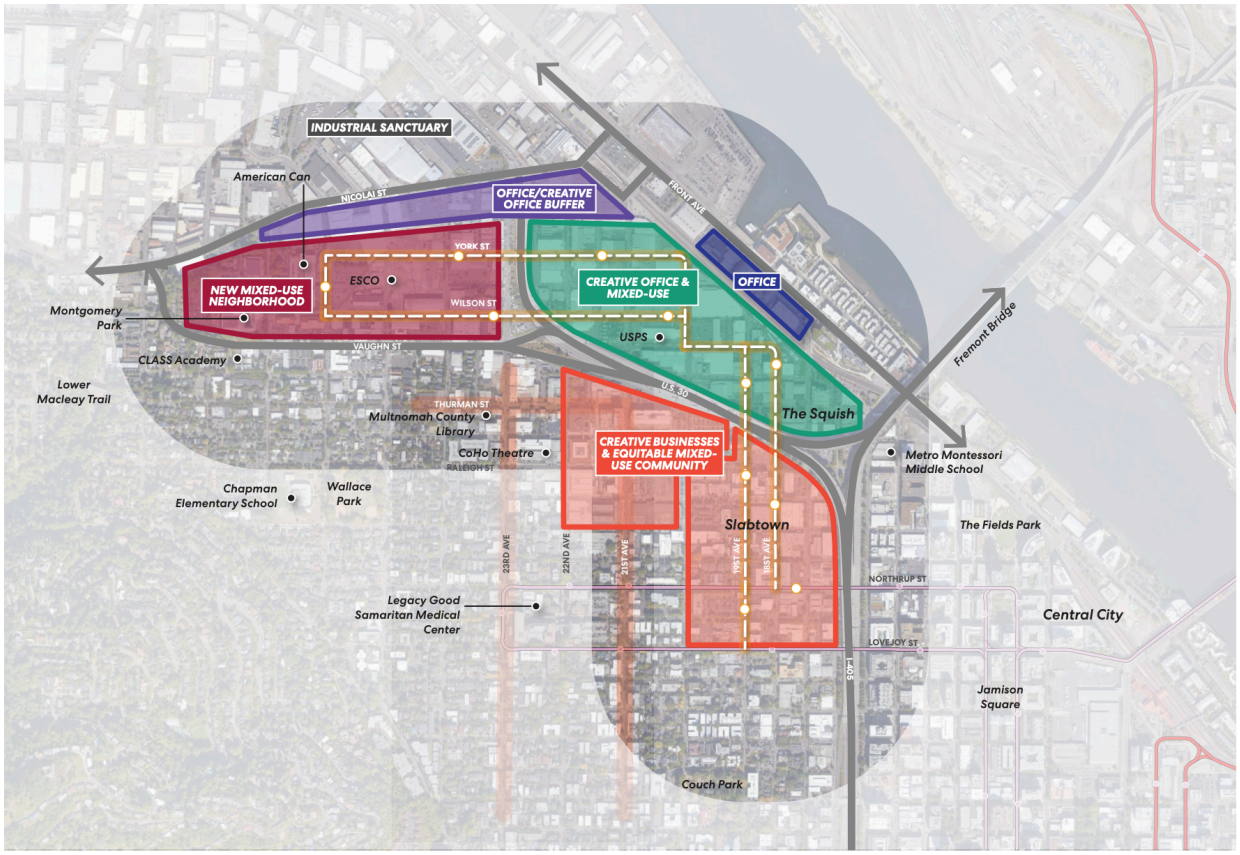


Source: Perkins+Will

Urban Design Scenario 3: Mixed-Use Scenario

The intent of the mixed-use scenario was to evaluate a land use pattern that allows for residential and mixed-use development more broadly throughout the district, a focus on optimizing residential allowances to leverage more affordable housing, and adds a broader variety of public spaces and community facilities.

