

# 5 Portland MAX

## **OVERVIEW: TRANSIT SYSTEM CHARACTERISTICS**

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The Tri-County Metropolitan Transportation District of Oregon, known as Tri-Met, provides transit service throughout the greater Portland area in the counties of Clackamas, Washington, and Multnomah. In 1986, Tri-Met initiated service on its Metropolitan Area Express (MAX) light rail line, returning passenger rail to Portland for the first time in over three decades. MAX opened more than a century after the first horse- and mule-drawn trolleys began service in Portland.

The existing 15-mile, \$214 million MAX line provides service from downtown Portland to Gresham, an eastern suburb across the Willamette River. With the two new stations that opened in August 1997 as the first stage in an upcoming westward extension, the light rail line serves 32 stations. Downtown Portland has 13 stations, and the remainder are located along the Eastside corridor across the Willamette River. Twenty-six trains provide about 20 hours per day of service, and they run with 7- to 30-minute headways. In April 1998, average week-day boardings for the light rail system reached a record high of 34,200 boardings.

In September 1998, Tri-Met plans to open the 18-mile Westside MAX line, which will more than double the track length of Portland's light rail system. The Westside line will add 18 stations and 46 traincars to the MAX system and extend light rail service to the western suburb of Hillsboro. At 260 feet below the surface, the new Washington Park station will be the deepest in North America. Voters approved the bond measure for the local share of the \$1 billion project by a 73 percent margin in 1990.

Additionally, local voters and the Oregon State Legislature recently approved funding for a new 21-mile MAX line serving areas to the north and south of Portland. The project's \$475 million pricetag represented the largest bond measure in Oregon state history, yet voters in the metropolitan Portland area approved it by a 63 percent margin.

Light rail stations are shown in Table 5-1.

**Table 5-1**

**CURRENT PORTLAND MAX LIGHT RAIL STATIONS (DOWNTOWN/EASTSIDE LINE)**

	Type of Structure	Parking Lot?
Kings Hill/SW Salmon	Grade	No
Civic Stadium	Grade	No
Library/9th Avenue	Grade	No
Pioneer Square South	Grade	No
4th Avenue/Mall	Grade	No
Yamhill District	Grade	No
Galleria/10th Avenue	Grade	No
Pioneer Square North	Grade	No
5th Avenue/Mall	Grade	No
3rd Avenue	Grade	No
Oak Street	Grade	No
Skidmore Foundation	Grade	No
Old Town/Chinatown	Grade	No
Rose Quarter	Grade	No
Convention Center	Grade	No
7th Avenue	Grade	No
Lloyd Center/11th Ave.	Grade	No
Hollywood/42nd Ave.	Grade-separated	No
60th Avenue	Grade-separated	No
82nd Avenue	Grade-separated	No
Gateway/99th Avenue	Grade	Yes
102nd Avenue	Grade	No
122nd Avenue	Grade	Yes
148th Avenue	Grade	No
162nd Avenue	Grade	No
172nd Avenue	Grade	No
181st Avenue	Grade	No
Rockwood/188th Ave.	Grade	Yes
Ruby Jct../197th Ave.	Grade	No
Gresham City Hall	Grade	Yes
Gresham Central	Grade	Yes
Cleveland Avenue	Grade	Yes

## **STATION AREA PLANNING FRAMEWORK**

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In using MAX to help shape development, Tri-Met and local governments have employed a range of policy tools to plan and promote transit-friendly development around light rail stations. Beginning in 1980, six years before the start of light rail service, Tri-Met, Metro (the Metropolitan Service District, an elected regional government body), the City of Portland, the City of Gresham, and Multnomah County initiated their Transit Station Area Planning Program. The goals of the TSAP were to build support for transit-oriented development along the light rail line and to promote opportunities for increasing the system's ridership. The project was the first effort of its kind in the United States that sought to identify, create, and promote opportunities for transit-oriented development along a regional light rail corridor.

The Transit Station Area Planning Program has included market studies, coordination with other regional planning efforts, detailed station area plans, and design guidelines. Tri-Met has worked closely with local governments to institute transit-supportive zoning around light rail stations. The program received more than \$1 million in federal support from the Urban Mass Transit Administration (now the Federal Transit Administration), and local jurisdictions contributed to the effort as well. In its first phase the TSAP developed goals and policies, collected and analyzed data, and assessed alternative station locations. The next phase involved creating concept plans for each station area that considered land use, urban design, pedestrian accessibility, and traffic circulation. The third phase of the program was slated to prepare detailed plans for station area development, including specific strategies for financing and implementation, but this stage was never funded or completed.

