

FERMENTING CHANGE

DEVELOPMENT IN EUGENE'S WHITEAKER NEIGHBORHOOD

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Abstract

In the past 10 years, craft fermented beverage businesses – breweries, urban wineries, cideries, meaderies, and distilleries – have proliferated in Eugene’s Whiteaker neighborhood. This study documents the changes that have occurred in the neighborhood and the community’s perceptions of those changes. Based on these observations, I draw out lessons to help community and economic development practitioners better harness the benefits and mitigate the impacts of neighborhood-scale change. Although the Whiteaker’s transformation has been far from painless, the neighborhood’s experience offers insight into *conscientious development*. Land use changes have resulted in an emerging economic prosperity without completely undermining the neighborhood’s identity.



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Introduction

Change is the law of life. And those who look only to the past or present are certain to miss the future.
–John F. Kennedy

Change has been the faithful companion of human experience since the first person made their first decision. We have achieved our current level of development and societal complexity thanks to the ceaseless process of choices, innovations, and blunders that propel us onward. Yet we have never been comfortable with change. It irks us, throws off our patterns and habits, and challenges our expectations. We experience uncertainty and discomfort even when we hope for change, desire it, and embrace it as positive. When we *don't* hope for it and desire it, we reject it. We become fiercely protective of what once was and fight to regain what we see slipping away.

Every community must fumble its way through the process of change. As a society, we have developed numerous mechanisms for dealing with this volatile process: the profession of planning in the US, for example, finds impetus in the desire to manage change with intentionality. Planners seek to shape the physical, economic, and social direction of communities by coaxing out the community's vision of what their home should look like in the future. In theory, collectively planning for the future softens the impact of change; if we expect something, we are mentally prepared to accept it. In reality, however, planners struggle to capture a truly "collective" vision, and despite the best intentions, plans result in changes that hurt some and dissatisfy many.

The work presented here acknowledges the difficulty of community planning, but offers planners, neighborhoods, and businesses suggestions for coping more effectively with inevitable changes. In particular, I focus on change as it relates to growth and development catalyzed by fermented beverage businesses^a in a mixed-use neighborhood. I use the Whiteaker neighborhood in Eugene, Oregon as a laboratory for studying this specific set of circumstances.

Welcome to the Whiteaker

The Whiteaker, a neighborhood nestled just northwest of Eugene's downtown, has weathered over 150 years of change since Eugene was founded. The neighborhood has maintained a distinct identity that stands out against Eugene's other neighborhoods. No other neighborhoods have residential, commercial, and industrial uses in such close proximity, and none have the Whiteaker's colorful history of activism and bohemian flair. In the past decade, particularly the past three years, the pace of change in the Whiteaker has picked up dramatically. Craft breweries, urban wineries, cideries, and distilleries have descended on the neighborhood, bringing with them crowds of excited patrons.

While the neighborhood's refinement plan, adopted in 1994, envisioned an economic revival for the area, none of those involved with the planning process imagined the scale and trajectory that development would take. Rather, they assumed the plan and the accompanying zoning amendments would provide for *neighborhood scale* changes to serve the immediate

^a Fermented beverage businesses consist of breweries, wineries, cideries, meaderies, distilleries, and other auxiliary businesses that support the production and/or consumption of alcoholic beverages.

community.¹ Now, fermented beverage businesses and auxiliary establishments like restaurants cater to a much wider audience; travel articles from Portland and Bend have highlighted the Whiteaker as a brewing destination, and the neighborhood was nationally spotlighted on the Food Network's popular show "Diners, Drive-in, and Dives." Travel Lane County, the tourism agency for the county containing Eugene and the Whiteaker, has dubbed the neighborhood a "fermentation district."²

The neighborhood's rapid redevelopment and subsequent launch into the public eye has significantly impacted Whiteaker residents. Yet residents, not to mention the Eugene community at large, have a wide range of opinions regarding these impacts. Some view them as largely positive, while other say the changes threaten the neighborhood's identity and character.

So what exactly *has* happened in the Whiteaker, and how does the community feel about these changes? On a deeper level, what can planning and economic development professionals learn from the Whiteaker's experience?

This report describes the rapid transition of the neighborhood, considers the roles government, businesses, and residents have played in the Whiteaker's development, and documents the perspectives of these groups regarding changes. I conclude with a discussion of lessons from the Whiteaker's experience. I suggest that although most changes in the Whiteaker have been grassroots and privately-driven, planning and economic development practitioners might play an important role in both fostering and mitigating neighborhood activity.

This Report

I have divided my examination of the Whiteaker case study into four parts: Context, Changes, Perspectives, and Lessons.

Part 1: Context, orients us to the neighborhood's history and physical layout. Before we begin to understand the changes the Whiteaker has experienced and why residents might react as they have, we must first situate the place within space and historical legacy.

Part 2: Changes, documents the land use, economic, and social shifts that have occurred since 2006 in the Whiteaker.^b The discussion is data-driven. Rather than focusing on how residents, businesses, and the City *feel* about the neighborhood's transformation, this section simply captures measureable changes. I frame Part 2 with three guiding questions:

- How have land uses changed in the Whiteaker since 2006?
- What economic changes have occurred since 2006?
- How has the social environment changed in the Whiteaker since 2006?

Together, the answers to these questions paint a picture of the change process in the Whiteaker. Since no one has comprehensively described the changes that have

^b I use 2006, the year before Ninkasi opened in the Whiteaker as the baseline for this study. Although other businesses existed before this, Ninkasi has arguably had the largest impact on the area.

occurred, the information presented here improves our understanding of *what has actually happened*.

Part 3: Perspectives, highlights *reactions* to the changes discussed in Part 2. It synthesizes the perspectives expressed in interviews with City officials, Whiteaker business owners, and Whiteaker residents. I frame Part 3 with the guiding question:

- How have the players in the Whiteaker’s redevelopment perceived and reacted to changes in the neighborhood?

The reflections and insights offered about neighborhood changes provide the basis for discussions of “lessons learned” in Part 4. Study participants’ stories record how the community and institutions *feel about what has happened*.

Part 4: Lessons, provides discussion and further synthesis of the topics introduced in Part 3. Community and economic development practitioners can use the highlighted themes and “lessons” as a resource for dealing with neighborhood redevelopment and the resulting impacts. I frame Part 4 with the guiding questions:

- What are and what should players in the Whiteaker’s redevelopment do to address concerns about the neighborhood’s growth trajectory?
- What can others learn from the Whiteaker example to better harness the benefits and mitigate the impacts of similar neighborhood changes?

These lessons consider neighborhood compatibility issues, concerns over gentrification, the preservation of neighborhood character, and desirable roles for government, business owners, and residents in the redevelopment process.

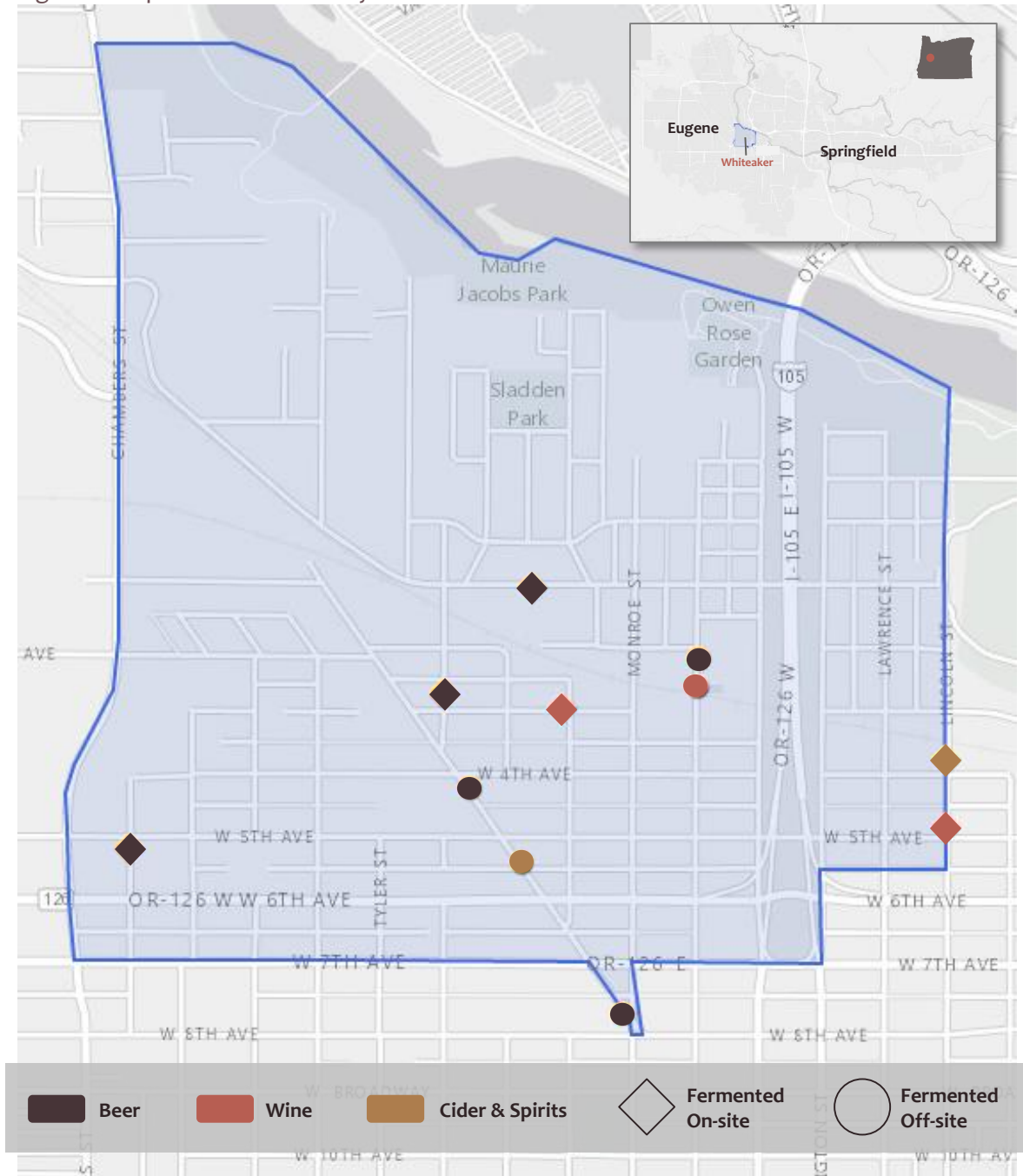
I have relied on both hard data and in-person interviews with City of Eugene staff, Whiteaker business owners, and Whiteaker residents to capture a wide variety of viewpoints surrounding the issues that have arisen in the Whiteaker. The qualitative research presented here represents the viewpoints of the individuals interviewed and should not be interpreted to represent the overall views of the community or of any group in the community.

¹ Conversation with Scott Meisner. 4/21/15.

² Travel Lane County. <http://www.eugencascadescoast.org/restaurants/brew-pubs/>

Part 1: Context

Figure 1. Map of Whiteaker study area.



The study area does not precisely follow the political boundaries for the Whiteaker Neighborhood outlined by the City of Eugene. Some natural areas have been omitted, and the triangle formed by Blair Blvd. and Monroe St. has been added (since this area is part of the Blair commercial strip continuum).

Source: Aniko Drlik-Muehleck and ESRI

To situate the current development trends experienced by the Whiteaker neighborhood, the following material provides a brief history of the Whiteaker’s people and land uses. For a more comprehensive description of the neighborhood’s history, read the Neighborhood History and Character Element of the 1994 Whiteaker Plan and the *Register Guard’s* 1992 article “A Town in the Heart of a City” chronicling the neighborhood’s history. As the title of the *Register Guard’s* article suggests, the Whiteaker has always been self-contained and somewhat autonomous from Eugene at large. Many residents take pride in their neighborhood’s self-sufficiency and enjoy having direct access to resources that meet all their needs within the neighborhood. Later, this report will examine the tensions that arise when a neighborhood with a strong, independent identity becomes a popular destination for “outsiders.”

The Whiteaker’s History^{1, 2}

Before the advent of white settlers, the Kalapuya Native Americans made their home in the area we now call the Whiteaker. In 1846, Eugene Skinner laid claim to most of the present Whiteaker neighborhood, creating a homestead that spawned the eventual development of Eugene. The Whiteaker is consequently Eugene’s oldest neighborhood. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the area continued to grow—Blair Boulevard was once part of the Willamette Valley’s first north-south highway and the primary entrance to the city.

As Eugene expanded and changed, the Whiteaker built a distinct identity, separate from downtown and surrounding areas: the neighborhood became a Bohemian mecca for artists and activists in the 1960s. When urban renewal^a swept the nation in the 1950s through 1970s, Whiteaker residents resisted, fueled by the activism of Eugene’s prominent counterculture movement (a movement with deep ties to the Whiteaker neighborhood). Residents succeeded in blocking the construction of a highway along the south bank of the Willamette River and influenced the design of the Washington-Jefferson highway overpass (the new major entrance to downtown Eugene) so the project did not create a physical barrier in the neighborhood. The Whiteaker Community Council, the Whiteaker’s neighborhood association, was born as a result of Whiteaker activists’ efforts.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Whiteaker gained a reputation as low-income neighborhood plagued by crime, drug-use, prostitution, and transiency. Housing stock shifted from primarily single-family homes to an increasing number of apartment complexes. The number of renters grew to exceed homeowners. Although many residents disagreed with the characterization of their home as a “swamp of crime and poverty,” they saw a need to re-envision the neighborhood.¹ Then-City Councilor Shawn Boles challenged the neighborhood with the task of developing a new neighborhood plan: “We need to rekindle the collective vision for the neighborhood,” he proclaimed in 1992, “and provide a chance for new ideas to emerge to solve key issues.”³ The resulting neighborhood refinement plan and development code amendment, discussed further in the following section, formalized the neighborhood’s desire (or at least the desires of those represented in the planning process) to maintain a mix of uses (residential, commercial, and industrial), preserve the Whiteaker’s history and eclectic character, and spur economic activity.

^a The federal urban renewal program (1949 – 1974) enabled private developers, in partnership with cities, to demolish whole communities—usually low-income, marginalized, and so-called “blighted” communities—and rebuild with high-value uses like offices, major event venues, and luxury housing.

In more recent years, the Whiteaker has continued to live up to its activist reputation. Anarchist and eco-anarchist movements took up residence in the neighborhood in the late 1990s, protesting (sometimes violently) in the streets and leading the charge to preserve trees in downtown Eugene and surrounding forest lands.⁴ While the heyday of the anarchist movement has certainly passed, many residents still feel strong ties to the extreme activism and communist ideals expressed by anarchists in the 1990s and counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Most recently, as the remainder of this report explores, the Whiteaker has seen a renaissance of economic activity (at least in a few sectors), spurred by the microbreweries, urban wineries, cideries, meaderies, and distilleries that have set up shop in the neighborhood. Many media sources have pointed to the expansion of fermentation businesses and their close cousins, restaurants, as catalysts of the neighborhood's most recent changes.⁵ Beginning, in large part, with Ninkasi's decision to locate in the Whiteaker in 2007, seven other fermentation-related establishments have opened in the neighborhood as well. As the next section describes, the area's zoning has allowed these businesses to operate in close proximity to commercial and residential uses, breaking from the traditional Euclidian segregation of industry and residential life that characterizes most American cities.

Land Use in the Whiteaker

As Eugene's oldest neighborhood, the Whiteaker has experienced a long history of development since the arrival of the first white settlers in the 1840s. The neighborhood has always contained a wide mix of uses. Figure 4 shows the neighborhood within the surrounding land use context, highlighting the neighborhood's heterogeneity compared to other areas. Residents have shared their space with industrial uses (such as the grain mill between Jefferson St. and Madison St.), and commercial enterprises (such as the numerous eateries and shops along Blair Blvd.).² Even when the City of Eugene began to develop a zoning code in the 1940s, the Whiteaker maintained its collection of uses.

Figure 2. Two views from the same street corner: an industrial grain mill and residential houses share the same space.



View facing NE on the corner for Madison and 4th.
Source: Aniko Drlík-Muehleck



View facing S on the corner of Madison and 4th.