Figure 5. Mixed-Use Scenario

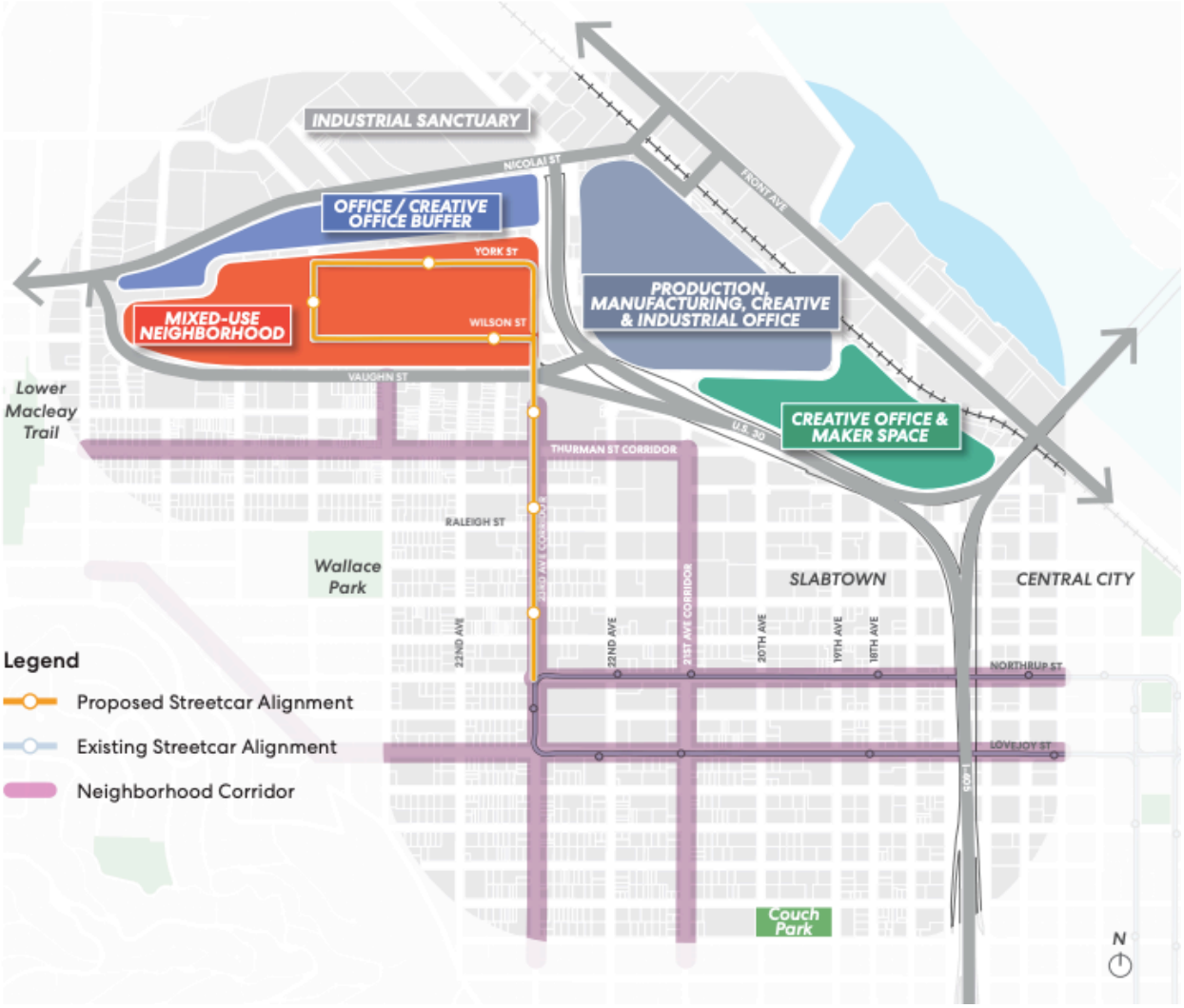


Source: Perkins+Will

Urban Design Scenario 4: Hybrid Industrial and Mixed-Use Scenario

A fourth "hybrid" scenario was also developed as an outcome of initial evaluation of the previous three scenarios. The intent of the hybrid industrial mixed-use scenario was to evaluate a land use pattern that allows for residential and mixed-use development west of NW 23rd Avenue while maintaining a primary industrial land use function in the portion of the study area east of Highway 30. This scenario focuses the areas of change around Montgomery Park and the ESCO site.

Figure 6. Hybrid Industrial and Mixed-Use Scenario



Source: Perkins+Will

Summary of Land Use Scenarios Evaluated

This land use and development analysis evaluated, within the study area, the cumulative impacts of land use changes between the four urban design scenarios in addition to a baseline scenario that reflects current Comprehensive Plan and zoning designations. Detailed information about the zoning designations used to evaluate the land use scenarios and development prototypes evaluated within zoning designations is available in Table 3 and the Analysis Approach and Methodology section of this report.

Baseline Scenario – This scenario evaluated the development outcomes of existing zoning throughout the study area. The baseline scenario was the comparison by which all other land use scenarios were evaluated. This scenario represents a predominantly industrial zoning pattern in the area north of NW Vaughn Street and includes IH, IG, EG, and EX zones. The baseline scenario represents development outcomes that are market feasible under existing zoning, not current employment or housing units on the ground in the study area today.