During the MAX system's first decade of operation from 1986 to 1996, more than \$1.3 billion was invested along the Eastside light rail corridor. Though the new Westside light rail line is not scheduled to begin service until September 1998, more than half a billion dollars worth of new residential, office, retail, industrial, and commercial development has already taken place along the future rail line. Almost 7000 housing units are under construction along the Westside corridor, and about one-third of these will be ready for residents when the Westside line opens in September.

### **LLOYD DISTRICT**

The Lloyd District, which includes three MAX stations (Convention Center, 7th Avenue, and Holladay Park) and the Rose Quarter Transit Center, is located across the Willamette River from downtown Portland. The area's close proximity to downtown – less than 10 minutes on MAX – made it a prime target for new development and redevelopment with the arrival of the light rail line. However, the Lloyd family, the area's major property owner, initially expressed little interest in promoting pedestrian- and transit-oriented development. The sale of key properties to the Melvin Simon Company and Pacific Development, Inc. helped bring a new mode of development to the Lloyd District, as these companies took greater interest in developing in concert with the light rail line. The Portland Development Commission created

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an urban renewal district to spur transit-oriented development in the area, but a 1992 vote that eliminated the PDC's tax increment financing power has impeded its work.

Several major public investments created employment and entertainment centers in the Lloyd District, including office buildings for the Bonneville Power Administration and the State of Oregon, the Oregon Convention Center, the Rose Garden arena, and redevelopment of an old Sears store into a new headquarters for the Metro regional government. The Oregon Convention Center draws about three-quarters of a million convention participants annually, and the Rose Garden is a regional sports and events complex that is home to the National Basketball Association's Portland Trail Blazers. Both sites have limited parking spaces, and most attendees arrive on transit. Transit access was so important to the convention center that its developers paid for a new MAX station, and the center is linked directly to the light rail.

In the 1980s, area businesses voted to form a Local Improvement District (LID), which levied taxes to create a pedestrian mall extending along Holladay Street from the Lloyd Center regional mall and Holladay Park westward to the Rose Garden arena, Memorial Coliseum, and Oregon Convention Center. The City of Portland also adopted higher-density commercial zoning throughout the area and restricted the development of new surface parking lots. Additionally, the City allowed developers to request design review of projects as an alternative to meeting specific zoning provisions. Between 1980 and 1991, the Lloyd Center station area gained 1.7 million square feet of new building space, and the assessed value of the area more than doubled. Currently about 20,000 people work in the Lloyd District, and more than 4000 live in the area.

## **GOOSE HOLLOW AREA**

Two MAX stations in the Goose Hollow area near downtown Portland opened in August 1997 as the first phase of the Westside light rail corridor, the remainder of which is scheduled to open in September 1998. About 9000 people work in the Goose Hollow area, and the City of Portland has modified the local zoning to encourage higher-density housing in mixed-use developments within the station areas. Density bonuses are available for projects meeting certain transit-oriented criteria. At the Jefferson Street station, the Collins Circle Apartments will be a vertically mixed-use building, with 5000 square feet of retail space, 124 apartments, and 80 parking spaces. The project will serve a mix of incomes and generate 66,000 additional transit trips annually. The Arbor Vista condominiums, discussed further below, is a joint development project underway at the station. At the Civic Stadium station, the Stadium Station Apartments represent an urban infill project on a constrained site between two light rail platforms. Ground-floor retail establishments and public art panels make the area bordering the light rail platform more attractive for transit riders. The building offers 115 apartments for lower-income tenants and only a limited number of parking spaces.