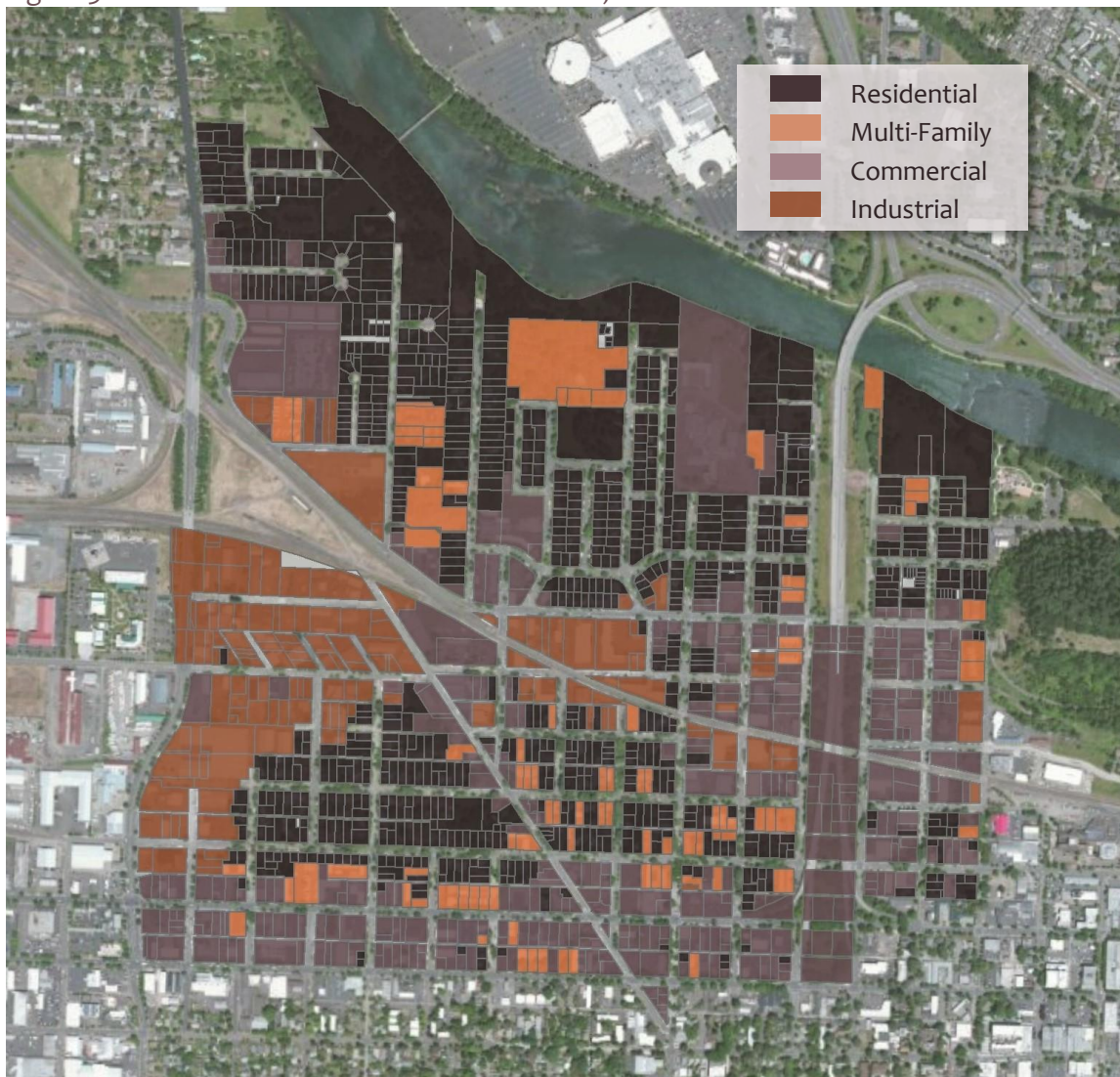
Mixed-Use Legacy

In many ways, the Whiteaker's growth has mirrored that of a small town's development. The area's location along a river initially supported commerce and agriculture, as well as space for homes. Later, as Eugene's infrastructure began to develop (particularly with the addition of the railroad in the 1870s and Highway 99 in the early 1900s), the Whiteaker remained a central hub

of industry, housing for workers, and commercial areas to serve these workers' needs.⁶ The Whiteaker became a microcosm of the Eugene's broader growth, supported by its central location and a supportive physical environment.

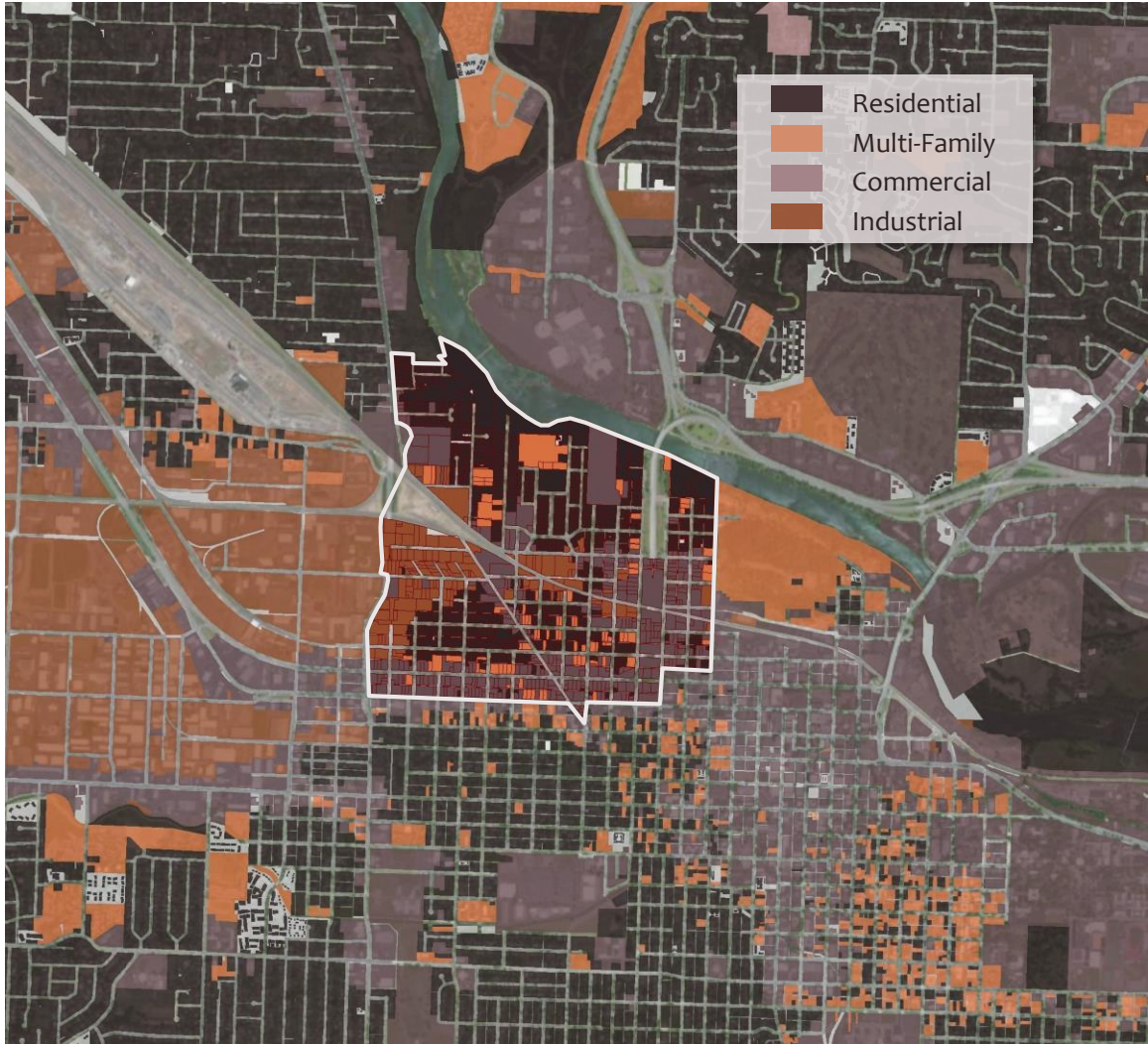
The neighborhood has experienced the same waves of economic growth and decline as the rest of Eugene, but throughout the ups and downs, the area has always kept its comprehensive assortment of neighborhood services. In recent conversations, residents have remarked that they take pride in the neighborhood's self-sufficiency.⁷ The neighborhood's mix of uses make it possible for residents to meet all their basic needs without leaving the Whiteaker. Few other neighborhoods in Eugene can claim the same breadth of amenities located in the Whiteaker, where residents are able to live, work, shop, and find entertainment within their immediate area.

Figure 3. Land use classifications in the Whiteaker, 2012.



Source: Lane County Assessor, 2012.

Figure 4. Land use in the Whiteaker and surrounding area, 2012. The Whiteaker contains residential, multi-family, commercial, and industrial. Most other areas only contain a mix of at most three uses.



Source: Lane County Assessor, 2012.

Zoning in the Whiteaker: 1948 – 1994

In 1948, the City of Eugene adopted its first zoning code, formalizing many of the existing uses in the Whiteaker neighborhood. The code adopted a combination of single family residential, multiple family residential, commercial, and light to medium industrial. Later, in 1978 when Eugene created its first long-range comprehensive plan, the City updated some zoning designations to reflect the actual land uses, but the area retained a similar mix of residential, commercial, and industrial. Appendix 1 provides a more detailed description of the zoning changes from 1948 to 1994.

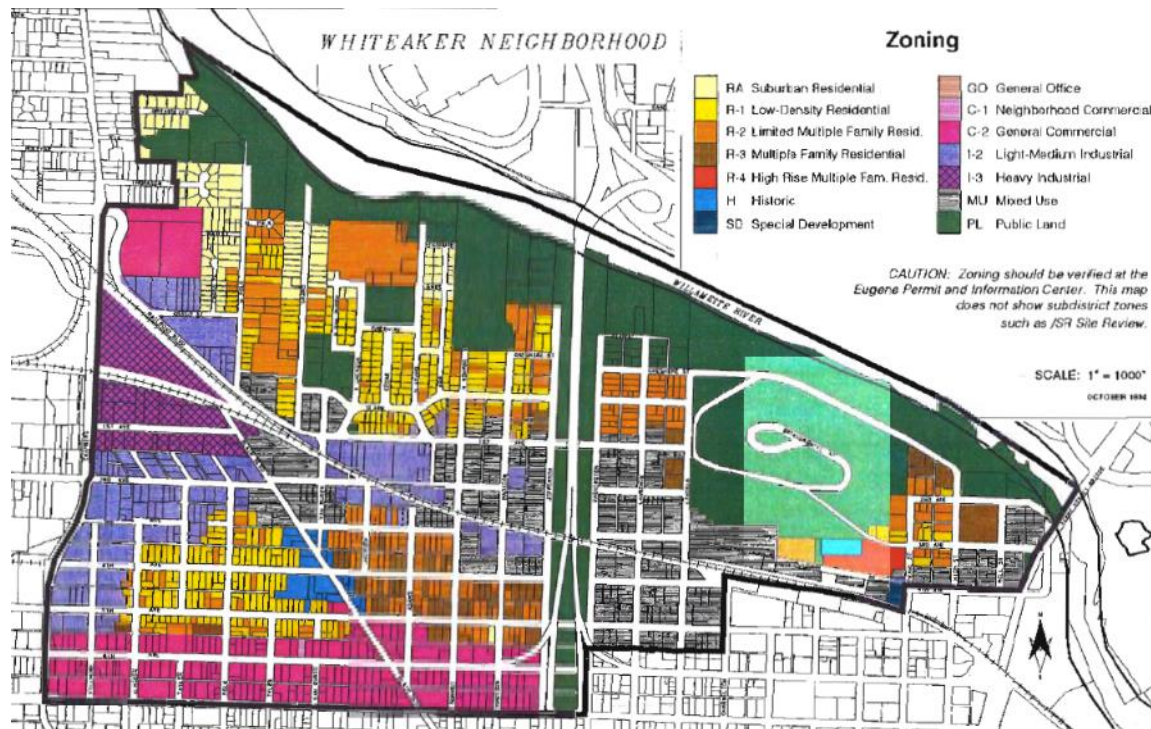
Beginning in 1992, the neighborhood and the City began the lengthy process of creating a neighborhood refinement plan. With the plan, the City and participating community members sought to use the Whiteaker’s mix of uses to spark economic growth and investment *at a neighborhood scale*. The plan’s land use goal stated that the Whiteaker would be “a diverse area offering a variety of places to live, work, shop, and enjoy” because “thriving

neighborhoods...support local retail and service businesses.”⁸ In a recent conversation, Scott Meisner, a former city councilor who represented the Whiteaker (among other areas) during the 1992-1994 planning process, reiterated that the plan had been created with the aim of serving the immediate neighborhood.⁹ At the time, the planning team never imagined that the Whiteaker would be anything more than the self-contained area it had always been.

In part because nobody on the planning team anticipated that the Whiteaker would become the destination attraction it is now, the zoning adopted in the 1994 plan (pictured in Figure 5) has fairly loose standards compared to those often imposed on mixed use areas now. For example, the Whiteaker’s mixed use zone has far fewer requirements than Eugene’s recently developed Downtown Riverfront Special Area Zone (another area targeted for mixed use development). While the Riverfront Special Area Zone has specified setbacks, building heights, stepbacks, orientation, entrances, and projections, view corridor requirements, and a long list of prohibited uses, the Whiteaker Special Area Zone adopts the same building requirements as Eugene’s standard commercial, residential, and industrial zones and does not explicitly prohibit any uses.¹⁰¹¹

In practice, the Whiteaker’s minimally restrictive mixed use zoning has allowed development in the neighborhood to proceed more organically than it would with stronger oversight from the City.

Figure 5. 1994 Whiteaker Zoning.



Source: City of Eugene. *Whiteaker Plan, Land Use Element*. 1994, p. 29.

Poised for Change

In the 1992-1994 planning process, neighborhood residents expressed their desire to preserve the mixed-use character of the neighborhood.² The plan asserts that the “Whiteaker’s mix of businesses and industrial enterprises close to residential areas is a positive feature that creates

an opportunity for nearby employment of neighborhood residents. It also represents a type of “incubator” for small businesses that require inexpensive facilities, often developed in conjunction with residential uses.”¹² At least in 1994, residents felt strongly that a mix of uses enhanced the opportunities available in the neighborhood.

The plan encourages both preservation and growth. Much of the residential zoning allows for higher density development, and the concept of “incubation space” lays the groundwork for economic expansion. Historic precedent, the aspirations of the refinement plan, and the current mixed-use zoning serve as a foundation upon which the Whiteaker “fermentation district” has grown.

As this study considers the implications of the district on the community’s physical and social organization, the non-segregated land use patterns will provide an important backdrop for discussion. The more organic, non-traditional nature of the neighborhood works hand in hand with the new fermentation businesses to shape the community’s future. While those involved with the 1992-1994 planning process may never have envisioned a rapid proliferation of fermentation businesses, the Whiteaker’s current land uses are simply community members’ interpretation of the plan’s guidelines. The specific manifestation of growth in the Whiteaker may be unexpected, but growth itself was undeniably planned.

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- ¹ *Eugene Register Guard*. "A Town in the Heart of the City." (September 6, 1992). http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=bFJWAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=_usDAAAAIIBAJ&pg=6735,1215400&dq.
- ² City of Eugene. "Whiteaker Plan: Neighborhood History and Character Element." (August 1994).
- ³ City of Eugene. "Whiteaker Plan: Introduction." (August 1994), p. 1.
- ⁴ Abraham, Kera. "Flames of Dissent: The local spark that ignited an eco-sabotage boom — and bust." *Eugene Weekly*. (November 2006). <https://greycoast.wordpress.com/2011/12/05/the-whit-neighborhood-in-eugene-gentrification-history/>
- ⁵ <http://www.bendbulletin.com/lifestyle/travel/1263359-151/eugenes-eccentric-neighborhood#>
<http://www.bendbulletin.com/csp/mediapool/sites/BendBulletin/News/story.csp?cid=1343549&sid=497&fid=151>
<http://www.opb.org/news/article/new-era-brewing-in-the-whiteaker/>
- ⁶ City of Eugene. "Early Transportation in Eugene, Oregon." *Eugene Downtown Core Area Historic Context Statement*. http://www.friendlyareaneighbors.org/archive_docs/history_earlytransport.html
- ⁷ Conversation with residents. 4/4/15.
- ⁸ City of Eugene. "Whiteaker Plan: Vision for Whiteaker's Future." (August 1994), p. 9.
- ⁹ Conversation with Scott Meisner, 4/21/15.
- ¹⁰ City of Eugene. *Eugene Code*, Chapter 9. 9.3155.
- ¹¹ City of Eugene. *Eugene Code*, Chapter 9. 9.3910 & 9.3915.
- ¹² City of Eugene. "Whiteaker Plan: Neighborhood History and Character Element." (August 1994), p. 16.

Part 2: Changes

There are many stories about what has happened in the Whiteaker neighborhood in the past decade. Ask any semi-long-time Eugene resident and you'll get some opinion about the neighborhood and the changes that have occurred. One common anecdote starts with a depressed, bohemian, low-income neighborhood and explains how breweries have transformed the area, bringing jobs, visitors, and investment. This story touts development in the Whiteaker as a triumph of local business: breweries and wineries have maintained and added to neighborhood culture while simultaneously lifting the area out of economic stagnation and physical neglect.

Another story, more often expressed by Whiteaker residents, paints a slightly less rosy picture. In this version, the Whiteaker is on the verge of losing everything that made it wonderful: art, music, free speech, affordable housing, and self-sufficiency. The culprits? Young, marginally wealthy hipsters hoping to ride the wave of the hot new brewery craze. Breweries are the hallmark of a slow gentrification movement.

Which story is true? Both and neither.

Before delving too deeply into the grey area of perceptions, this section teases out some of the **objective, measurable changes** that have occurred in the Whiteaker. With some clear facts as a foundation, we can begin to examine and learn from perspectives like those highlighted in these two stories.