Enhanced Industrial Scenario – This scenario evaluated an industrial-focused zoning pattern but allowed more flexibility for creative office in the industrial zones. The enhanced industrial allowances evaluated are based of the current IG zone allowances in the Central Eastside developed for the Southeast Quadrant Plan and the Central City 2035 Plan.

Employment Scenario – This scenario evaluated more intense employment uses including modified office allowances in existing IG zones and increased density to support traditional and campus office type uses on larger sites throughout the study area. This scenario evaluated a mix of EG-type zoning mapped throughout the study area. A more intense EX-type zone with no housing allowed was evaluated for the ESCO site and surrounding area.

Mixed-Use Scenario – This scenario evaluated a broader mix of uses including residential, office, retail, and industrial. This scenario allowed residential uses broadly throughout the district with limitations on residential development for areas adjacent to NW Nicolai Street and between the rail line and NW Front Avenue. This scenario evaluated a broader mix of CM2, CM3, and EX-type zones that were mapped more broadly across the study area.

Hybrid Mixed-Use and Industrial Scenario – This scenario tested a hybrid of the Enhanced Industrial Scenario and the Mixed-use Scenario. In this scenario, the area North of I-405 and East of Highway 30 was limited to enhanced industrial allowances, including industrial office allowances, while the remainder of the study area bounded by NW Vaughn Street, NW Nicolai Street, and Highway 30 was evaluated using mixed-use and residential prototypes. This scenario evaluated a mix of industrial and mixed-use zones including IG, EG, CM2, CM3, and EX. This scenario also evaluated higher height allowances for the EX zone in the core areas of the ESCO and Montgomery Park parcels that would allow up to seven story developments within a maximum height of 75 feet.

4. Key Findings

For each of the scenarios evaluated, we summarized the total development outcomes including residual land value created, impact to jobs by type, change in housing production, and affordable units produced under an inclusionary housing program. These numbers represent what we call market supportive capacity. In other words, if unlimited market demand under each of these scenarios existed today, this is a realistic range of development outcomes that could be supported under current market conditions. Summarizing development impacts in this way allows staff, community stakeholders, and decisions makers to weigh the relative trade-offs of each land use scenario by comparing outcomes. For example, the residual land value created totals represent the increment of land value that is created from land use changes that can potentially be captured to fund public benefits. The results of this analysis are summarized in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Summary of Scenario Results

Enhanced Industrial Scenario –The Enhanced Industrial Scenario creates the least amount of residual land value, $22 million, of all the scenarios evaluated. The Enhanced Industrial Scenario creates the second highest number of new jobs split mostly between office and industrial sectors. This scenario creates 930 additional industrial jobs through intensification of existing zones that are still broadly limited to industrial uses. Additionally, there are over 1,390 office jobs forecast in this scenario that are the result of the zoning allowances for office and industrial office uses.

Employment Scenario– The Employment Scenario creates the second least amount of land residual value, $60 million, of all the scenarios evaluated. The Employment Scenario creates the most jobs of all the scenarios evaluated with nearly 2,370 new jobs, 58 percent of which are in office sectors. This scenario also sees an increase in industrial jobs, 930 new jobs, due to the increased allowances in the enhanced industrial type zoning east of Highway 30. This scenario also adds 820 new residential units from the introduction of allowances for mixed-use and residential development on the north side of Vaughn between 23rd and 27th.

Mixed-Use Scenario – The Mixed-Use Scenario creates the most amount of residual land value, $150 million, from land use changes that could be captured to fund public benefits. The Mixed-Use Scenario also creates the most amount of new market rate and affordable units under the inclusionary housing program.

However, this scenario sees the least amount of total job creation in the district. The small increase in jobs and employment development are the result of current industrial uses being redeveloped for residential and mixed-uses. Additionally, when redevelopment does occur, new jobs are more likely to be limited to ground floor commercial uses that are likely to be home to service sector jobs such as retail, personal services, or restaurants but could accommodate office and institutional jobs.

Hybrid Mixed-Use and Industrial Scenario – The Hybrid Mixed-Use and Industrial Scenario creates the second highest amount of residual land value, $103 million, that could be captured for community benefits. This scenario generates 2,030 new market rate residential units in addition to 190 affordable units through the inclusionary housing program.