**Table 5-2.**  
**DEVELOPMENT AT FUTURE STATIONS ON WESTSIDE LRT LINE, MAY 1998**

Station	Project	Description	Status
Civic Stadium	Stadium Station Apartments	115 apartments, 3,000 sq. ft. retail	under construction, occupancy 3/98
Jefferson Street	Arbor Vista	27 condos	under construction, occupancy 5/98
	Collins Circle Apts./Lu Yen	124 apartments, 5,000 sq. ft. retail	under construction, occupancy 3/99
Salmon Street	Legends	78 condominiums	occupied
Sunset Transit Center	Sunset Medical Center	72,000 sq. ft. office	under construction
Beaverton Central	Beaverton Central	154 condos	under construction
		70,000 sq. ft. retail	under construction, occupancy 3/99
		152,000 sq. ft. office	later phase
		810 space garage	later phase
		10 screen cinema	later phase
		109 room hotel	later phase
Beaverton Creek	LaSalle (Murray North)	554 apartments, 10,000 sq. ft. retail	under construction, occupancy 12/97
	Beaverton Creek V	124,000 sq. ft. office	occupied
	Centerpointe (Murray South)	276 apartments	planning
	Forest Glen Apartments	264 apartments	
Elmonica	Clocktower Apartments	383 apartments	planning
	Elmonica Court Apartments	144 apartments	occupied
	Steele Park	74 homes	occupied
	Steele Park Apartments	18 apartments	planning
Quatama	Quatama Crossing	711 apartments	under construction, opening 4/98, build out end of 99
	Amber View	122 homes	under construction/ occupied
	Briarcreek Apartments	216 apartments	plans filed
	Village at Sutherland	53 homes, 12 apartments	under construction
	Meadows		
	Quatama Station Apartments	208 apartments	under construction

**Table 5-2.****DEVELOPMENT AT FUTURE STATIONS ON WESTSIDE LRT LINE, MAY 1998**

Station	Project	Description	Status
Orenco	Cortland Village	600 apartments	occupied
	Orenco Station	687 homes	40 sold
	Villages at Orenco Station	740 apartments	under construction, occupancy 9/98
	Orenco Place Townhomes	64 townhomes	under construction
Hawthorn Farm	Hawthorne Farm Office	32,000 sq. ft. office	under construction
	Westpark Flex Building	54,000 sq. ft. medical bldg.	under construction
Downtown Hillsboro	Wash Co Jail	12,000 sq. ft. retail, 633 beds	under construction
Hillsboro Central	Key Bank Block		planning
Hatfield/ Government Center	Park and Ride	625 space garage	occupied
Hillsboro Stations	Hillsboro Street Improvements	Street improvements	under construction

**STATION AREA DEVELOPMENT TRENDS**

Since the decision to construct the Eastside light rail line, according to Tri-Met more than \$1.3 billion worth of development has been built immediately adjacent to the MAX line. Planning is underway for an additional \$440 million in new investments. The lion's share of development has occurred in the Lloyd District (\$767 million) and downtown Portland (\$396 million) portions of the route. The Lloyd District lies immediately across the Willamette River from downtown Portland and is the closest portion of the route to downtown.

It is difficult to gauge how much of this new development can be directly attributed to the influences of light rail, as these two areas likely would have been desirable for development even without added transit capacity. In contrast, the Banfield portion of the route, immediately east of the Lloyd District, has seen very little new development (only \$1.3 million). In this portion of the route, MAX runs along a freeway that largely separates it from the surrounding neighborhoods. Studies of the impact of the transit system show a statistically significant increase in assessed value in station areas, but they do not quantify how much of that increase can be attributed to the influences of light rail. Transit agency staff estimated that the light rail facilitated a 10 to 30 percent increase in property values over what could have been expected in the absence of light rail.

## **FACTORS INFLUENCING STATION AREA DEVELOPMENT**

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### **ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE PORTLAND METROPOLITAN AREA**

Broader economic trends can have a significant effect on overall development patterns, including development around light rail stations. Oregon experienced a major recession in the early 1980s, and little new development occurred while the Eastline MAX was in its planning stages at that time. In the MAX line's first years of operation, significant new construction took place along portions of the route, but when a recession hit in the early 1990s, development slowed again. For example, a major joint development proposal, for the Gresham shopping center, collapsed due to poor overall economic conditions. The economic downturn and a shift in jobs and population growth towards the west and north portion of the Portland area slowed development at some stations. The MAX stations in the Lloyd District, closest to downtown developed the most quickly and received the greatest influx of new investment. Land use planning efforts may have supported this growth, but a strong economy could have spurred some new growth in these desirable locations even without light rail. With the current healthy economy, significant development is already taking place along the yet-to-open Westside corridor.