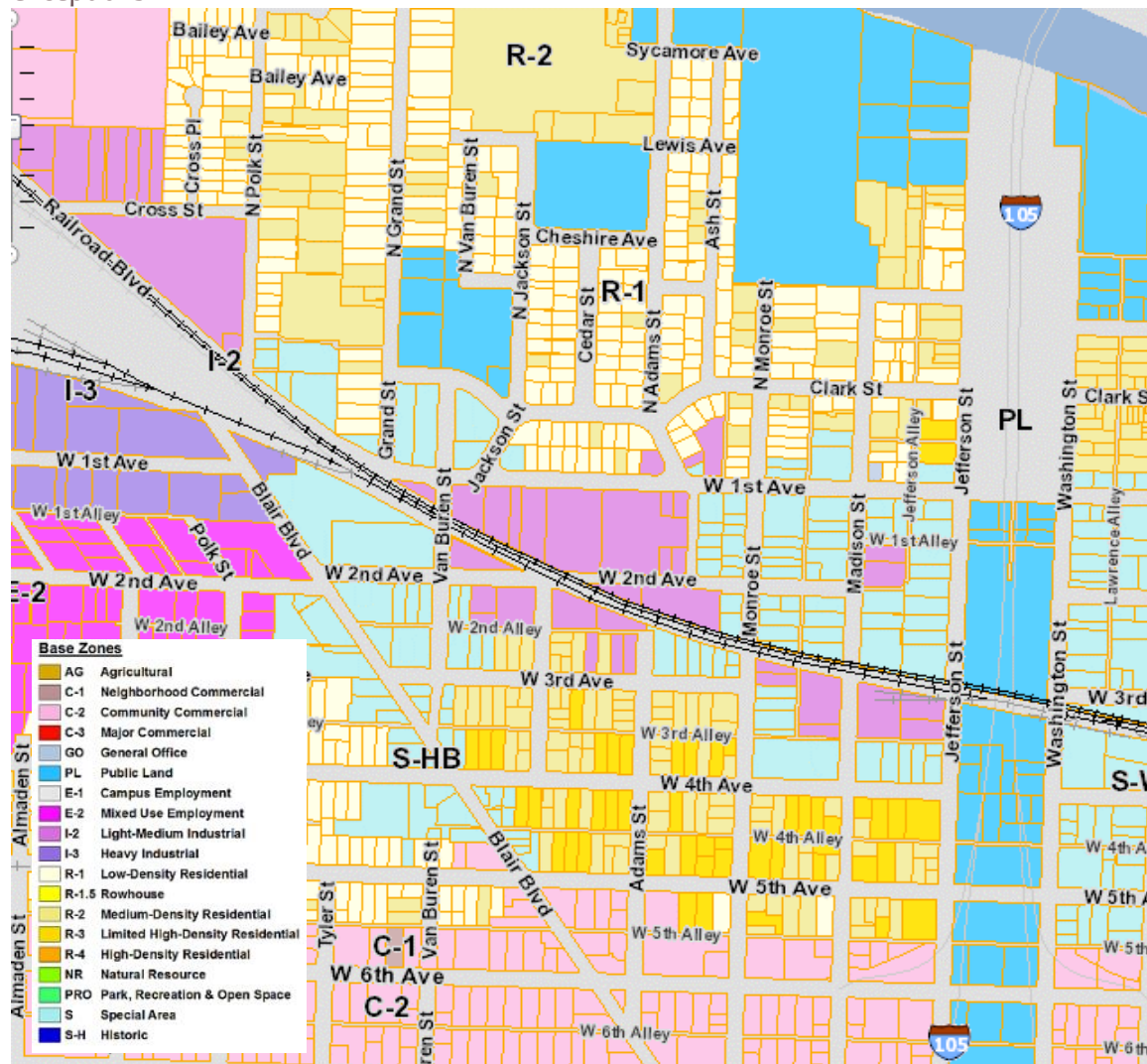
The section to follow does not claim that a direct causal relationship exists between the development of fermented beverage businesses and other changes in the neighborhood (as many of the stories would suggest). I am not arguing that all changes in the Whiteaker stem directly from the influx of fermented beverage businesses and related establishments. I merely seek to document changes that have occurred in conjunction with the growth of breweries, urban wineries, cideries, and distilleries. It is reasonable to assume that changes in the neighborhood are all inter-related, but an analysis beyond the scope of this project would be required to make any definitive statements about the extent to which fermented beverage businesses have determined the neighborhood's patterns of change.

Land Use and Physical Changes

How have land uses changed in the Whiteaker since 2006?

The zoning enacted through the 1994 plan still governs the Whiteaker with only a few minor alterations. Since plan's adoption, only three zone changes have occurred in the neighborhood, all before 2006.¹ The outright permitted uses in the neighborhood have therefore not changed at all since the neighborhood's current fermentation district period. The actual uses of the land have, however, shifted somewhat.

Figure 6. Current (2015) zoning in the Whiteaker. Identical to zoning in Figure 5 with only 3 exceptions.



Physical Changes to the Neighborhood

Aerial photographs of the Whiteaker neighborhood, pictured in Figure 7 of the following pages, show only minimal change to the buildings, streets, and public land in the Whiteaker.

Between 2006 and 2012, the only significant change visible in the neighborhood's fabric is the construction of Ninkasi's tasting room and brewing facility (as displayed in the middle-left circle).

Between 2012 and 2014, more significant changes are visible between. During this period, a number of expansions and additions have taken place:

The left-most circle shows the new construction of Ninkasi's administration complex.



The middle-left circle's left edge shows the development of Ninkasi's expanded production facility.

The middle-right circle shows (very faintly) the patio improvement installed by Hop Valley Brewing Company along the west wall of their combination tasting room and production facility.

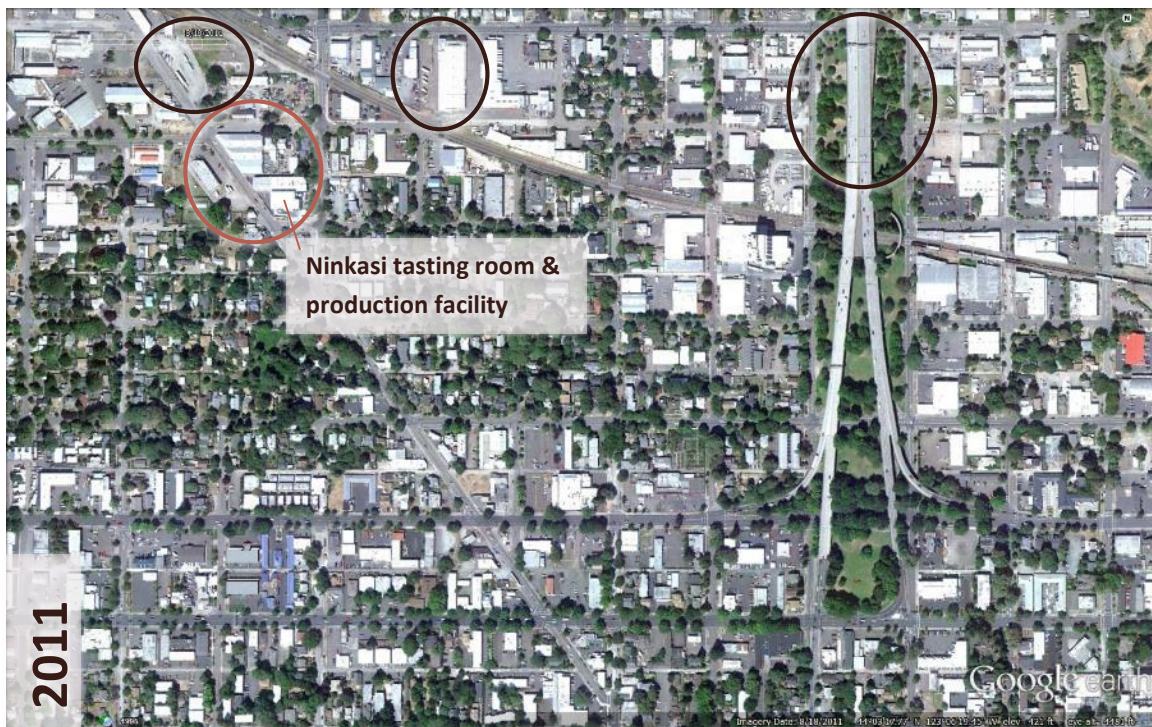


The right-most circle shows the completion of Washington-Jefferson Skate Park and Urban Plaza under the Washington-Jefferson overpass.

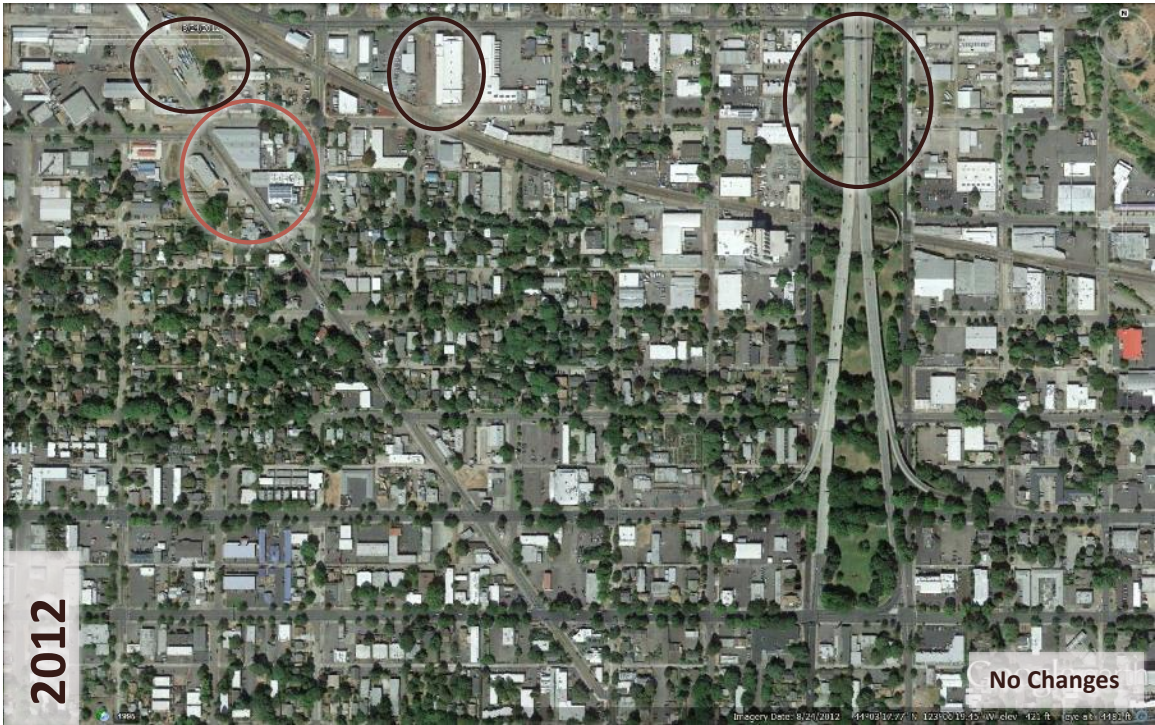
Figure 7. Building changes from 2006 – 2015 in the Whiteaker neighborhood.



Blair Blvd. area 9/1/2006. Source: Google and Digital Globe.



Blair Blvd. area 8/18/2011. Source: Google.



Blair Blvd. area 8/24/2012. Source: Google.



Blair Blvd. area 6/6/2014. Source: Google.

Visual Changes to the Neighborhood

While the building footprints of the Whiteaker have changed little since 2006, the uses within those buildings and their outside aesthetics have shifted. Figure 8 presents images of the neighborhood in 2011 compared with photos taken in 2015. This series of ten images depicts some of the most noticeable shifts of land uses and exterior aesthetic.

Figure 8. Before (2011) and after (2015) images from the Whiteaker neighborhood.



Before source: Google Streetview. 2011. After source: Aniko Drlík-Muehleck. 2015.

While many would characterize these changes as objectively positive (the buildings and landscaping look more orderly and well-kept), Part 3: Perspectives will discuss how some residents of the neighborhood have concerns over the impacts a changed aesthetic will have on the neighborhood.

Economic Changes

What economic changes have occurred in the Whiteaker since 2006?

The popular media often eludes to the rush of economic activity that has swept the Whiteaker neighborhood since it became a fermentation destination. “The breweries and wineries have helped bring jobs, vitality and visibility to The Whiteaker,” states a 2013 Eugene Register Guard article.² The article goes on to quote on a neighborhood association member saying “There’s a lot of jobs that weren’t here before...they kind of made them out of nothing.”²

The data presented in this section brings a quantitative perspective to the anecdotes of economic prosperity in the Whiteaker. Fermented beverage businesses have undeniably flooded the neighborhood with jobs and earnings, but the neighborhood’s overall economic position has been more tenuous. In 2008, the Whiteaker took a hit, along with the rest of the country, and has been slowly recovering ever since. Despite the slow recovery, property values in the neighborhood have increased since the early 2000s.

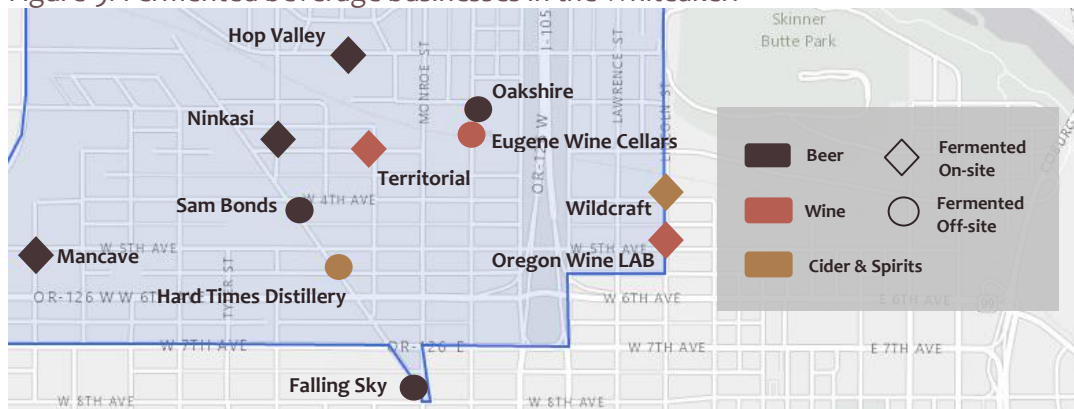
New Businesses

Since 2006, eight fermented beverage businesses that have located in the Whiteaker:

- Ninkasi (2007)
- Falling Sky Pour House and Delicatessen (2013)
- Hop Valley Brewing Company (2013)
- Oakshire Brewing (2013)
- Oregon Wine LAB (2013)
- Hard Times Distillery Tasting Room (2014)
- Wildcraft Cider Works (2014)
- Mancave Brewing Company (2015)

Note that Sam Bond’s Garage, Eugene Wine Cellars, and Territorial Vineyards and Wine Company already existed in the neighborhood prior to Ninkasi’s arrival.^a These businesses, and others recently opening in the areas, have contributed to a general trend of increased economic activity.

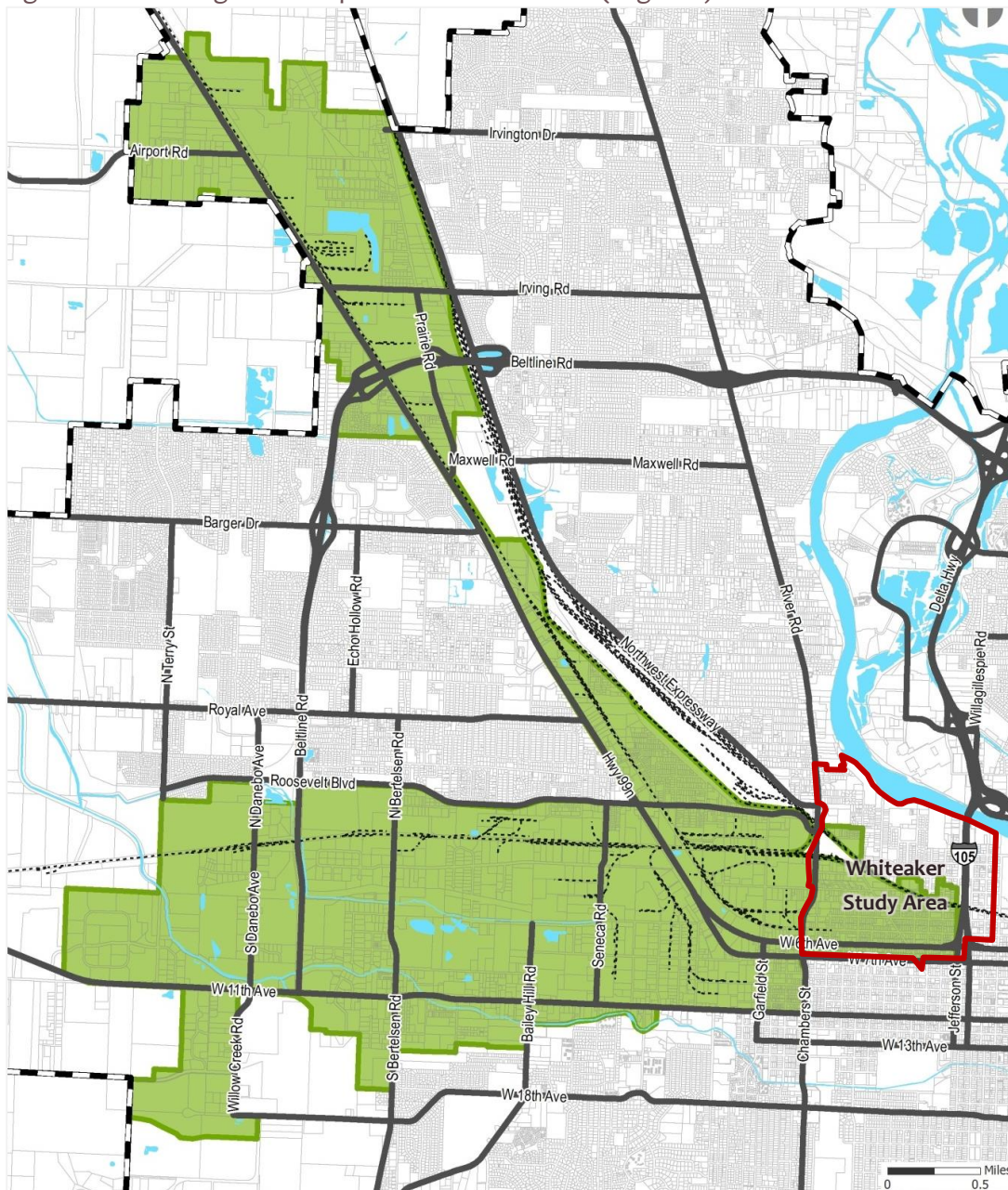
Figure 9. Fermented beverage businesses in the Whiteaker.