While this scenario creates 1,790 new jobs, a lot of which are in retail, personal services, and restaurants, it also sees a moderate increase to the total number of industrial jobs in the district. Notably, by excluding residential allowances in the area east of Highway 30 and allowing for intensification of industrial uses in current IG1 zones in combination with applying mixed-use allowances to larger sites on the west side of the study area, this scenario has a moderate net impact to the industrial jobs in the district.

Table 1: Land Use Scenario Results (Net Changes from Baseline Zoning)

	Enhanced Industrial Scenario	Employment Scenario	Mixed Use Scenario (10% set-aside)	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (10% set-aside)
Residual Land Value	$22 M	$60 M	$150 M	$103 M
Industrial Jobs	930	930	250	560
Office Jobs	1,390	1,390	490	960
Retail / Restaurant Jobs	10	50	340	270
Net Job Changes	2,330	2,370	1,080	1,790
Market Rate Housing Unit Changes	190	820	3,110	2,030
Net Affordable Unit Changes	20	50	315	190

Table 2. Land Use Scenario Results (Total Values for Each Scenario Evaluated)

	Baseline	Enhanced Industrial Scenario	Employment Scenario	Mixed Use Scenario (10% set-aside)	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (10% set-aside)
Residual Land Value	$607 M	$629 M	$667 M	$757 M	$710 M
Industrial Jobs	370	1,300	1,300	630	930
Office Jobs	550	1,940	1,940	1,040	1,510
Retail / Restaurant Jobs	400	410	450	730	660
Market Rate Housing Units	10,810	10,990	11,630	13,920	12,840
Affordable Housing Units	940	960	990	1,250	1,130

This analysis also evaluated the impact of increasing the height maximum allowed in the EX zone in the study area in both the Mixed Use and Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use Scenarios to be aligned with the height bonus option in the CM3 zone. This additional height analysis evaluated allowing development prototypes to access heights up to 75 feet compared to 65 feet in the EX base zone allowances. Increasing the height maximum results in an increase in the residual land value as well as an increase in housing units that are feasible to produce under current market conditions. Allowing buildings up to 75 feet in all scenarios allows a more feasible development type, five-over-two podium development, than what is allowed in 65-foot height maximum. While six-story buildings are permitted and physically possible within a 65-foot height maximum, in most cases a five-story development is identified as the most feasible development type. Allowing additional height up to 75 feet to get to seven-story development improves feasibility and development outcomes across the study area.

Table 3: Scenario Results Comparing a Height Increase to 75 Feet (Net Changes from Baseline Zoning)

	Mixed Use Scenario (10% set-aside)	Mixed Use Scenario (10% set-aside) – more height	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (10% set-aside)	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (10% set-aside) – more height
Residual Land Value	$150 M	$186 M	$103 M	$140 M
Industrial Jobs	250	250	560	560
Office Jobs	490	490	960	960
Retail / Restaurant Jobs	340	560	270	480
Net Job Changes	1,080	1,300	1,790	2,000
Market Rate Housing Unit Changes	3,110	6,130	2,030	5,060
Net Affordable Unit Changes	315	670	190	550

5. Analysis Approach and Methodology

ECONorthwest utilized MapCraft labs to run financial pro formas to test the impact of changes to zoning and land use allowances within the study area defined as ¼ mile from the proposed Northwest Industrial streetcar alignment. To do this, we modeled development prototypes which conform to various land uses and entitlements currently present in the study areas. We will also model prototypes that conform to potential future entitlements in the study areas for the sensitivity testing of alternative scenarios. The analysis area for Scenario 4 is based on the original study area used for the initial three scenarios and is valid as a point of comparison because only the changes in land use were evaluated between scenarios. Additional analysis would need to be conducted to analyze full development outcomes with a revised study area based on a new transit alignment.

To understand the impact to development, given the factors of the alternative scenarios, our pro forma models evaluated changes to the *residual land value* (RLV) of the prototypes under both the existing zoning allowances (base scenario) and potential future zoning scenarios defined by the Perkins+Will urban design concepts and in discussion with City of Portland staff. RLV is an estimate of what a developer would be able to pay for land given the property's income from

leases or sales, the cost to build as well as operate the building, and the investment returns needed to attract capital for the project. In other words, it is the budget that developers have remaining for land after all the other development constraints have been analyzed. While there are other quantitative methods for calculating value created from land use changes and calibrating public benefit requirements, such as an internal rate of return (IRR) threshold approach, all of the potential methods share drawbacks regarding the quality of inputs and sensitivity to those inputs. An advantage of the RLV approach is that it does not rely on land prices as an input. Rather, observed land prices can be compared with the model outputs to help calibrate the model and ensure it reflects reality. The residual land value results presented in this memo are the true residuals after subtracting the Multnomah County Assessor's estimates of real market value on each parcel.