### **SUPPORTIVE LOCAL LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES**

The City of Portland and the State of Oregon are both recognized nationally for their land use planning policies and efforts to curb urban sprawl. The state Land Use Planning Act of 1973 requires local governments to develop plans, make land use decisions consistent with the plans, and coordinate with other local governments and state agencies. In the mid-1970s, the Portland region developed transportation plans that sought to balance freeways with transit, and no new road capacity into downtown Portland has been constructed in the last two decades. Metro, the only elected regional government in the United States, helps ensure compatible land use and transportation plans throughout the Greater Portland metropolitan area. Construction of a bus transit mall in downtown Portland in the 1970s has supported transit-oriented development in the area, and the City adopted a transit station area planning ordinance in 1984.

In the early 1990s, concurrent with the Westside rail corridor planning, Metro initiated development of its 2040 Plan. This plan for the future of the region identified regional centers, town centers, station communities, main streets, corridors, urban reserves, and an Urban Growth Boundary. The plan included desired targets for population distribution among the centers, and it has enjoyed fairly strong community support. The nonprofit organization 1000 Friends of Oregon also played an active role in helping craft a vision for managing growth through transit and land use policies; its LUTRAQ project – Making the Land Use, Transportation, and Air Quality Connection – has garnered national recognition. For more than two decades, local governments have pursued a deliberate strategy of integrating land use and transportation policies to meet their growth management goals, and light rail has been a key element in guiding growth and fostering livable communities in the region.

## **JOINT DEVELOPMENT**

Tri-Met has had a long-standing interest in joint development projects, pursuing such agreements since the early days of planning for the Eastside MAX line. The transit agency hired a specialist in joint development to negotiate and craft these public-private arrangements. Despite these efforts, only a few joint development projects have yet been built to date, though additional negotiations are underway.

The first joint development proposal, for a high-intensity mixed-use commercial project including a YMCA, was slated for the Gateway Station. However, the deal collapsed when the YMCA lost its tax-exempt status, and in its place Fred Meyer constructed a large, auto-oriented retail center. The store did, however, reorient to face towards the station, rather than away from it as originally planned.

Tri-Met also attempted to create a major joint development at the Gresham City Hall station, which would have placed a regional mall on the largest vacant parcel along the Eastside corridor. The regional shopping center was to be integrated with the new light rail station just west of Gresham City Hall. The City of Gresham incorporated the site into its Transit Development District, and Tri-Met secured funding from the federal government for its share of the project costs. But after years of negotiations and planning, the developer, the Winmar Company of Seattle, backed out of the project during the recession of the early 1990s. In 1995, a public-private partnership developed a new master plan for mixed-use development of the site.

At the Jefferson Street station, Tri-Met formed a partnership with the Portland Planning Bureau, the Goose Hollow Foothills League, and Innovative Housing Inc., a private, nonprofit housing developer. In this joint development project, Tri-Met issued a Request for Proposals for development of 18,000 square feet of excess property it had acquired in the process of relocating access to a nearby office building. Recent policy changes at the Federal Transit Administration enabled Tri-Met to write down the land value, and the City of Portland provided a low-interest loan to facilitate the project. The resulting 27-unit, high-density Arbor Vista Condominiums is expected to generate new transit riders at the adjacent station. Another recent joint development success involved construction of a 42-unit residential complex on excess right-of-way property that Tri-Met sold a developer. The project generates about 70 MAX riders each day.

## **PUBLIC FUNDING**

To provide magnets for transit riders, public facilities such as government office buildings and regional attractions were strategically located at MAX stations. For example, the Rose Garden sports arena and the Oregon Convention Center are both at MAX stations, and many people reach both sites via light rail. Local redevelopment agencies also worked to promote private development in station areas. In some cases, Tri-Met has attempted to conduct joint development of excess right-of-way in combination with private property, but results to date have been relatively limited.



*In Portland, Tri-Met has actively marketed joint development opportunities around stations, such as this site in Gresham.*

## **IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS**

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### **STATION AREA PLANNING**

Since its inception, the Transit Station Area Planning program has been a central focus of MAX planning efforts. Efforts have involved overall market studies, land suitability analyses, concept plans, and design guidelines. Particularly in developing plans for the coming Westside MAX line, Tri-Met has linked its planning work with other regional plans. Such larger planning efforts include the Metro regional government's 2040 plan, the Regional Transportation Plan, and the LUTRAQ project that 1000 Friends of Oregon sponsored. Tri-Met also worked with communities to prepare detailed development plans for station areas, but funding limitations impeded implementation of some of these plans. Additionally, Tri-Met and municipalities initiated public-private partnerships for development of master plans in communities surrounding station areas.