^a Sam Bond’s Garage opened in 1995, Eugene Wine Cellars in 1999, and Territorial Vineyards and Wine Company in 2001.

Portions of the Whiteaker neighborhood fall within the West Eugene Enterprise Zone, an area sponsored by the City of Eugene and Lane County “to stimulate new investments that create jobs.”³ Businesses within the Zone may qualify for 3 – 5 years of property tax exemptions. Since 2005 when State designated the Enterprise Zone, three fermented beverage businesses have taken advantage of the three-year property tax breaks: Ninkasi, Hop Valley, and Oakshire. Since only four businesses have participated in the Zone’s exemptions, fermented beverage businesses have accounted for three-quarters of the recipients. Participating businesses are required to increase their permanent, full-time employment within the Zone by either one full position or by 10%, whichever is greater. As the next section demonstrates, fermented beverage businesses in the Whiteaker have indeed contributed significantly to the area’s employment.

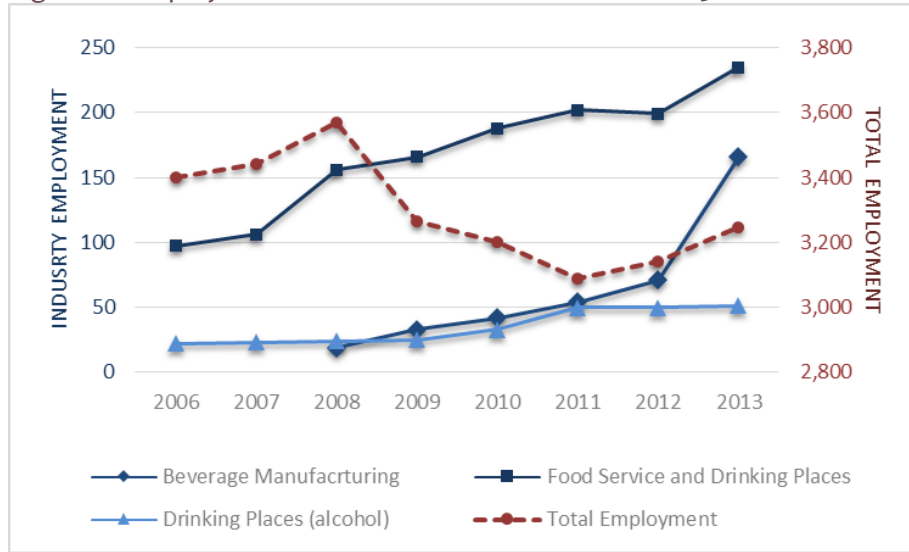
Figure 10. West Eugene Enterprise Zone boundaries (in green).



Source: City of Eugene. <https://www.eugene-or.gov/index.aspx?NID=825>

Employment and Payroll^b

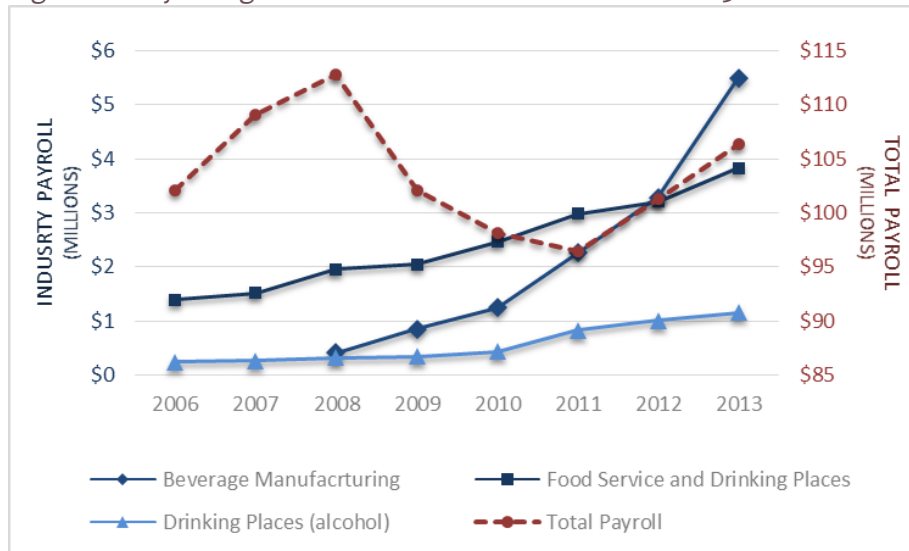
Figure 11. Employment in the Whiteaker from 2006 – 2013.



Source: Oregon Employment Department.

Although the total number of employees in the Whiteaker has decreased slightly since 2006, the number of employees in sectors related to fermented beverage businesses have all increased. Beverage Manufacturing, in particular, has seen a 774 percent increase in employees since 2008 when data became available. Even as the neighborhood as a whole suffered from national recession, fermented beverage businesses witnessed steady job growth. The sharp increase from 2012 to 2013 can be attributed to Hop Valley’s entrance into the neighborhood in 2012. Drinking Places (alcohol) and Food Service and Drinking Places have more than doubled the number of employees since 2006.

Figure 12. Payroll figures in the Whiteaker from 2006 – 2013.



Source: Oregon Employment Department.

^b Appendix 2 presents additional information about employment and payroll.

Total payroll and fermented beverage sector payrolls have all increased since 2006. Again, Beverage Manufacturing shows the steepest increase: businesses in this sector have made a 1,225 percent increase in payments to employees since data became available in 2008. Given that the number of employees in this sector has not increased quite as quickly as payroll, we see that the average beverage manufacturing employee now makes more money. In 2008, the average payroll figure per employee was just under \$22,000; by 2013, this figure increased to just over \$33,000. Payroll for Drinking Places (alcohol) has more than doubled the number of employees since 2006, while payroll for Food Service and Drinking Places has grown nearly 5-fold. The average payroll figure per employee in Drinking Places (alcohol) has gone from just over \$13,000 in 2006 to just over \$22,500 in 2013.

For comparison, the average payroll figure for all industries in the Whiteaker remained relatively flat, hovering between \$30,000 and \$33,000 from 2006 to 2013. The average wage across all private industries in Lane County is just under \$39,000, so all employees in the Whiteaker make slightly less than the county average.⁴

In 2008, fermented beverage sectors accounted for 6% of total employment and 2% of total payroll in the Whiteaker. In 2013, the fermented beverage sectors' share of total employment and total payroll had risen to 14% and 10% respectively. These increases show that the fermented beverage sector has bucked the trend of slow employment recovery and contributed the overall increase in the Whiteaker businesses' total payroll. While the fermented beverage sector is by no means the sole driver of economic growth in the Whiteaker, it has taken on an increasingly important role since the area first became a hub of breweries, urban wineries, cideries, meaderies, and distilleries. The neighborhood's jobs and wages as a whole, however, have not experienced very much growth. The story of the Whiteaker's economy has been more one of slow recovery than economic boomtown.

Property Values^c

Table 1. Total property value changes between 2002 and 2012.

Total Value (1460 properties)	2002	2012	% Change
Land	\$ 87,248,653	\$ 135,238,644	55.0%
Improved	\$ 233,566,992	\$ 267,871,461	14.7%
Land + Improved (Market)	\$ 320,815,645	\$ 403,110,105	25.7%
Assessed	\$ 220,472,707	\$ 259,270,140	17.6%

2002 figures adjusted for inflation to 2012 levels.

Source: Lane County Assessor, 2002 and 2012.

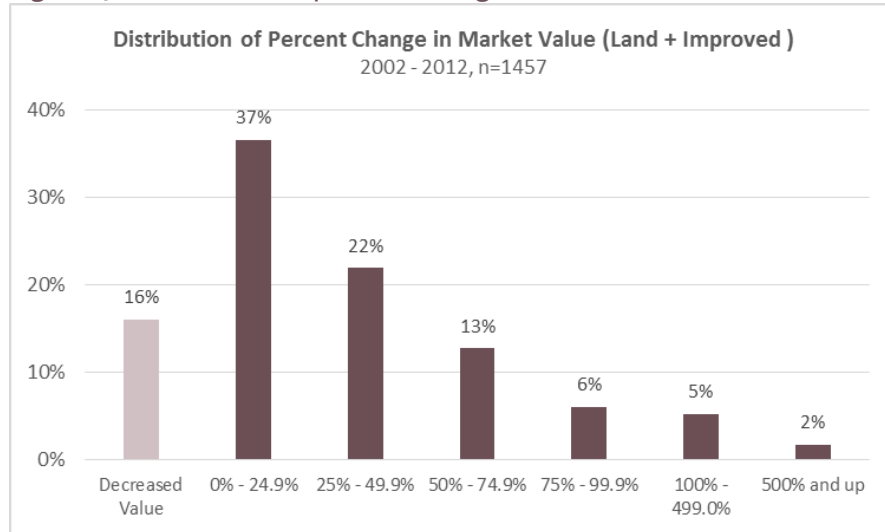
Since 2002, the combined market value of Whiteaker properties has increased 25%, while the combined assessed value (the figure used to levy property taxes) has increased 17%. This benefits property owners whose investments have increased in value, and means the area contributes more property taxes (as of 2012) than it did in the early 2000s.

A more detailed breakdown of property value changes reveals that some properties have decreased in value. 16% of properties have experienced decreases in market value, meaning that these owners would likely have to sell their properties for less than they would have in 2002. Oregon's property tax laws strictly regulate changes in properties' assessed values, so almost 80% of the Whiteaker's properties have experienced only the capped increase in

^c Appendix 3 presents additional information about property values.

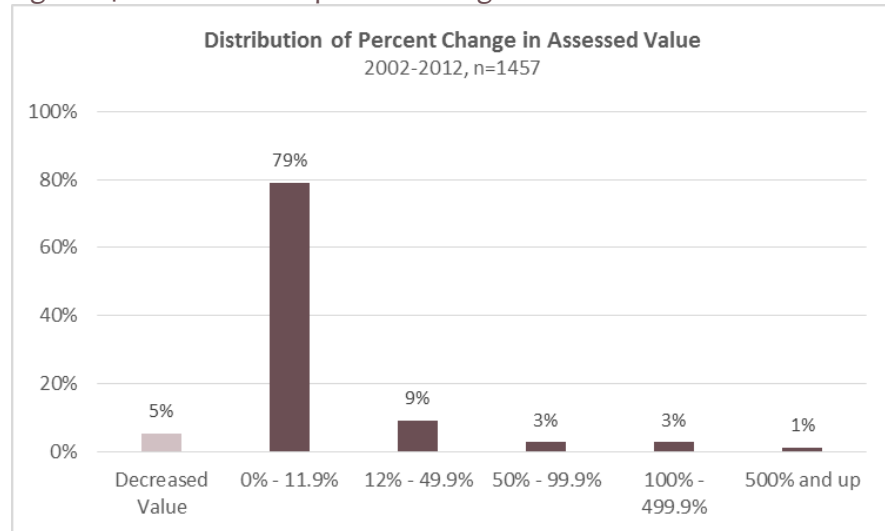
assessed value. Those approximately 20% of properties whose assessed value has increased or decreased beyond or below the capped rate have likely sold and reset to their market value for tax assessment purposes.

Figure 13. Breakdown of percent change in **market values** in the Whiteaker.



Source: Lane County Assessor, 2002 and 2012.

Figure 14. Breakdown of percent change in **assessed values** in the Whiteaker.



Source: Lane County Assessor, 2002 and 2012.

In 2012, 45 properties had a market value over \$1 million, while 19 properties had an assessed value over \$1 million. Ninkasi was the only fermented beverage business to fall into either of these categories, but seven fermentation businesses have located and improved their properties since 2012, so the available data would not capture any value increases from these changes.

Future Investigation of Property Values Recommended

The data here present a very high-level picture of changes in the Whiteaker's property values. Further investigation of property trends, particularly residential property trends, would better illuminate changes in value and ownership. Combined with demographic data, this would provide a more detailed picture of socio-economic changes in the neighborhood.

Changes to Neighborhood Character

How has the social environment changed in the Whiteaker since 2006?

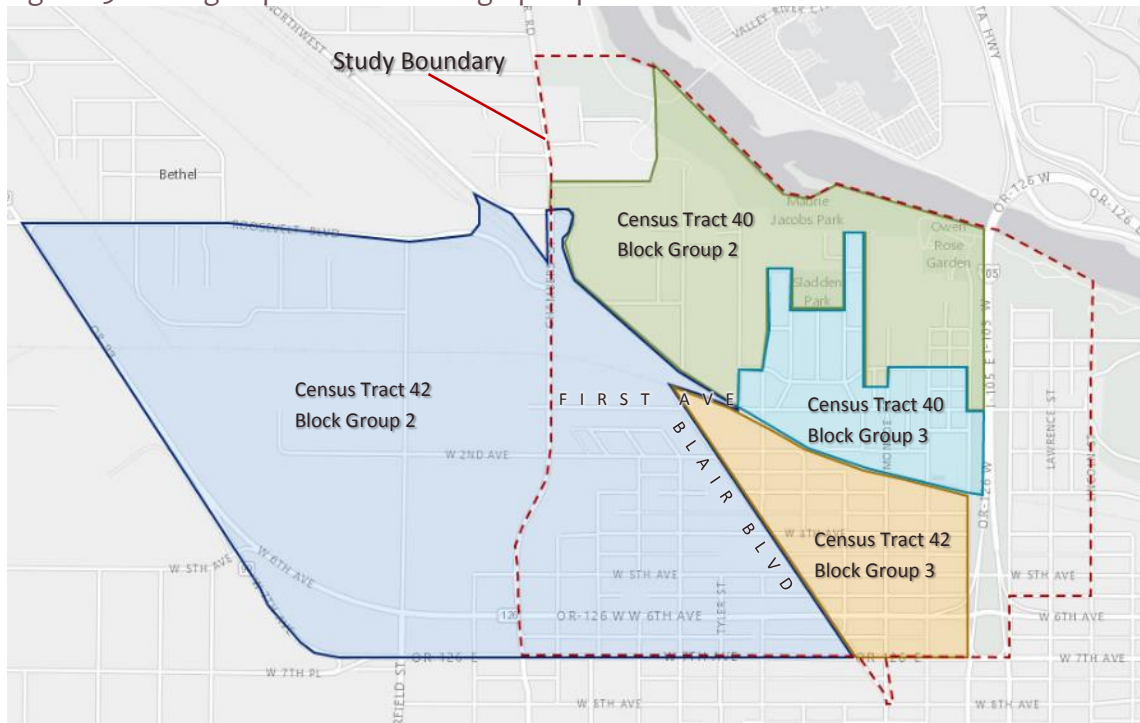
As with the Whiteaker's physical footprint, little about the neighborhood's demographic makeup changed between 2000 and 2010 (years of available data from the US Census Bureau). A few areas including income and the racial/ethnic composition have made more significant shifts, but overall, the neighborhood in 2010 looked much like it did 2000: an area dominated by white, young to middle aged renters with small households and fairly low incomes.

Beyond demographic metrics, this section also considers alterations in the *feel* of the Whiteaker. While it is impossible to accurately measure something like the atmosphere of a neighborhood, this section records some of the common problems and complaints discussed by residents and confirmed by City staff. Particularly in the past five years, a new set of issues has replaced the concerns of transiency, drugs, and other illicit behaviors that characterized the neighborhood in the 1980s through early 2000s.

Demographic Profile

Data presented in this section comes from Census Tract 40, Block Groups 2 & 3, and Census Tract 42, Block Groups 2&3. This covers the majority of the Whiteaker neighborhood's physical boundaries, with the exception of the areas east of the Washington-Jefferson overpass. The area in Census Tract 42, Block Group 2 that extends outside of the study area contains very few homes and should therefore not greatly skew the data. For a full presentation of demographic data for the Whiteaker neighborhood and data sources, see Appendix 4.

Figure 15. Block groups used for demographic profile.



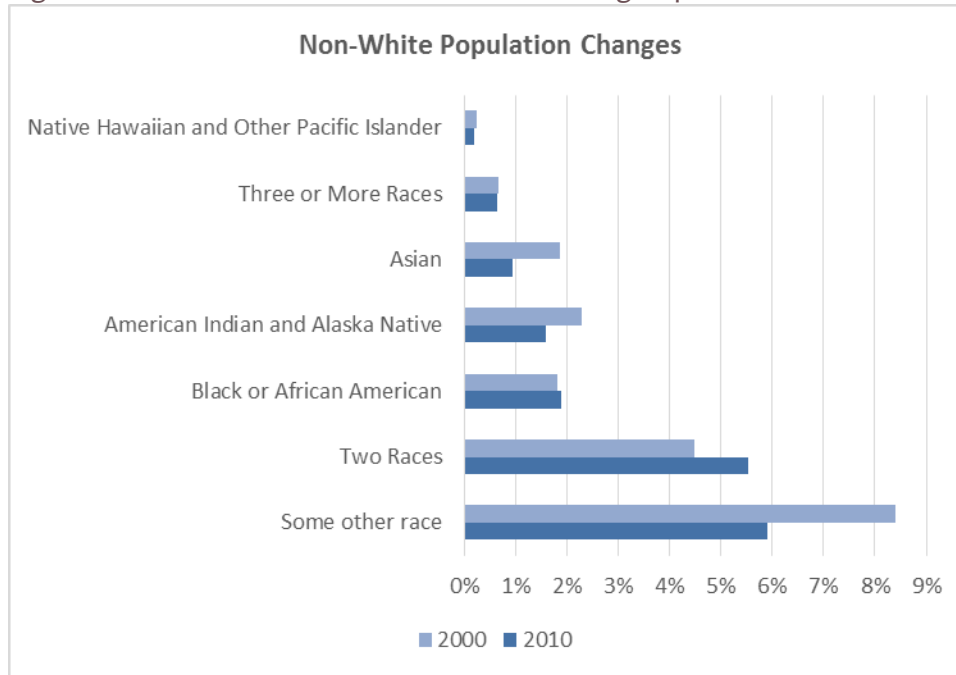
Population and Age

In terms of population, age, and racial composition, the Whiteaker has seen only slight shifts. Overall, the population has declined slightly from just over 4,000 to just under 4,000. Most of the loss in population came from the area west of Blair Boulevard. The neighborhood has aged slightly with median age increasing from 31 to 34. This comes from a particular increase in those aged 55-64.