We used RLV to identify the prototypical development with the highest value for each site in the study area. This reflects the likely market conditions where land will sell to whichever developer is able to pay the highest price. As a second filter for site level development feasibility, we applied debt service coverage thresholds to identify if projects could overcome financing requirements, even with positive RLVs. The RLV analysis is an estimate of the feasibility for the market to produce housing and commercial space – it is used to compare policy choices but does not produce a precise answer for every site due to variations in property conditions and property owner decisions. It is best to use these results to understand the direction and scale of policy choices relative to desired outcomes (e.g. more affordable housing or less impact on industrial jobs). The outputs of this analysis are not intended to be the final recommendation, but to help ground future recommendations and policy decisions in the context of market realities and how private investment decisions are made.

Additionally, this analysis relies heavily on recent trends and observed development within and around the study area. The near and mid-term impacts of COVID-19 on investment in residential and commercial development are unclear but will affect how and when the scenarios evaluated in this analysis might be realized. It is important to understand that there is still long-term demand for residential and commercial development in the City of Portland and that the location of the study area along with investment in infrastructure and public-realm improvements make the area well positioned for longer term investment.

Zoning Designations and Development Prototypes

ECONorthwest worked with city staff to identify the zoning designations that could implement the urban design scenarios. City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability provided information to translate the urban design concepts to zoning designations, floor area ratio (FAR) allowances, and heights that were used to develop the development prototypes that were evaluated. These development prototypes represent a typical development that could occur in zones throughout the district and under all land use scenarios. This analysis also evaluated both base and bonus FAR, density, and height bonuses by zone as applicable. Development prototypes that reflect bonus allowances account for current inclusionary housing obligations.

Table 4: Zones from all scenarios plus respective prototypes evaluated

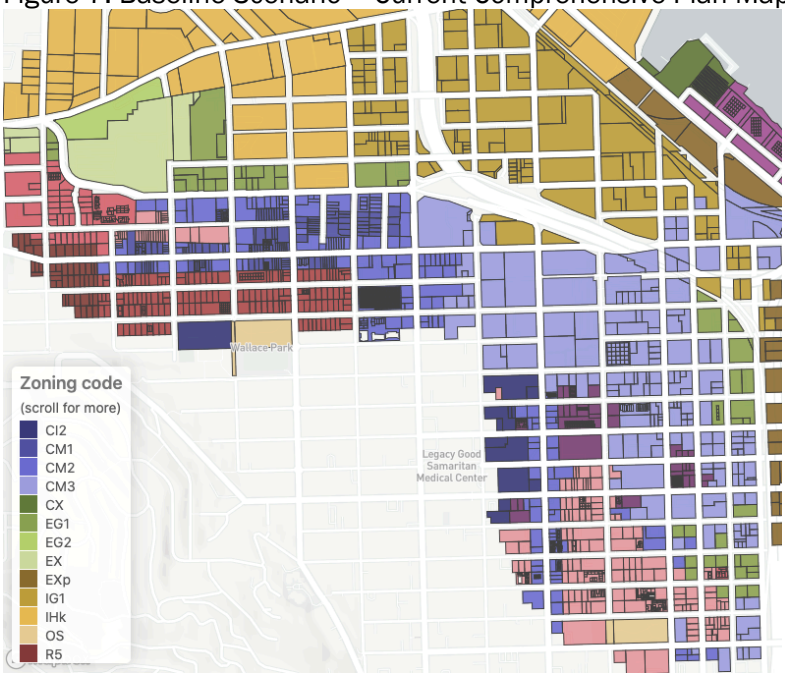
Zone	Prototypes allowed by base entitlements	Prototypes allowed by bonus entitlements
IH	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse and manufacturing 1 story, 0.6 FAR	N/A
IG1	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex 1 story, 0.6 FAR	N/A
IG1 Central City – IG1 zone with industrial office allowance	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; Central City office; urban flex 4 stories, 3.4 FAR	N/A
EG1	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; urban flex; low-rise office 6 stories, 2.1 FAR	N/A
EG2	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; urban flex; low-rise office 6 stories, 2.1 FAR	N/A
EX	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; urban flex; low-rise office; low to mid-rise residential 6 stories, 2.1 FAR – Flex 4 stories, 3.4 FAR – CC Indus.	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; urban flex; low-rise office; low to mid-rise residential 5 stories, 4.6 FAR
EX - Pearl district height/FAR	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; urban flex; low-rise office; low to mid-rise residential 6 stories, 2.1 FAR – Flex 4 stories, 3.4 FAR – CC Indus.	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; urban flex; low to high-rise office; low to high-rise residential 10 stories, 9.3 FAR
EX – no housing	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; Central City office; urban flex; low-rise office 6 stories, 2.1 FAR – Flex 4 stories, 3.4 FAR – CC Indus.	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; Central City office; urban flex; low-rise office 6 stories, 3.4 FAR - Flex 5 stories, 4.4 FAR – CC Indus
EX – 7 stories (testing height bonus allowed in EX zone)	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; Central City office; urban flex; low-rise office 6 stories, 2.1 FAR – Flex 4 stories, 3.4 FAR – CC Indus.	Traditional low-rise industrial: warehouse, manufacturing, and flex; Central City office; urban flex; low-rise office 7 stories, 6.5 FAR – MU Res
CM1	Low-rise residential; low-rise office 3 stories, 1.3 FAR	Low-rise residential; low-rise office 3 stories, 2.0 FAR
CM2	Low to mid-rise residential; low-rise office 4 stories, 2.1 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential; low-rise office 5 stories, 4.0 FAR
CM3	Low to mid-rise residential; low-rise office 4 stories, 2.1 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential; low-rise office 5 stories, 4.6 FAR