For its Westside light rail line scheduled to open in September 1998, Tri-Met began working several years in advance to craft market development strategies for station areas. Agency staff held a number of informal meetings with Grubb & Ellis and other commercial brokerage

firms to discuss potential opportunities for new development. Through these informal discussions, the transit agency learned more about the elements that made projects attractive to developers and those that made them wary. Initially many developers had reservations about mixed-use projects, since many of the developers specialized in particular types of projects, such as residential or commercial but not both. The meetings seemed to encourage creative thinking regarding potential opportunities for development. Involving developers and local governments in the station area planning process helped generate realistic, feasible plans that are now translating into on-the-ground results. Facilitating successful transit-oriented development projects requires a strong understanding of the local real estate market, and in some cases Tri-Met had to work hard to convince developers that demand existed for the type of the projects the transit agency desired in station areas. The Westside corridor may prove more conducive to transit-oriented development because of its population and employment growth, availability of key development sites, higher transit acceptance, and the lessons learned from previous efforts on the Eastside line and elsewhere.

## **NON-RAIL INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS THAT IMPROVE ACCESS AND AMENITIES FOR PEDESTRIANS**

Local Improvement Districts were established to improve the environment for pedestrians, bicyclists, and transit users in business districts around station areas downtown and in the Lloyd District. LIDs generated tax funds for use in beautification and circulation improvement efforts, such as pedestrian walkways, plantings, bike racks, and public art. Development guidelines for transit station areas also include several provisions regarding the pedestrian environment. For example, buildings must locate their front door on the main street, and they are required to provide additional pedestrian amenities in station areas. Tri-Met has also initiated a major public art program designed to make new station areas along the new Westside rail corridor more attractive. The artworks are intended to create themes at certain stations and throughout the light rail system, and many of the art projects have involved local community members.

## **PARKING MANAGEMENT AND SHARED PARKING**

Tri-Met worked with the City of Portland to manage the supply and location of parking in order to foster transit usage. For several years, Portland placed a lid on the total number of downtown parking spaces; the lid is now being removed, but other parking limitations remain in effect. The number of parking spaces allowed in new buildings are limited, and parking space ratios are linked to transit accessibility, with less parking allowed closer to MAX. No parking minimums were required in new construction. Development of commercial garages and parking lots was restricted, and the City built some public parking garages to provide short-term parking for shoppers. In the suburban jurisdictions, Tri-Met also worked to lower parking ratios for residential and retail developments.

The current MAX system includes only six Park & Ride lots, offering a limited number of spaces. In 1996, Tri-Met opened its first structured public parking garage along the MAX line; the 550-space garage also incorporates 5000 square feet of retail space on its ground floor.

Tri-Met has also arranged for shared parking at several stations. For example, at the LaSalle Apartments at the new Beaverton Creek station on the Westside line, allowing overflow visitor parking in the Park & Ride lot enabled the use of lower parking space ratios in the apartment complex. In another case, theater attendees, churchgoers, and express buses share a parking area, with each user group occupying the lot at different times of the day and week. At the Westside rail's terminus in downtown Hillsboro, MAX riders will share a parking garage with a regional justice center.

## **ZONING AND REZONING**

In many station areas, municipalities rezoned lands around stations for higher density land uses and transit-oriented development. Some governing bodies adopted interim development standards to prevent undesirable land uses. However, the standards were not applied uniformly. For example, in the early 1980s Washington County adopted a transit corridor overlay zone, which was designed to allow density transfers and to protect options for rail alignment. The policy was not used much, however, due to an economic downturn and relocation of the proposed light rail line to an existing heavy rail corridor. Design guidelines included ground-floor retail requirements, setback restrictions, parking lot location restrictions, and other pedestrian-oriented design elements. In Gresham, the City established a Transit Development District, which involved significant rezoning designed to make transit a focal point. The zone included a high-density Central Urban Core district, and it mandated office and residential buildings as the primary permitted uses near stations.