Race and Ethnicity

While the Whiteaker has been more racially diverse than the rest of Eugene (where 86% of residents are white), the neighborhood saw a slight decline in its non-white population between 2000 and 2010. The neighborhood was 83% white in 2010, compared to 80% in 2000.⁵ Figure 16 shows the distribution of declines in racial diversity. The largest drop in non-white population has come from those who identify as multi-racial.

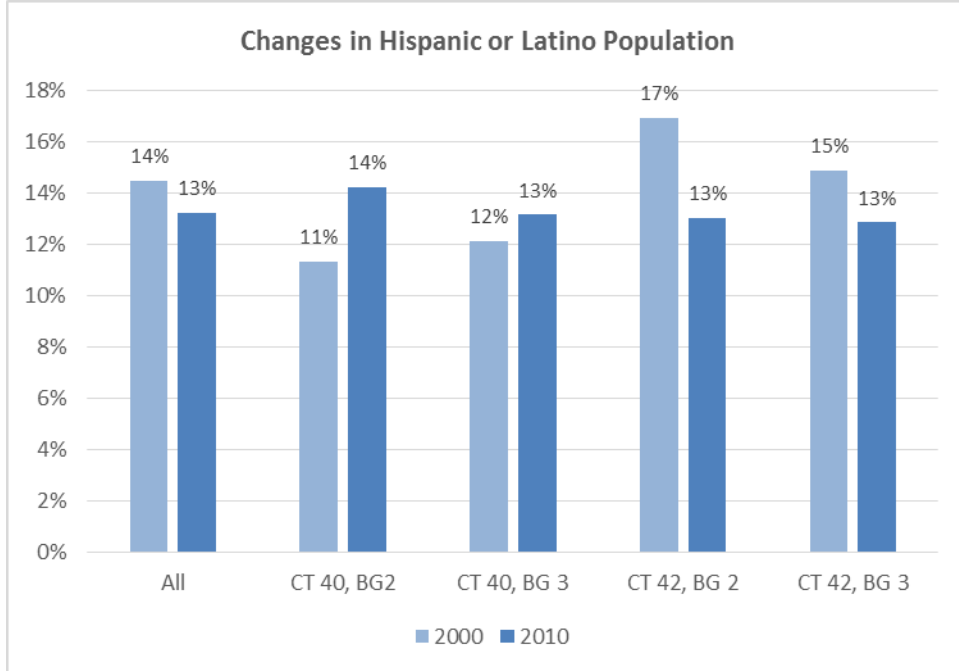
Figure 16. Non-white race distribution in all block groups in 2000 and 2010.



Source: US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Race. Table P003; 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Race. Table P1.

The neighborhood has also experienced a decline in the population who identify as Hispanic or Latino. As Figure 17 shows, the greatest losses have occurred in the two areas that form the southern part of the neighborhood. The same geographic trend applies to losses of non-white racial groups.

Figure 17. Total and block group percent of population that identifies as Hispanic or Latino in 2000 and 2010.



Source: US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Hispanic or Latino by Race (Total Races Tallied). Table P010; Census 2010 Summary File 1, Hispanic and Latino or Not Hispanic and Latino by Race. Table P9.

Households and Housing

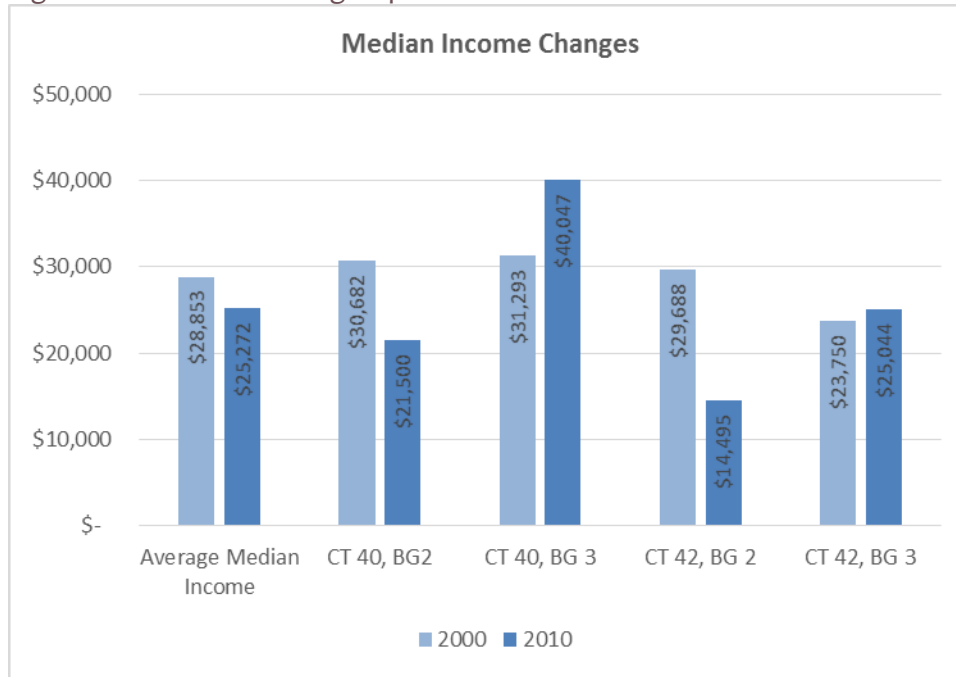
Both household size and housing tenure (owner-occupied housing unit versus renter-occupied units) have changed only slightly between 2000 and 2010. Overall, the Whiteaker has fewer households of three or more and more one- and two-person households. The neighborhood consists predominantly of one- and two-person households: in 2000 about 70% of the population lived in one- or two-person households, a figure which increased to about 75% in 2010.

For decades, the Whiteaker has been known as an area dominated by rentals. In both 2000 and 2010, renter-occupied housing units made up about 79% of the housing stock. Housing tenure within different geographic areas of the neighborhood did not shift much either, with the exception of a 16% increase in rental-occupied units just north of 1st Avenue.

Income and education

The Whiteaker’s median income in 2000 was just under \$29,000 and just over \$25,000 in 2010. While the area north of 1st Avenue closest to the river experienced an almost \$10,000 increase in median income, areas just north of 1st Avenue and west of Blair Boulevard experienced large median income decreases. Compared to the rest of Eugene, the Whiteaker is a relatively low-income neighborhood. Eugene’s median household income is around \$42,000, about \$13,000 more than the average Whiteaker household.⁶

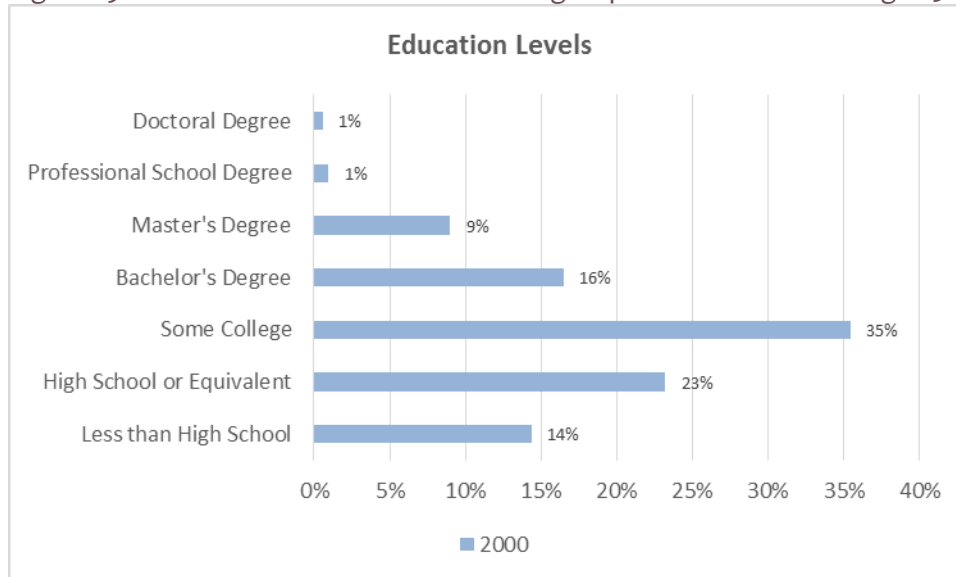
Figure 18. Total and block group median income in 2000 and 2010.



Source: US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Median Family Income in 1999 (Dollars). Table P077; 2009-2013 5-Year American Community Survey, Median Household Income in Past 12 Months (In 2013 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars). Table B19013.

Unfortunately data at the level of income distribution is not available for recent years in any statistically robust format. Margins of error for the 2009-2013 estimates make income data for the area meaningless. The 2000 Census, however, revealed that about 42% of Whiteaker residents had incomes below \$20,000. To document more recent shifts of income distribution, someone would need to conduct a Whiteaker-specific survey.

Figure 19. Education distribution in all block groups in 2000 for adults age 25+.



Source: US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Sex by Education Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older.

As with income distribution data, 2009-2013 educational attainment estimates have large margins of error. A survey of the Whiteaker neighborhood would be required to illuminate recent changes in educational attainment with any significance. Data from 2000 in Figure 19 does provide some sense of what the neighborhood used to look like though. It shows that more than a third of Whiteaker residents had only had a high school education or less. For comparison, fewer Whiteaker residents had at a Bachelor's Degree, Professional Degree, Master's Degree, or Doctoral Degree than all Eugene residents (27% compared to Eugene's 40%).⁷

Limitations and Implications of Demographic Data

It is important to note that since many of the most significant changes in the Whiteaker have occurred in the past 5 years, the demographic profile presented here might not provide the most accurate measure of more recent population shifts. Without data from 2011 – 2015, it is impossible to conclude with certainty that no large demographic changes have taken place since fermented beverage businesses began sprouting up in the Whiteaker. Additionally, the lack of meaningful data on income creates a significant barrier to understanding the type of population changes occurring in the neighborhood.

Despite these limitations, the data presented above still teach us something about the neighborhood. With a few exceptions, little has changed in the demographic makeup of the Whiteaker. The neighborhood experienced a slight decline in racial and ethnic diversity and a small decrease in median income. As more data becomes available, further research may give credence to anecdotal evidence that a younger, wealthier crowd is slowly taking over the neighborhood.

Common Complaints

In conversations with Whiteaker neighborhood residents and City staff, observations on four common themes surface repeatedly: parking, disorderly behavior, noise, and smell. While reactions to these issues differ (discussed in more detail in Part 3: Perceptions), everyone seems to agree that the neighborhood experiences increased pressures from car traffic, rude, drunken behavior, the sound of Ninkasi's manufacturing equipment, and the scent of grain malting.

Parking

The Whiteaker mixed use zone includes an exemption for the standard parking requirements businesses usually must meet. The planning team saw this as a way to stimulate growth by removing an often-cited barrier to development. They assumed any development would serve the neighborhood and "never expected the rest of the city to come visit."⁸ The team hoped that anyone coming to the neighborhood would be encouraged to walk, bike, or ride the bus.

As the Whiteaker, particularly the parking-exempt mixed use area around Blair Boulevard, has become a destination for residents of Eugene/Springfield and beyond, adequate parking has become a big challenge. One community member has even created a website for residents to post pictures of bad parking in the neighborhood. Figure 20 provides one extreme example.

Figure 20. Bad parking across from Ninkasi.



Source: The Brewery District website.
<<http://www.eugenebrewerydistrict.com/bad-parking/>>

The residential areas surrounding Blair Boulevard have experienced overflow parking from brewery-goers, and the City has received numerous complaints regarding parking.⁹ Together, the City, members of the Whiteaker Community Council (the Whiteaker’s neighborhood association), and residents are trying to find additional parking outlets. For now though, residents interviewed for this project have universally mentioned increased visitation and the accompanying parking needs as a major recent change for the neighborhood.

Truck Traffic – A Notable Exception

Although parking often came up in conversations with residents and City staff, only one resident mentioned increased delivery truck traffic as a significant change for the neighborhood. This indicates that the Whiteaker is well-designed to accommodate industrial traffic with minimal impact on residential areas. Service vehicles may take routes that do not disturb residents, or residents may be sufficiently accustomed to this form of traffic that it doesn’t bother them.

Disorderly Behavior

Along with parking complaints, residents also frequently recall poor behavior from patrons of the various fermented beverage businesses and restaurants. Eugene’s Building Official reports that his office and the police have received many calls from residents complaining of loud, disruptive, drunken behavior in residential neighborhoods.⁹ These reports have increased in frequency in the past several years, although it is important to note that other complaints of conduct (often drug-related), have been a constant occurrence for decades. Further analysis of crime data for the area would more definitively illuminate trends related to illegal behavior, but such analysis is beyond the scope of this project.

Industrial Noise

Ninkasi’s large operation has become a source increased noise since the brewery expanded their facility in 2014. In particular, their manufacturing space has a fan that produces a constant sound audible to residents in the immediate area. Ninkasi’s fan does not violate any code provisions, in part because the standards in the Whiteaker mixed use zone are not particularly extensive or descriptive and do not mandate a buffer between industrial and residential uses. Ninkasi could choose to proceed without changing their operations, but instead, the brewery has made an effort to respond to residents’ complaints and create a sound barrier.

Since the Whiteaker has always hosted residential and industrial uses in close proximity, industrial by-products such as noise are not unheard of in the neighborhood. When some of the residents interviewed for this project speak about neighborhood changes, however, they point to noise as a factor that was not previously as noticeable.⁷

Brewing Smells

Part of the brewing process involves the “malting” of the grains used to produce beer. This step produces a smell something akin to warm, grainy cereal. Most days and nights in the Whiteaker, this scent fills the outside air. Prior to Ninkasi and Hop Valley (the two large-scale brewing operations in the Whiteaker), the neighborhood had no pervasive smells.

¹ City of Eugene. *Land Use Application Search* webpage. <http://pdd.eugene-or.gov/LandUse/ApplicationSearch>

² McDonald, Sherri Buri. “New Era Brewing in the Whiteaker.” *The Register Guard*. August. 12, 2013.

³ City of Eugene. *West Eugene Enterprise Zone* webpage. <https://www.eugene-or.gov/index.aspx?NID=825>

⁴ State of Oregon Employment Department. *Employment and Wages by Industry (QCEW), Lane County Annual 2014*. “Total Private Coverage: Annual Average Wage.” <https://www.qualityinfo.org/>

⁵ US Census Bureau. 2010 Census, Race. “Eugene, Oregon QuickFacts.”

⁶ US Census Bureau. American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates, Median Household Income. “Eugene, Oregon QuickFacts.”

⁷ U.S. Census Bureau. “Educational Attainment For Population 25 Years And Over, 2006-2010” Social Explorer. Web. October 16, 2014.

⁸ Conversation with Scott Meisner. 4/21/15.

⁹ Conversation with Stuart Ramsing, City of Eugene Division Manager/Building Official. 4/2/15.

Part 3: Perspectives

Part 2: Changes began with two stories commonly passed around about the Whiteaker's development in the past 10 years. The first story emphasizes the positive impacts of fermented beverage businesses while the second focuses on their patrons' destruction of the neighborhood's funky character. This section records the thoughts and feelings of actors in the Whiteaker's process of change.^a These perspectives begin to illustrate the wide array of interpretations a neighborhood and city develops to understand and respond to change.

The American Psychological Association defines *perception* as “The processes that organize information...and interpret it as having been produced by properties of objects or events in the external...world.”¹ As this definition explains, our perception of the world derives from our *interpretation* of it. While we exist in some factual pattern of objects and events, our observations and past experiences of these objects and events determine what stories we tell to explain our world. Perceptions cannot be objectively true or false; our perceptions represent our own reality, which may be different from our neighbor's.

In many cases, perspectives presented here contradict each other because different actors have arrived at different interpretations of changes in the Whiteaker. Perspectives should not be judged as right or wrong; they simply express the different realities of each community member interviewed for this study. At the same time, the perspectives presented here do not represent the views of *every* city official, *every* Whiteaker business, or *every* Whiteaker resident. I believe they touch on many of the key issues and sentiments of participants in the neighborhood's development, but, as one resident reminded me, the neighborhood is not a monolith. Neither are fermented beverage businesses, and neither is the City of Eugene.

Since I cannot possibly describe City officials', businesses', or residents' full breadth of thoughts and feelings, I compromise with five vignettes. Each section features different perspectives about changes and responses to changes in the Whiteaker. I cover the thoughts shared with me in interviews with five actors:

- A City of Eugene official,
- The owner of a recently opened brewery,
- A new resident and employee of a brewery,
- A resident who recently left the Whiteaker but remains active in the community, and
- A long-time resident and participant in the 1992-1994 planning process.