CX	Low to mid-rise residential; low-rise office 4 stories, 1.6 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential; low to mid-rise office 8 stories, 7.6 FAR
RM1	Low-rise residential 2 stories, 1 FAR	Low-rise residential 3 stories, 1.3 FAR
RM2	Low-rise residential 3 stories, 1.3 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential 4 stories, 2.1 FAR
RM3	Low-rise residential 4 stories, 1.6 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential 4 stories, 2.1 FAR
RM4	Low to mid-rise residential 5 stories, 4.0 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential 5 stories, 4.6 FAR
RX	Low to mid-rise residential 4 stories, 1.6 FAR	Low to mid-rise residential 7 stories, 6.5 FAR

Zoning Designations Analyzed by Land Use Scenario

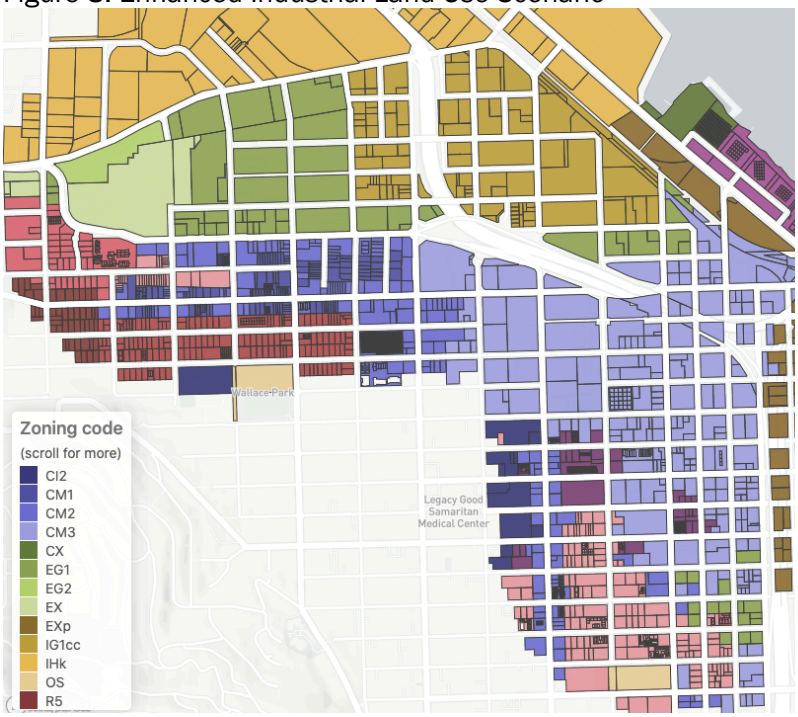
For all of the land use scenarios, we tested numerous development prototypes within each of the zoning allowances for each scenario. For example, in the mixed-use scenario we evaluated multiple development prototypes (e.g.-three story wood frame construction, podium, and steel/concrete towers) and multiple land uses (e.g.- mixed-use, residential, and office uses all within a single type of development) across a range of mixed-use zones including CM2, CM3, and EX zones. Similarly, we tested prototypes for industrial and employment focused development in the IH, IG, and EG zones across all land use scenarios. The following maps in this section identify the zoning designations that were analyzed for each land use scenarios.