Zoning changes around the MAX line have included a number of specific development guidelines, including provisions on street configuration, parking ratios, sidewalk widths, building orientation, and minimum and maximum densities. Some jurisdictions incorporated these changes directly into their underlying zoning, while others established transit overlay zones around the light rail corridor and stations. Along the Westside corridor, Tri-Met was successful in getting the City of Portland, the City of Beaverton, the City of Hillsboro, and Washington County to adopt the transit agency's development guidelines as part of their municipal codes. In promoting transit-friendly development, creating a general atmosphere of support for transit-oriented projects can be even more important than developing a laundry list of detailed zoning regulations.

Tri-Met initially worked with jurisdictions to establish interim land use controls designed to prevent non-transit-supportive development from occurring in station areas before the light rail could be built. For example, a golf course was originally proposed for the Beaverton Creek station, where the medium- and high-density, mixed-use LaSalle Apartments just opened. In the City of Portland, interim controls were not a key issue because most sites around light rail were already relatively developed. The City of Hillsboro adopted interim controls, but the City of Beaverton and Washington County did not.

## **EXPEDITED PERMITS AND REVIEWS**

Tri-Met and the local governments discussed implementing some form of expedited permit review for transit-oriented development projects, but they determined that establishing a

blanket agreement for permits was not feasible. Staffing constraints were a factor in this decision, as the jurisdictions are already having difficulty keeping pace with existing requests for development permits. Though some aspects of the permitting process could be expedited, planning staff did not believe that appropriate review of projects could be conducted in a significantly shorter time frame.

## **DIRECT PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN PROJECTS**

Tri-Met encouraged the location of government office buildings and regional attractions at MAX stations. For example, the Rose Garden basketball arena and the Oregon Convention Center were both built at existing light rail stations and integrated with the transit system. In Hillsboro, a major justice center is located at the terminus of the Westside line in Hillsboro, and the design incorporates landscaping and wide sidewalks to facilitate access to the rail platform and make the station area more attractive for pedestrians. At the Old Town/Chinatown station in downtown Portland, the State of Oregon is constructing a new government office building, and the Oregon Department of Transportation relocated one of its offices to a location near the station several years ago.

Redevelopment agencies have worked to promote private development in station areas. For example, the Portland Development Commission took an active role in involving a private developer in the Pacific stadium complex. The PDC also used urban renewal funds to add transit- and pedestrian-friendly amenities in some station areas. Currently, Tri-Met has several efforts underway to foster joint development of excess right-of-way and private property.

## **SUMMARY ASSESSMENT; IMPLICATIONS FOR SEATTLE**

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The Portland MAX project is widely viewed as a light rail success story. Indeed, many elements of the system have worked well, and MAX enjoys widespread popularity in the Portland region. Portland's many successes provide useful models for the development of Seattle's future light rail system, and the areas where MAX has not yet lived up to Tri-Met's goals also offer valuable lessons.

- *Light Rail and Zoning Are Not Enough.* Improving transit service and increasing zoning around light rail stations may help foster transit-oriented development where underlying market conditions are strong. In the absence of strong demand for such development, however, additional policy tools are critical for encouraging compact, transit-friendly commercial and residential development. For successful transit-oriented development, local governments and transit agencies need the authority and resources to acquire prime sites, mechanisms for financing joint development projects, and other incentives for developers. Proactive planning efforts should involve developers through the process.
- *It Takes Time.* Transit-oriented development does not happen overnight. Indeed, Tri-Met and governments in the Portland metropolitan area began seeking ways to encourage appropriate development as soon as they made the decision to construct the Eastside light rail line in 1980. Despite these efforts, some areas remain undeveloped,

and observers caution Tri-Met not to give up on these sites, even as the agency shifts its focus to the new Westside rail line. Continued attention and resources are critical to long-term success.

- *Success Breeds Success.* Since not all station areas will develop at the same rate, planners should prioritize where they focus their efforts. Demonstrating success early in the life of the light rail system can help foster future development. On-the-ground examples can provide better models for convincing developers of the virtues of transit-oriented development than abstract theories. Starting with smaller, simpler projects can help build a pattern of success that can facilitate completion of larger, more complex deals.
- *Supportive Regional Transportation and Land Use Policies.* In the Portland area, a regional government (Metro) and strong state land use policies helped support the transit system. A deliberate regional strategy to avoid new roads into downtown Portland and to focus new development around transit helped make MAX a success. Compatible land use and transportation policies at the local, regional, and state government levels facilitated the City of Portland's efforts to guide its own growth.

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