I use the stories of these five individuals to highlight some of the different views of government, businesses, and community members. Often, I also draw on other interviews and material I have gathered to support or add depth to the five perspectives I present. Although far from comprehensive, these views illustrate issues that might surface any time a community faces big changes. Later, Part 4: Lessons will offer some guidance for addressing these issues.

^a Appendix 5 describes the methodology used to gather the perspectives presented here.

Public Officials: Helping Emotions Navigate Bureaucracy

How have City of Eugene officials perceived and reacted to changes in the neighborhood?

Eugene’s city government exists to serve the public and promote Eugene’s welfare. It maintains law and order, responds to residents’ concerns, and guides the city’s infrastructure and services in a direction that reflects the public’s desires. With these responsibilities and values in mind, the City follows a set of policies, guidelines, and laws to structure its day-to-day activities. The City must follow these rules strictly to maintain fairness and accountability.

Documents such as the Whiteaker Neighborhood Plan and the City’s land use code act as the City’s blueprint for approving and managing proposed developments and alterations. In the Whiteaker, the code has governed all physical changes permitted by the City. Eugene’s Planning Director explains that for most of the past twenty years, the City’s only major involvement in the Whiteaker (beyond the provision of standard neighborhood services) has been to approve or deny land use permits based on the stipulations of the code.² As development in the neighborhood has accelerated, however, the City finds itself taking a more active role in the Whiteaker.

An Empathetic Approach to Code Enforcement³

Stuart Ramsing, the City of Eugene’s Building Official^b, and his department have the responsibility of dealing with code violations and enforcement. As more fermented beverage businesses move into the Whiteaker, eagerly followed by flocks of customers, Ramsing and his department have fielded an increasing number of complaints from residents. As Ramsing explains, he and his staff walk a fine line when it comes to complaints.

Ramsing has an obligation as a public servant to treat everyone equally, and in practice, this means applying the code to everyone in exactly the same way. But Ramsing says this becomes tricky when residents have a deep emotional attachment to an issue. Ramsing uses the example of Ninkasi’s previously discussed loud industrial fan to illustrate his point. Nearby residents, deeply disturbed by the insidious hum Ninkasi’s fan, complained to the City and requested an intervention. The code sets a specific decibel level, which when exceeded becomes a public nuisance subject to citation. Ramsing advised residents to work with his department and Ninkasi to reach a resolution without invoking the nuisance ordinance, but disgruntled residents engaged a sonic engineer to test the fan’s decibel level. The engineer’s test concluded that the fan’s sound was *just under* the maximum permissible noise level, thereby clearing Ninkasi of any legal obligation to address the issue.

While Ninkasi chose to continue with plans to muffle the noise, Ramsing points to the dilemma he would have faced had Ninkasi acted otherwise. Declaring the noise permissible under the code doesn’t relieve residents’ displeasure at the sound, but it does remove Ramsing’s ability to act legally on their behalf. Arguments of “Why can’t you just make an exception? It’s so close to the line!” and “Why can’t you just be reasonable!” can carry no weight for a public official governed strictly by the law. Ramsing can never bend the rules without forfeiting his integrity.

^b Ramsing transitioned into another position with the City soon after participating in an interview for this project, but served as Building Official from 2001 to May 3, 2015.

For an emotionally invested resident, this logic is hard to swallow. “Bureaucracies,” Ramsing concludes, “are poorly equipped to deal with angry people.”

To avoid situations like the Ninkasi fan, Ramsing prefers to resolve issues *without* invoking the letter of the law. Ramsing says he understands the annoyance that drives residents to file a complaint with his department. He also knows that when residents want a “nuisance” addressed, working with a seemingly unresponsive government can be deeply frustrating. But Ramsing points out that resource limitations and legal constraints often limit his ability to act.

Ramsing constantly feels the tension between his ethical obligation to consistently apply the law and his human desire to help people who feel their peace has been unacceptably violated. To balance these responsibilities, Ramsing tries to navigate the law with empathy. In emotionally charged situations like those surfacing in the Whiteaker, Ramsing does his best to find creative solutions that fit within the legal framework without falling back on standard code enforcement.

Fermentation Businesses: Good Neighbors, Responsible Citizens

How have fermented beverage businesses perceived and reacted to changes in the neighborhood?

Fermented beverage businesses that participated in this study unsurprisingly believe they have had a positive impact on the Whiteaker. Stories from Hop Valley and a few other breweries here describe the specific benefits these businesses believe they bring to the neighborhood.

A View from Hop Valley⁴

Hop Valley Brewing began, as so many of Eugene’s and Springfield’s fermented beverage businesses began, with a couple of people and a passion for craft beer. “Four lifelong Oregonians with knowledge of the local beer market and a better understanding of craft beer just wanted to make some good beer,” Hop Valley’s website informs us.⁵ After opening a small production facility in Springfield in 2009, the brewery exploded in popularity and the owners began to contemplate expansion. Between 2011 and 2012, Hop Valley performed its due-diligence and carefully crafted a plan to open a new facility.

According to Hop Valley co-owner Ron Howard, the brewery considered a variety of potential sites, but eventually settled on a building and lot in the Whiteaker. The building had the right capacity, the zoning allowed for the brewery’s proposed uses, the property was highly accessible by truck, car, bus, bike, and foot, and the location’s proximity to the Whiteaker’s funky Blair district offered a built-in synergy with other food, beverage, and entertainment businesses. After extensive remodeling of the existing building and site, Hop Valley opened its Whiteaker doors in early 2013, boosting production capacity from 4,000 barrels to 12,000 barrels and adding just under 100 new employees.⁵

Since opening in the Whiteaker, Hop Valley has been intentionally conscious of the business’s impact on the neighborhood. Co-owner Ron Howard says that the company strives to create a gathering space for the community. The brewery employs about six Whiteaker residents and at least once a week, the tasting room hosts local Whiteaker musicians. Howard thinks his brewery has also improved the neighborhood’s aesthetic. Before Hop Valley renovated the building they occupy, it sat vacant for about 6 years. Figure 21 shows the lot’s transformation.

Figure 21. Hop Valley site in 2011 and 2015.



BEFORE

Source: Google Streetview & Aniko Drlík-Muehleck



AFTER

Hop Valley's appearance on the Whiteaker scene has not come without problems. Neighbors across the street from the facility complain of patrons taking up their parking spaces, and some have expressed concerns over noise from events at the brewery. Howard says that the company has tried to address all these concerns head-on. Hop Valley staff work directly with residents to deal with complaints and the brewery tries to send at least one representative to the monthly Whiteaker Community Council (neighborhood association) meetings. By earnestly reaching out to the neighborhood and actively working to resolve issues, Howard thinks Hop Valley has avoided serious conflict and created a pervasive sense of goodwill.

In the two years Hop Valley has been part of the Whiteaker, Howard believes the brewery has had a positive impact on the neighborhood and hopes others feel the same. Howard takes pride in his company's deliberate effort to openly engage with neighbors over their concerns and feels that Hop Valley has been the best neighbor they can be. In Howard's view, the residents and the company all benefit from each other.

The Fermentation Way: A Socially Responsible Business Model

Hop Valley's story and those of many other fermented beverage businesses point to a common thread in the ethos of businesses now setting up shop in the Whiteaker: social responsibility. The majority of new businesses feel they have an obligation to improve their community through environmental awareness and charitable giving.

Hop Valley emphasizes the "triple-bottom-line" as a core business value: the brewery focuses on limiting environmental impact and promoting social well-being in addition to turning a profit. The company re-purposed an old barn in the construction of their facility, incorporated green-building techniques into the structure, and drew as much as possible on local sources of labor. To the extent they are able, co-owner Howard states, the company tries to give back to the community, hosting or sponsoring charity events for over 100 charities.

Other fermented beverage businesses have similar ethics and see themselves as active institutions that generate community value. Ninkasi explicitly writes community into their mission: "We believe in and are committed to sharing experiences that create value for our customers, our partners, and our communities in service to our core purpose: to Perpetuate Better Living."⁶ Oakshire Brewing takes a similar stance. Their tagline—Strength, Independence, Community—highlights the values Oakshire strives to embody. The brewery's website proclaims, "We love where we work and really love the community where we live and do business."⁷ Both Ninkasi and Oakshire regularly take on a philanthropic role through donations and special events. Both have also worked toward environmental stewardship.

Brandon Woodruff of Mancave Brewing, one of the Whiteaker's newest additions, feels a particularly strong obligation to serve the community. Woodruff grew up in the area and was personally touched the poverty and drug addiction that have plagued the Whiteaker for years. Inspired by his experiences, Woodruff has created an enterprise that deliberately reaches out to underserved members of the community. "We except applications from every person and from every walk of life; that means even the people that don't have money to print their resume off at the local Kinkos," Woodruff explains.⁸ The brewery operates as a "society." Members (anyone can become a member) purchase Mancave merchandise and 100 percent of the proceeds go towards charity. Woodruff believes that his business has "what it takes to be a substantial investor into our community."⁹

A Sunny Outlook

While acknowledging that their operations might disrupt their neighbors, fermented beverage businesses feel that their open, honest communication with Whiteaker residents minimizes any stress they place on the neighborhood. The businesses, true to their community-oriented visions, view their work as a platform for environmental and social activism. And for the most part, these businesses believe Whiteaker residents see them in a similar light. Although he acknowledges that some people will never be comfortable with changes to their neighborhood, Hop Valley's Ron Howard considers the Whiteaker to have welcomed his business with open arms.¹⁰

Residents: Stuck in the Spotlight

How have Whiteaker residents perceived and reacted to changes in their neighborhood?

Residents' reactions to changes in their neighborhood have ranged from extreme displeasure to delight and pride. Disgruntled residents can be highly vocal. One concerned neighbor is developing a documentary, *The Brewery District*, which "documents how a neighborhood was drastically transformed from an activist and artist community to a tourist attraction and the impact these changes has had on its residents."¹¹ The Brewery District website keeps residents abreast of local issues and presents evidence of the Whiteaker's "gentrification."¹¹ More contented residents often assume a quieter position. They have little need to speak out when the popular media already ascribes to and publicizes their views.

While some residents certainly have extreme views, the vast majority fall somewhere in the middle on the contentment/concern spectrum. The following three perspectives explore the tensions and mixed-feelings that surface when change comes and a neighborhood suddenly finds itself in the spotlight.

The (Mostly) Good¹²

Laura and Dan^c moved to the Whiteaker about two years ago to join in the fermentation movement. Dan works for a brewery and Laura is a student at the University of Oregon. Since moving to the neighborhood, both have felt generously folded into what they describe as an "extended family." Most of their friends also work at or have connections to other fermented beverage businesses in the Whiteaker.

^c Names changed to protect identity.

Laura and Dan *love* the neighborhood's culture. Laura speaks fondly of the excitement and activity she feels all around her. She likes to walk down Blair and pop in to businesses recently opened by her friends. She and Dan regularly meet up with their friends and neighbors at local breweries and restaurants. They enjoy the feeling of constant, vibrant community. The Whiteaker is "a special place," Laura comments. What other neighborhood in Eugene offers such a sense of life and camaraderie? Where else can you work, socialize, and meet all your basic needs?

And yet both Laura and Dan sense mounting tensions in the neighborhood. They say that even in the short time they've lived in the Whiteaker, residents have become more polarized. Citing a few nasty exchanges on the Whiteaker's Facebook page, Laura and Dan suggest that residents are becoming defensive in response to "outside forces" pressuring the neighborhood. As the fermentation district grows in popularity, more and more visitors travel to the Whiteaker, and visitors don't necessarily respect residents' space.

Even though they are pleased with the neighborhood's prosperity, Laura and Dan also feel somewhat wary of the visiting crowds. "We want you to come and enjoy yourself," Laura says, "but please, just leave at the end of the day. This isn't your home, it's ours." The couple worries that their tight-knit creative culture will vanish if enough outsiders continue to encroach on the neighborhood.

The Troubling¹³

Ben^c grew up in the River Road area, just on the outskirts of the Whiteaker. In the early 2000s, Ben moved to the Whiteaker and has since hopped around a variety of inexpensive rentals in the neighborhood. Ben recently became more actively involved in the community (although he has always taken an interest in the neighborhood's well-being) and joined the board of the Whiteaker's neighborhood association, the Whiteaker Community Council (WCC). During his time on the WCC board, Ben worked with the City to address the issue of parking scarcity and helped put on a series of workshops to educate residents about their rights.

Ben fondly recalls his younger years in the Whiteaker. Housing was extremely affordable and nobody scrutinized their neighbors' activities – Ben remembers loud parties near the train tracks that went late into the night, but says nobody ever complained of the noise. The low cost of housing made it possible for low-income artists to sustain themselves and their small-scale entrepreneurial efforts.

But now, times are changing. Ben recently moved away from the Whiteaker because he could find less expensive housing in a different part of town. On a tight budget, trying to support himself and his son, Ben sees his move as the only logical decision. Although Ben no longer lives in the Whiteaker, he still feels very connected to the community and says he'll probably move back if rents permit it. He often attends WCC meetings and has deep concerns about low-income residents' ability to remain in the neighborhood. Even a small increase in rent can push someone with very little income out.

Ben also worries that the Whiteaker's artist population will struggle in the neighborhood's new, more highly scrutinized environment. For years, artists and other residents "did their own thing," but as newcomers move to the area, Ben says the neighborhood seems less tolerant of non-traditional yards and in-home businesses. For Ben, the creative, non-conformist attitude of the Whiteaker made it special. As developments in the neighborhood push it into the public eye, Ben feels an increasing pressure on the culture to become more mainstream.

If nobody acts soon, Ben fears a rapid displacement of people and culture will occur in the next decade. But Ben is a realist. “You shouldn’t try to stop growth,” he explains, “but there are a lot of people who will be hurt by it. We need to put something in place to make the displacement more incremental.” Ben likes the neighborhood’s economic vitality. He just wants to make sure low-income residents and small-scale entrepreneurs share in the benefits of development.

The Inevitable¹⁴

Francis^c has lived in Eugene for about 45 years and bought his home in the Whiteaker in the late 1980s. In the early 1990s, Francis played an active role in developing the neighborhood’s refinement plan. He recalls very large participation rates during the public input phases. For the most part, the neighborhood supported the idea of mixed-use zoning; they liked what they had and wanted to maintain it. Francis felt much the same way. He wanted to protect the neighborhood’s amenities and character, but also provide for the possibility of change and growth. He supported the plan’s aim to promote “home grown” businesses in mixed-use areas, hoping that neighborhood enterprises might flourish and improve the Whiteaker’s economic vitality. At the same time, Francis liked the idea of sheltering residential areas from disruptive, incompatible activities.

Over the years, Francis has watched the neighborhood gradually change around him, but he’s noticed the biggest shifts in the past five years. Visitation rates to the Whiteaker seem to have increased dramatically, and Francis particularly notices more people driving around late at night. In fact, Francis says, he doesn’t notice much change day-to-day, but rather *night-to-night*. Francis feels less safe on his nighttime walks and has observed a lot more drunken behavior. In general, Francis feels that the people he sees around the neighborhood at night (presumably visitors to breweries, bars, and restaurants) have little respect for residents and residents’ property.

While Francis himself isn’t particularly interested in the alcohol culture that seems to be driving growth, he does see merit in the fermented beverage business. The plan he helped create in the 1990s was intended to spur growth, even if nobody imagined the scale and direction that growth would assume. “It used to be that if you worked in the Whiteaker, you lived in the Whiteaker,” muses Francis, “but now it’s become a *destination* for both work and entertainment.”

Francis sees both the benefits and drawbacks of the Whiteaker’s new destination status. On the whole though, he isn’t particularly concerned about the neighborhood. He doesn’t think those who are moving in have significantly changed the culture, which, he reminds us, was never monolithic anyway. According to Francis, the Whiteaker is still very much a tight-knit neighborhood; residents respect and watch out for each other. “Every neighborhood changes,” says Francis. “It’s impossible to plan for every possibility. Change is inevitable. What’s happened in the Whiteaker is essentially what we planned for though, even if it didn’t quite happen the way we thought it would.”

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- ¹ Gerrig, Richard J. & Philip G. Zimbardo. *Psychology and Life*. 16/e. Published by Allyn and Bacon, Boston, MA. Copyright (c) 2002 by Pearson Education. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.
- ² Conversation with Robin Hostick, City of Eugene Planning Director. 2/26/15.
- ³ Conversation with Stuard Ramsing, City of Eugene Building Official. 4/2/15.
- ⁴ Conversation with Ron Howard, Co-Owner of Hop Valley Brewing. 4/8/15.
- ⁵ Hop Valley Brewing. "Our Story." < <http://hopvalleybrewing.com/our-story/>>. Accessed 5/4/15.
- ⁶ Ninkasi Brewing. "About Us: Our Ethos." < <http://www.ninkasibrewing.com/about/about-us.html>>. Accessed 5/4/15.
- ⁷ Oakshire Brewing. "About Us: Community." <<http://oakbrew.com/brewery/community>>. Accessed 5/5/15.
- ⁸ Email with Brandon Woodruff, Founder of Mancave Brewing. 4/14/15.
- ⁹ Mancave Brewing Company. "About." <<http://www.mancavebrewingcompany.com/about/>>. Accessed 5/5/15.
- ¹⁰ Conversation with Ron Howard, Co-Owner of Hop Valley Brewing. 4/8/15.
- ¹¹ The Brewery District: The Story of a Neighborhood Turned Tourist Attraction. "About the Documentary." < <http://www.eugenebrewerydistrict.com/about/>>. Accessed 5/5/14.
- ¹² Conversation with Whiteaker residents "Laura and Dan." 4/4/15.
- ¹³ Conversation with former Whiteaker resident "Ben." 4/26/15.
- ¹⁴ Conversation with Whiteaker resident "Francis." 4/21/15.