Figure 7. Baseline Scenario – Current Comprehensive Plan Map and Zoning



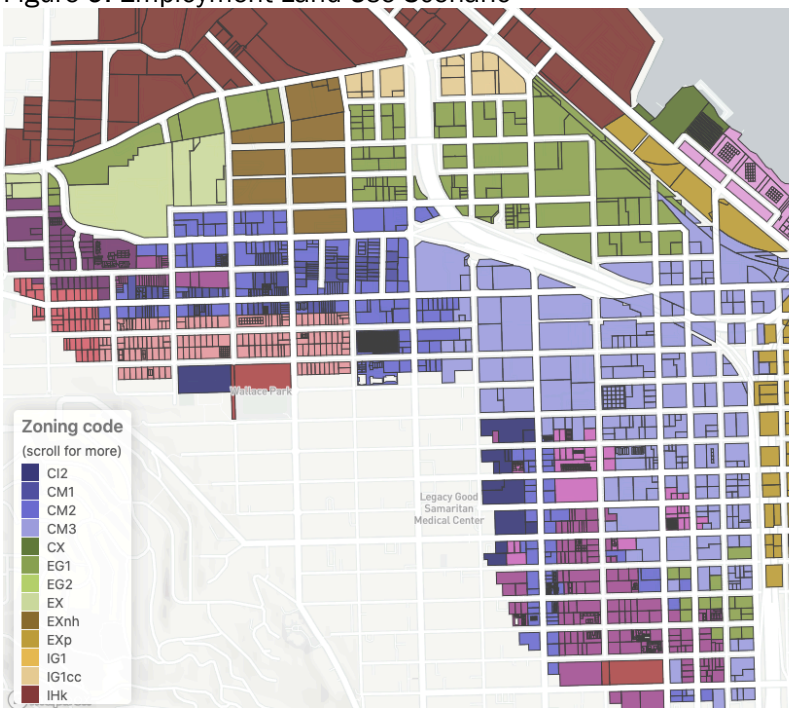
Source: ECONorthwest

Figure 8. Enhanced Industrial Land Use Scenario



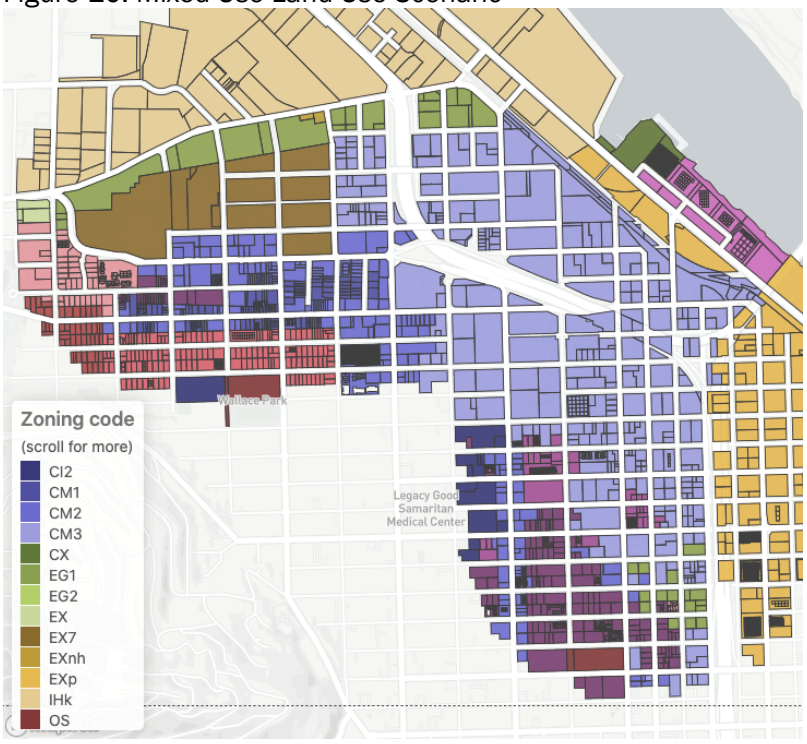
Source: ECONorthwest

Figure 9. Employment Land Use Scenario



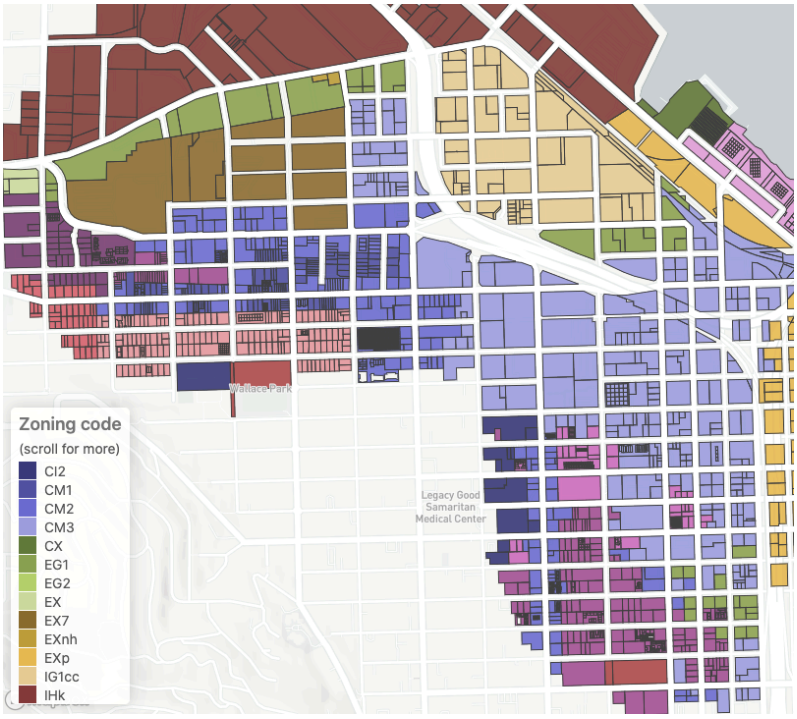
Source: ECONorthwest

Figure 10. Mixed-Use Land Use Scenario



Source: ECONorthwest

Figure 11. Hybrid Industrial and Mixed-Use Land Use Scenario



Source: ECONorthwest

Evaluating Deeper Affordable Housing Targets

We also evaluated multiple affordable housing targets under modifications to the existing inclusionary housing program. Increases in affordable housing set-aside requirements results in less development occurring overall and the scale at which development occurs that impacts both the amount of total housing units expected to be built as well as the number of jobs that are created in each scenario. We found that a 12% set-aside at 60% MFI was the highest outcome scenario for a district specific proposal that maximizes affordable housing through an existing program (Portland Inclusionary Housing Program) while still generating financial returns for site-specific development.

We found that, based on the debt financing assumptions (70% LTC, 6% interest rate), a 15% set-aside reduces the revenue, and subsequent net operating income, to a point that some projects cannot cover the debt service on the loan. At a 12% set-aside, the revenue from the mixes of income levels can still support the annual debt service payment, assuming the same debt financing parameters.