Part 4: Lessons

So where does the Whiteaker neighborhood go from here? The material presented in this report have laid the foundation for understanding the changes that have occurred in the neighborhood and reactions to those changes, but many questions still remain. Moving forward, it will be important to deepen our knowledge of *objective* changes in the Whiteaker, but as the City of Eugene’s planning director pointed out in a recent conversation, perception often matters more than fact in a community’s struggle to deal with transition.¹ Technical fixes can shift the direction of change, but government, businesses, and residents must still wrestle with conflicting *attitudes* towards the change. A resilient community with appropriate government support can work together, learn from each other, and develop strategies to address discontent and discomfort. A fragmented community with an indifferent government may fail to resolve differences, resulting in the marginalization and displacement of many community members.

Assuming that we value collaboration above compromise and strife, the Whiteaker community must come together to discuss and respond to concerns over the changes occurring in the neighborhood. To some extent, the neighborhood is already doing this. In the past couple of years, the Whiteaker Community Council has taken a more active role in responding to issues. The first section of Part 4 provides an overview of current actions and introduces proposals for future action in the neighborhood based on feedback from interviewees and my own observations. Some of these strategies might be useful for other communities to consider when working through their own challenges.

This report, however, is not intended to focus solely on *concerns*. The Whiteaker’s experience has been unequivocally positive compared to some neighborhood redevelopment outcomes. Every participant interviewed for this study agreed that Whiteaker would be in a far worse position now had redevelopment proceeded differently.

In the second section of Part 4, I suggest that the Whiteaker has much to teach us about development that remains sensitive to the identity and desires of a neighborhood’s residents. The Whiteaker’s experience of organic, private-sector driven growth offers an instructive counter-example to heavy-handed master planning efforts that often lead to gentrification and resident displacement.

I conclude this report with three broad lessons from the Whiteaker’s experience that government officials, community and economic development practitioners, businesses, and residents should all consider when planning for and dealing with change. I do not claim that the lessons from the Whiteaker represent the “right” approach to managing growth and development; think of them more as food for thought. Every situation requires a tailored approach, but practitioners might find the concepts introduced here useful for framing and guiding action.

Responding to Concerns in the Whiteaker

What are and what should players in the Whiteaker's redevelopment do to address concerns about the neighborhood's growth trajectory?

Part 2 and 3 of this report have identified several sources of discontent, frustration, and concern within the Whiteaker community. Broadly, these concerns fall into the following categories:

- **Incompatibility of land uses** – Particularly in the Whiteaker's mixed use zone, the lack of separation between residential and commercial/industrial space has created stress for residents who feel the noise, smell, and traffic encroach on their homes, disturbing their peace.
- **Insufficient parking** – Increased visitation to the Whiteaker's parking-exempt zone means visitors with cars spill over into residential areas, sometimes blocking residents' access to their property.
- **Insensitive behavior of fermented beverage business patrons** – Some patrons, particularly those consuming alcohol, use loud voices, disrupt or vandalize private property, and generally act in a way that disturbs residents.
- **Frustration between residents and the City** – Whiteaker residents and City officials sometimes struggle to communicate effectively with each other. Residents don't always understand the rules that govern the City, and the City doesn't always explain its rationale in a way that resonates with residents.
- **Conflicting desires for neighborhood's growth** – Some residents support the idea of a vital and growing "fermentation district" while others dislike the attention placed on the neighborhood as it becomes a tourist destination.
- **Long-term potential for gentrification and displacement** – While the interviews and data used for this study indicate that the Whiteaker is currently *not* experiencing large-scale gentrification and displacement, many signs point to this possibility in the near future.

This section discusses both the current actions being taken to address these concerns and potential future actions based on suggestions from those interviewed for this project and my own observations. Collectively, these actions might help the neighborhood to better cope with its process of change. In the future, the City of Eugene, businesses, and residents must continue to work together to generate new ways forward as more concerns arise. Other communities can learn from the processes occurring in the Whiteaker. The techniques used in the neighborhood have the potential to help communities facing similar circumstances move in a positive direction.

Incompatible Land Uses

Currently, the resolution of most conflicts between residents and occupants of commercial and industrial properties depends on businesses' voluntary commitment to alter or better buffer problematic activities. Ninkasi's decision to muffle their fan despite its legality exemplifies this trend of "good neighbor" fixes. Every business interviewed for this report expressed a strong commitment to working with residents when problems arise.

In the future, the City might consider updating the development code language to require more robust buffers between commercial/industrial activities and residential areas. Such updates would not require a large-scale overhaul of the existing code, merely a modification to language or targeted additions of new standards. In the meantime, the Whiteaker Community Council

(WCC), residents, and City staff responsible for reviewing land use applications might consider more actively scrutinizing these applications. By identifying potential problems early on, the City might recommend modifications that can avoid future conflicts.

Insufficient Parking

Currently, the WCC is working with the City to identify additional space for public parking. A few vacant lots in the neighborhood have been considered, but nothing has been finalized as of May 2015. The City has also re-painted many of the curbs around the Blair commercial district to (hopefully) encourage better parking practices.

In the future, the City and some residents have expressed a desire to focus on long-range reduction of car trips to the area by improving the infrastructure for alternative transportation. In 2017, the EmX, Eugene/Springfield’s bus rapid transit system, will expand its operation to include the Whiteaker, with future plans to add even more lines through the area. When funding becomes available, the City also plans to make improvements to the Whiteaker’s bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure to make the space safer and more inviting to those traveling by foot or bike. Businesses might consider encouraging their patrons to use alternative transportation. Falling Sky Delicatessen already owns a fleet of bicycles for public use. Other businesses might develop similar programs or offer discounts for customers arriving by foot, bike, or bus. Finally, temporary shuttle services during special events and shuttle service from hotels might help for occasions when many visitors are expected in the neighborhood. Collectively, physical improvements and incentive programs might help relieve pressure on the neighborhood’s limited parking.

Insensitive Behavior of Fermented Beverage Business Patrons

Currently, businesses, particularly those that serve alcohol, remind their patrons to respect the neighborhood. The majority of the Whiteaker’s breweries and wineries close at or before 10 pm, which helps minimize late-night disruption. Fermentation businesses including Ninkasi, Hop Valley, Oakshire, and Falling Sky have also participated in a task force convened by the Lane County Public Health Department to combat binge drinking and alcoholism. The campaign, “Respect Yourself, Respect the Neighborhood,” seeks to educate establishments that serve alcohol and their customers about responsible, healthy behavior.² On the law-enforcement end, the Eugene Police Department responds to complaints of disorderly conduct.

Figure 22. Signage to place in drinking establishments to raise awareness.



Source: Lane County Public Health Department.

In the future, more grassroots efforts to encourage patrons to respect the neighborhood might help mitigate some poor behavior. Already, Whiteaker residents have placed home-made signs around the neighborhood reminding drivers to be safe, but a larger-scale campaign, perhaps enlisting the skills of some of the Whiteaker’s resident artists, might creatively remind

fermented beverage business patrons to lower their voices and think twice before vandalizing property. The WCC might consider facilitating or sponsoring a sign-making project. The police department might also consider stepping up efforts, at least for a short time, to demonstrate a “no tolerance” stance towards disrespectful patrons.

Frustration between Residents and the City

Currently, the City’s Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement division works with the WCC to improve communication and understanding between residents and the City. The City’s Neighborhood Planner provides the WCC board members with tools and strategies for navigating the City’s confusing bureaucracy. The Neighborhood Planner tries to build the capacity of the WCC board to accomplish the neighborhood’s goals; her role is to *empower* residents to use the City effectively. The WCC then passes along important information to residents about their rights and responsibilities, sometimes acting as liaisons for residents who are struggling to get what they need from the City. Particularly in the past two years, the WCC has offered several workshops and hosted several speakers to help residents better engage with the City as changes sweep the neighborhood. For its part, the City (as we saw in Part 3) does its best to balance code and resource constraints with responsiveness to residents. Both City representatives and Whiteaker residents, however, agree that improvements in communication and responsiveness would benefit everyone.

In the future, the WCC might strengthen their role as an advocate for residents and provide better material to help residents understand City processes. In particular, the WCC is attempting to better use their website for information dissemination. The City can also assist with this endeavor to the extent neighborhood services’ limited resources allow. Board members of the WCC are not experts on navigating of the City, so constant guidance and suggestions from City staff improve the WCC’s ability to act. The City might also consider tightening up their referral process. Many residents feel that their complaints go unaddressed, but this is often because they have not passed through the appropriate channels. The City might continue to improve their customer interface so residents feel they are heard even when the City has no ability to assist them.

Conflicting Desires for Neighborhood’s Growth

Currently, many of conflicts between visions for the Whiteaker’s growth trajectory play out in angry exchanges on the Whiteaker’s Facebook page. In theory, this resource gives residents the opportunity to share their opinions about activity in the neighborhood and their desires for the neighborhood’s future direction. In practice, discussions often turn into unproductive attacks.

In the future, the WCC and the City or some other “neutral” facilitator might provide a safe, in-person, and moderated space for residents to discuss their views and hear others. In-person conversations might not generate a unified vision for the neighborhood’s growth, but it might increase respect and understanding among residents with different opinions. The process of *listening* to other viewpoints might build a deeper appreciation in residents for their neighbors, creating a more robust sense of community and allowing Whiteaker residents to endure a time of rapid change without destroying relationships. Strong communities can weather change without disintegrating.³

Long-Term Potential for Gentrification and Displacement

Currently, no formal actions have been taken to address the potential for property values and rents to increase in the Whiteaker such that the current low-income residents can no longer

afford to live in the neighborhood. The R-2 zoning in the neighborhood allows for higher intensity uses that might easily attract upscale developers take advantage of this real estate potential in a trendy neighborhood. If the neighborhood and the City are serious about tackling these potential issues before they become a problem, they should act preemptively.

In the future, policies to combat gentrification and displacement might include a focus on maintaining affordable housing, a continued commitment from Whiteaker businesses to employ and support the neighborhood’s population, programs to assist local low-income entrepreneurs with starting their own businesses, and increased resident activism in supporting or opposing development projects that might impact the neighborhood’s affordability (for example, opposing a luxury condo project). Affordable housing might come from a City mandate and would ensure that at least some low-income residents could remain in the neighborhood should increasing property values and rents price them out. Existing Whiteaker businesses have demonstrated a deep commitment to serving their community and have an opportunity to maintain a pool of living-wage jobs for residents. Entrepreneurship programs can continue to facilitate more locally-grown, socially responsible businesses, helping current residents share in the area’s economic success and generating even more jobs for residents. NEDCO, the Eugene/Springfield community development corporation, has helped several Whiteaker businesses start up; the WCC might assist with connecting interested residents to NEDCO’s services.

While all these potential actions might help prevent gentrification and displacement, they do not come without their drawbacks. Resident activism in particular can easily devolve into NIMBY attitudes that limit potentially beneficial developments. Additionally, those residents with time to advocate might not accurately represent the desires of all residents and could end up supporting or opposing projects that many residents don’t agree with. To address these concerns, the City might step up and moderate residents’ demands.

Figure 23. Summary of concerns and actions.

Concern	Current Action	Who?	Potential Further Action	Who?
Incompatible land uses	Voluntary response to residents’ concerns	Businesses	Update zoning code to require more buffer between uses	City of Eugene
			More active scrutiny of proposed construction	Residents WCC City of Eugene
Insufficient parking	Identify a parking lot space	WCC City of Eugene	EmX extension to serve the Whiteaker	City of Eugene/LTD (expected 2017)
	Repaint curbs	City of Eugene	Bike and pedestrian improvements to encourage use of alternative means of transportation	City of Eugene (waiting for funding)
			Encourage alternative means of transportation to the Whiteaker through an incentive program	Businesses

Concern	Current Action	Who?	Potential Further Action	Who?
Insensitive behavior of fermented beverage business patrons	Remind patrons they're in a neighborhood	Businesses	Better signage to remind patrons to respect the neighborhood (potential collaboration with local artists)	Residents WCC City of Eugene
	Develop an initiative to help prevent and combat binge drinking and alcoholism	Businesses Lane County Public Health		
	Respond to complaints and reports of poor behavior	City of Eugene/Eugene Police Department		
Frustration between residents and the City	Provide WCC with tools and knowledge to effectively navigate the City	City of Eugene	Strengthen the WCC's ability to act on behalf of confused, frustrated residents	WCC City of Eugene
	Offer workshops and informational material to help residents navigate the City	WCC	Develop and distribute clear instructions for residents about their rights and the City's responsibilities, perhaps through an improved website	WCC City of Eugene
	Work with residents and businesses to resolve conflicts without resorting to code enforcement	City of Eugene	Continue to improve customer experience when dealing with the City	City of Eugene
Conflicting desires for neighborhood's growth	Discussions on WCC Facebook page	WCC Residents	Provide a safe space for residents to discuss neighborhood changes and listen to other's perspectives	WCC City of Eugene
Long-term potential for gentrification and displacement			Focus on the creation of affordable housing	WCC City of Eugene Developers
			Better advertise opportunities for assistance with starting and running a business	WCC NEDCO Other entrepreneurship organizations
			Encourage businesses to have an ethic of social responsibility and a commitment to being good neighbors	WCC City of Eugene
			More active role in opposing or supporting development projects based on feedback from residents	WCC
			Moderate residents' perspective to avoid policy driven by NIMBYism	City of Eugene

(Figure 23. Summary of concerns and actions, Continued)

Learning from the Whiteaker's Successes

Processes of change inevitably generate concerns, making it easy to lose sight of positive outcomes. If we focus only on *problems*, however, we miss an opportunity to celebrate and learn from successes. While concerns in the Whiteaker may loom large, we should not forget the neighborhood's many triumphs. At a time when many other employers have had to close their doors, fermentation businesses have contributed jobs and investment to the area. Businesses have occupied and repurposed vacant buildings, washing away a chronic sense of neglect. The visible drug use and other troubling behavior which used to plague the neighborhood has subsided. Activity and vitality pulse through commercial areas; the neighborhood has a renewed sense of energy and possibility.

But what happened in the neighborhood to enable such a revitalization?

Often, cities take a hands-on approach to neighborhood revitalization: they produce redevelopment plans, manipulate zoning, and offer subsidies to developers. Cities work together with developers to improve neighborhood conditions with shiny new buildings and attractive landscaping. Cities worry that without targeted incentives, depressed neighborhoods will continue to decline. Such heavy-handed interventions, however, often carry unintended consequences.

Gentrification scholars have drawn direct connections between governments' partnerships with private developers and the disenfranchisement of low-income communities. All too often, "revitalization" benefits only the upper classes, leaving working-class residents to struggle with physical displacement and loss of their cultural space. Urban theorists Fainstein and Fainstein and Beauregard point out that governments aid this process by actively courting and subsidizing outside development interests that have little sensitivity to the needs and desires of the existing population.^{4,5}

The Whiteaker's experience, however, highlights an alternative to such a troubling process. Government has not forced the neighborhood to change; change has come from within the neighborhood itself. The neighborhood has developed organically, driven by private businesses with local roots. Rather than replacing the neighborhood's existing infrastructure with attractive, but non-descript modern mixed-use structures, the Whiteaker has grown into its own existing buildings, maintaining a distinct and cultured identity. Similarly, the businesses have intentionally sought to build upon, rather than over, the neighborhood's existing resources; they respect residents' desire to maintain their neighborhood's distinct character. Setting aside concerns of traffic, noise, and patron behavior, residents interviewed for this project feel fortunate that the businesses transforming their neighborhood have remained responsive and dedicated to supporting the community. City staff have been impressed with the WCC's ability to rally under difficult conditions. Overall, the community has demonstrated significant resilience in the face of many pressures.

While the Whiteaker's evolution has not been painless, the City staff, businesses, and residents consulted for this project uniformly agree that the process could have been considerably *more* painful under different circumstances. We should therefore seek to understand what contributed to some of the positive outcomes in the neighborhood. At a time when cities often rely on deliberate master-planning efforts to promote revitalization, the Whiteaker provides an instructive example of a bottom-up, rather than top-down, approach to redevelopment.

Lessons from the Whiteaker Case Study

What can others learn from the Whiteaker example to better harness the benefits and mitigate the impacts of similar neighborhood changes?

Three factors rise to the surface when describing conditions that have contributed to positive outcomes in the Whiteaker:

- Flexible zoning
- Socially responsible businesses
- An empowered neighborhood council and resident population

I now offer three “lessons” related to these factors that community and economic development practitioners should consider as they plan for and attempt to influence the direction of change. These lessons are not a “formula” for successful redevelopment, but rather important *concepts* for practitioners to weigh in their planning and implementation processes. By allowing these concepts to influence decisions and actions, I believe governments, businesses, and residents might more effectively support *conscientious development*.

Conscientious Development

*Internally rather than externally driven
Embraces rather than displaces
Builds upon rather than over*

Lesson 1: When it comes to long-range planning, sometimes less guidance and more flexibility produce better results.

The Whiteaker’s 1994 neighborhood plan and special area zoning provide an interesting contrast to very detailed and technically complex master planning efforts that often govern redevelopment sites. Many of those interviewed for this project believe that the Whiteaker Plan’s *flexibility* allowed for the organic, locally-driven redevelopment occurring now. The plan’s vision has been user-friendly, and the development code manageable for new business owners that lack the technical knowledge of a career developer. Rather than changes driven by speculating developers who create new buildings with *space* for businesses, physical change in the Whiteaker has come from the businesses themselves. This allows, at least to some extent, for the preservation and accentuation of the neighborhood’s existing resources.