This analysis also evaluated the impact of increasing the height limit allowed in the EX zone in the study area in both the Mixed Use and Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use Scenarios to be aligned with the height bonus option in the CM3 zone. Increasing the height maximum results in an increase in the residual land value as well as an increase in housing units that are feasible to produce under current market conditions.

Table 5: Affordable Housing Results (Net Changes from Baseline Zoning for Affordable Housing Targets)

	Mixed Use Scenario (10% set-aside)	Mixed Use Scenario (12% set-aside)	Mixed Use Scenario (15% set-aside)	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (10% set-aside)	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (12% set-aside)
Residual Land Value	$150 M	$99 M	$14 M	$103 M	$58 M
Industrial Jobs	250	250	250	560	560
Office Jobs	490	490	490	960	960
Retail / Restaurant Jobs	340	270	180	270	490
Net Job Changes	1,080	1,010	930	1,790	1,740
Market Rate Housing Unit Changes	3,110	2,100	930	2,030	1,170
Net Affordable Unit Changes	315	410	590	190	280

Source: ECONorthwest

Table 6: Affordable Housing Results from a Height Increase to 75 Feet (Net Changes from Baseline Zoning for Affordable Housing Targets)

	Mixed Use Scenario (10% set-aside) – more height	Mixed Use Scenario (12% set-aside) – more height	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (10% set-aside) – more height	Hybrid Industrial and Mixed Use (12% set-aside) – more height
Residual Land Value	$186 M	$125 M	$140 M	$84 M
Industrial Jobs	250	250	560	560
Office Jobs	490	490	960	960
Retail / Restaurant Jobs	560	490	480	440
Net Job Changes	1,300	1,230	2,000	1,960
Market Rate Housing Unit Changes	6,130	5,080	5,060	4,150
Net Affordable Unit Changes	670	810	550	670

Source: ECONorthwest