I am not implying that large-scale redevelopments regulated by master plans have no place. There are undoubtedly circumstances when master-planning makes sense, but in cases where a neighborhood already has a rich history and wide variety of physical and cultural assets, flexibility allows agents of redevelopment to make more creative use of these resources. For neighborhoods like the Whiteaker with a strong identity and usable infrastructure, a heavy-handed regulatory environment could stifle natural processes of revitalization. Neighborhoods with the capacity to generate a grassroots revival of economic activity should avoid complex policies that only experts can navigate.

Lesson 2: Socially responsible businesses with connections to the community can mitigate disruptive changes.

“Outsider” businesses with no personal attachment to the community they locate in have less incentive to work closely with residents than “home-grown” businesses with a deep personal stake in their physical location. Businesses that have both connections to their community and an explicit ethic of community involvement will respond even more readily to neighborhood issues. Responsive and responsible businesses greatly ease the burden on residents who already

feel threatened by change. As distressed residents see that the businesses they have vilified are actually willing to work with them to solve problems, residents are more likely to accept (if not appreciate) changes the businesses bring. Such an outcome is far better than development that breeds resentment and the eventual disintegration or displacement of a community.

Research beyond the material presented here also suggests that small-scale businesses with community connections build a sense of local identity, which in turn strengthens community cohesion. Wes Flack, a geographer at the University of Kansas, identifies microbreweries, farmers markets, and small, locally owned craft businesses as evidence of American's backlash against "rootlessness" and lack of a distinct culture.⁶ He describes such businesses as hallmarks of "neolocalism" – disconnected Americans' response to their culturelessness. Businesses that intentionally emphasize community roots through craft production are a "self-conscious reassertion of the distinctively local," and help to develop a neighborhood's sense of identity.⁶

It is unrealistic to expect that all businesses opening in redeveloping areas will originate locally. It is reasonable, however, to expect and encourage businesses to respect their host communities and foster direct connections with residents. Most savvy businesses recognize the merit of maintaining good relationships with their neighbors, but some may require a little extra nudging. Residents, government officials, and peer businesses may need to apply gentle pressure, encouraging them to conform to the new norm of social responsibility and community commitment.

Lesson 3: Residents, particularly marginalized residents, should be given the education and tools required to meaningfully participate in decision-making.

As residents attempt to deal with the changes in their neighborhood, they will need to interact more closely with government systems. But even with "user-friendly" regulation in place, residents will still struggle to understand the confusing bureaucracy of city government. Lack of understanding creates a feeling of helplessness as residents try to combat changes they find distasteful. Helplessness builds on residents' frustration at uncomfortable changes and culminates in anger and loss of faith in government. This vicious cycle of helplessness and anger makes it less and less likely residents will feel they are heard and respected.

An important component of successful neighborhood change, then, is resident education and empowerment. To avoid the downward spiral of frustration, governments should provide residents with enough support to engage with the bureaucracy. This might come in the form of direct education, such as that provided to the WCC by the City's Neighborhood Planner, or simply from patient and responsive assistance from City staff when residents attempt to work through formal complaint processes. Any mechanism used should place residents in a position of agency. When residents feel they have influence over the direction of their community's growth, they are less likely to feel frustrated and anxious about the integrity of their home.

Governments have a particular responsibility to make sure every voice in the community, not just the loudest, makes it to the table. While it is certainly useful to assist a formal neighborhood group like the WCC to monitor development activity and work with the City when they feel intervention is necessary, solely focusing education and empowerment efforts on formal groups would miss many important perspectives. Governments must encompass a broader audience with their technical assistance and work to provide widely accessible mechanisms for input on decisions.

Conclusion

This project has focused on the Whiteaker neighborhood in Eugene, Oregon as a case study that highlights *conscientious development*. This report has described the physical, economic, and social changes that have occurred in the neighborhood, with special attention to the government's, businesses', and residents' perceptions of these changes. The Whiteaker's experience has not been problem-free; the six areas of concern presented earlier in Part 4 attest to challenges facing the neighborhood.

But when has change ever been painless?

I propose that the Whiteaker offers an example of *less disruptive* change. Despite fears within the neighborhood, the Whiteaker's development thus far suggests an alternative to gentrification. The balance of power between the City, businesses, and residents currently allows all parties to participate in a robust conversation about the trajectory of neighborhood growth. This is a far cry from some redeveloping areas where powerful outside interests dictate the direction of development. In the Whiteaker, changes to the neighborhood's land uses have brought about an emerging economic prosperity *without* completely undermining the neighborhood's identity and forcing a mass exodus of residents.

The future direction of the neighborhood remains to be seen. If the community loses its voice, or businesses lose their commitment to social responsibility, or the City enables a complete restructuring of the land by private interests, the neighborhood may indeed experience gentrification. For now though, the Whiteaker remains vibrant and strong. Let us learn what we can from its experience—the good and the bad—to build more prosperous, equitable communities.

¹ Conversation with Robin Hostick, City of Eugene Planning Director. 2/26/15.

² Lane County Public Health. "Respect Yourself, Respect the Neighborhood." <<http://www.preventionlane.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/AlcoholTipsRevised.pdf>> <http://www.preventionlane.org/respect_the_neighborhood>. Accessed 5/11/15.

³ Chadwick, Robert J. *Finding New Ground*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013.

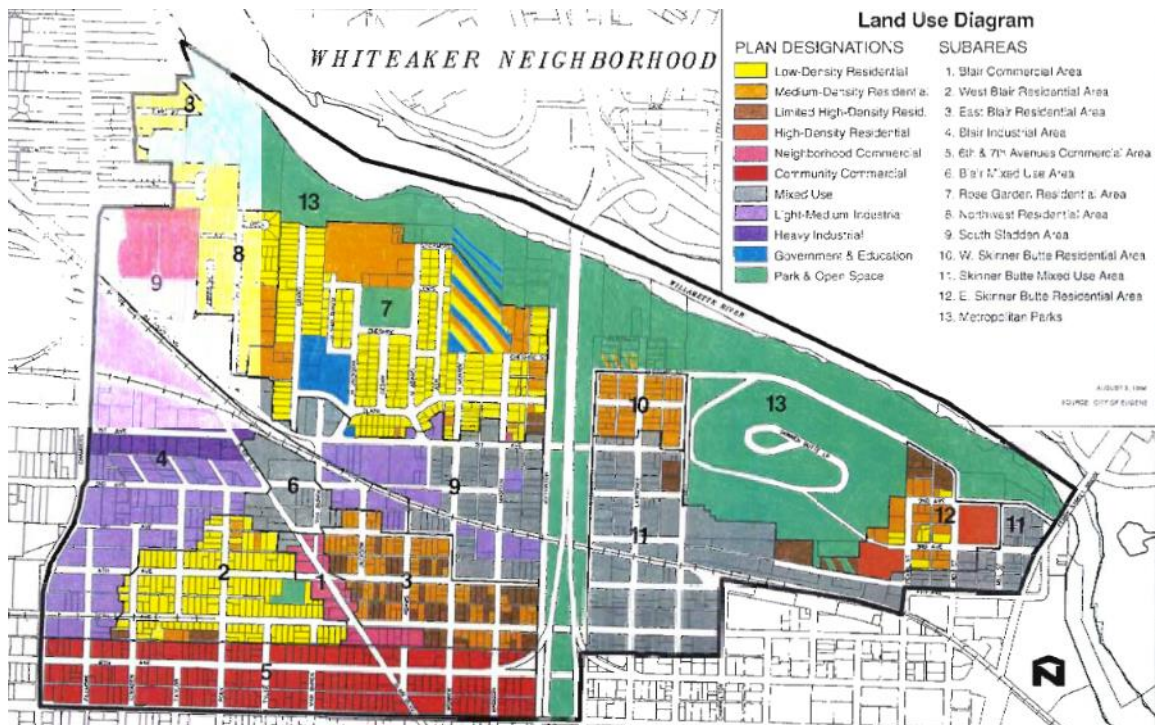
⁴ Fainstein, Norman I. and Fainstein, Susan S. "Economic Restructuring and the Politics of Land Use Planning in New York City." *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 53:2 (1987), p. 237 — 248.

⁵ Beauregard, p. 51-52

⁶ Flack, Wes. "American Microbreweries and Neolocalism: "Ale-ing" for a Sense of Place." *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 16:2, (1997), p. 37-53.

Appendix 1: Overview of Zoning Changes in the Whiteaker from 1948 – 1994

Figure 24. 1994 Map of Whiteaker Subareas.



Source: City of Eugene. *Whiteaker Plan, Land Use Element*. 1994, p. 37.

Subarea 1 (Blair Commercial Area)

1948: C-3 Central Business District, updated to be C-2 Community Commercial

In between years: Made into an historic district in 1993

1994: Rezone to H Historic District, apply site review to any C-2 General Commercial lots adjacent to or across the street from R-1 or H

Subarea 2 (West Blair Residential Area)

1948: R-2 Limited Multiple Family Residential

In between years: Updated to R-2/10 (10 units per acre)

1994: Down-zoned to R-1 Low Density Residential and R-3/40/SR and R-2/20/SR to reflect the 1994 uses

Subarea 3 (East Blair Residential Area)

1948: R-3 Multiple Family Residential and I-2 Light-Medium Industrial

In between years: I-2 updated to R-2/SR (to reflect uses)

1994: Mixture of H Historic, R-2/20/SR Limited Multiple Family with Site Review, R-2 Limited Multiple Family, and R-3/SR Multiple Family with Site Review

Subarea 4 (Blair Industrial Area, contains the Eugene Mission)

1948: I-3 Heavy Industrial and I-2 Light-Medium Industrial

In between years: Few updates

1994: maintain existing I-3 and I-2, require site review for properties adjacent to or across the street from R-1 Low Density Residential

Subarea 5 (6th/7th Avenue Commercial Area)

1948: C-2 Community Commercial

In between years: No updates

1994: Maintain C-2 designation

Subarea 6 (Blair Mixed Use Area)

1948: I-3 Heavy Industrial and I-2 Light-Medium Industrial and PL Public Land

In between years: Updated in 1982 to include some MU-R Mixed Use/Residential

1994: Rezone to MU-W Whiteaker Mixed Use Zoning District (appropriate for light-medium industrial, small-scale commercial, and low-medium density residential)

Subarea 7 (Rose Garden Residential Area)

1948: Primarily R-2 Limited Multiple Family Residential and PL, some industrial

In between years: Updated to reflect actual uses (very minor changes)

1994: Rezone almost everything to R-1 Low Density Residential, change Whiteaker School to PL Public Land, and one I-2 lot to R-3 Multiple Family Residential to reflect the apartment building there

Subarea 8 (Northwest Residential Area)

Annexed into the City in 1952 as RA Suburban Residential

In between years: Updated in 1978 to switch some industrial to RA Suburban Residential and some areas to R-2/10 Limited Multiple Family Residential

1994: switch everything to R-1 Low Density Residential (except those that currently have higher density) to reflect 1994 uses

Subarea 9 (South Sladden Area)

1948: Areas along the railroad zoned industrial (even though much of the area was residential)

In between years: Updated to include a mixed-use designation in some areas

1994: Change designation to MU-W Whiteaker Mixed Use Zoning District in all mixed use areas, apply a site review to all areas zoned I-2 Light-Medium Industrial and C-2 General

Commercial that are adjacent to or across the street from RA Suburban Residential or R-1 Low Density Residential

Subarea 10 (West Skinner Butte Residential Area)

1948: R-2 Two Family Residential

In between years: Increased residential density over time

1994: change everything to R-2/20/SR except for properties that exceed this density

Subarea 11 (Skinner Butte Mixed Use Area)

1948: I-2 Light-Medium Industrial and I-3 Heavy Industrial

In between years: Shifted to incorporate more mixed use in 1978 (MU-R Whiteaker Mixed Use), amended in 1992 to MU-IC Whiteaker Industrial/Commercial Mixed Use District

1994: change to MU-W Whiteaker Mixed Use Zoning District with site review, apply R-3 Multiple Family Residential where Limited High Density Residential exists

Subarea 12 (East Skinner Butte Residential Area)

1948: I-2 Light-Medium Industrial and I-3 Heavy Industrial, R-2 and R-3

In between years: Incorporated East Skinner Butte Historic District (City's first historic district)

1994: Allow for the wide variety of residential densities that reflect 1994 uses

Subarea 13 (Metropolitan Parks)

1948: PL Public Land

In between years: As the City acquired more land, some remained in its existing zoning of industrial and residential

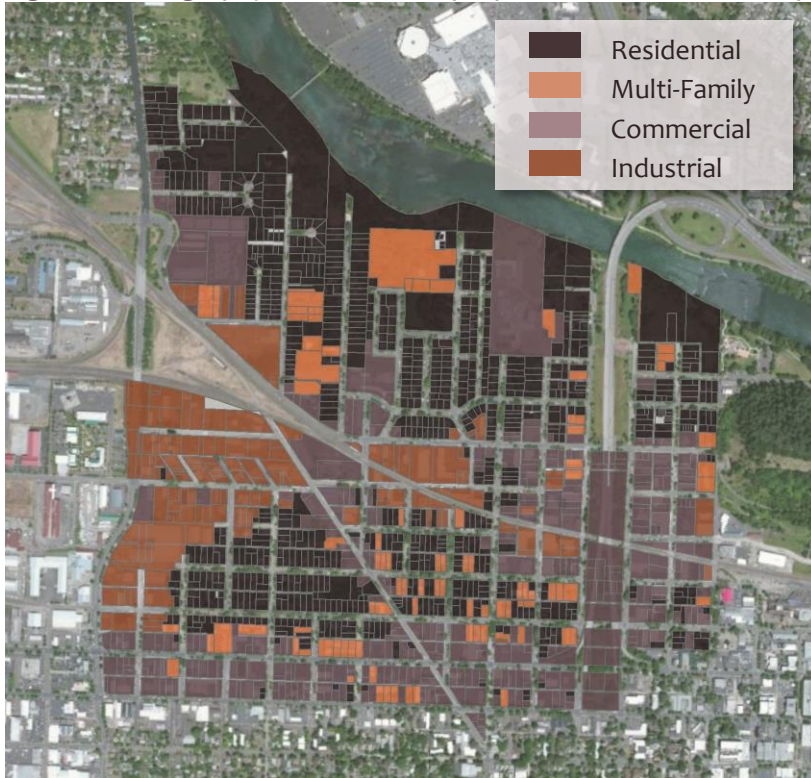
1994: change all non-PL designations to PL Public Land



Appendix 2: Employment & Payroll Data

The following tables present figures for employment and payroll in the Whiteaker neighborhood from 2006 – 2013. . Figure 25 displays the geography used to obtain employment and payroll data. Data courtesy of the Oregon Employment Department.

Figure 25. Geography for Whiteaker properties. Includes 1460 separate lots.



Source: Lane County Assessor, 2012.

Table 2. Employment Figures in the Whiteaker Neighborhood

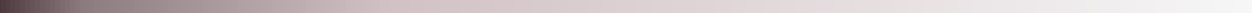
NAICS	Industry	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
3121	Beverage Manufacturing	c	c	19	33	42	54	71	166
722	Food Service and Drinking Places	97	106	156	166	188	202	199	235
72241	Drinking Places (alcohol)	22	23	24	25	33	50	50	51
Total Employment (All Industries)		3,401	3,442	3,570	3,266	3,203	3,089	3,142	3,246

c = confidential

Table 3. Payroll Figures in the Whiteaker Neighborhood

NAICS	Industry	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
3121	Beverage Manufacturing	c	c	\$414,919	\$854,650	\$1,244,012	\$2,258,244	\$3,281,279	\$5,496,028
722	Food Service and Drinking Places	\$1,395,570	\$1,519,888	\$1,951,349	\$2,039,486	\$2,460,106	\$2,979,111	\$3,203,573	\$3,823,943
72241	Drinking Places (alcohol)	\$242,011	\$263,597	\$316,113	\$336,492	\$431,186	\$827,624	\$1,002,315	\$1,152,460
Total Payroll (All Industries)		\$102,127,559	\$109,083,698	\$112,788,294	\$102,025,811	\$98,100,892	\$96,465,004	\$101,339,055	\$106,322,645

c = confidential



Appendix 3: Property Value Data

The following tables present descriptive statistics for property values in the Whiteaker neighborhood from 2002 and 2012. Figure 25 in Appendix 2 displays the geography used for property value calculations. Data courtesy of the Lane County Assessor. 2002 figures adjusted for inflation to 2012 levels.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for all properties.

Descriptive Statistics <i>(1460 properties)</i>	Mean Value		Median Value		Minimum Value		Maximum Value	
	2002	2012	2002	2012	2002	2012	2002	2012
Land	\$ 59,759	\$ 92,629	\$ 36,185	\$ 55,680	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 1,249,931	\$ 2,095,236
Improved	\$ 159,977	\$ 183,474	\$ 106,941	\$ 118,106	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 6,174,583	\$ 9,055,640
Land + Improved (Market)	\$ 219,737	\$ 276,103	\$ 145,775	\$ 180,431	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 6,804,054	\$ 9,251,820
Assessed	\$ 151,009	\$ 177,582	\$ 98,578	\$ 114,225	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 6,033,531	\$ 9,251,820

Table 5. Descriptive statistics for percent change in property value from 2002-2012.

Descriptive Statistics <i>(Percent Change 2002-12)</i>	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Land	113.4%	70.5%	-100.0%	47275.9%
Improved	54.0%	6.3%	-100.0%	36373.4%
Land + Improved (Market)	97.4%	22.9%	-100.0%	31704.5%
Assessed	63.0%	11.7%	-100.0%	20660.7%



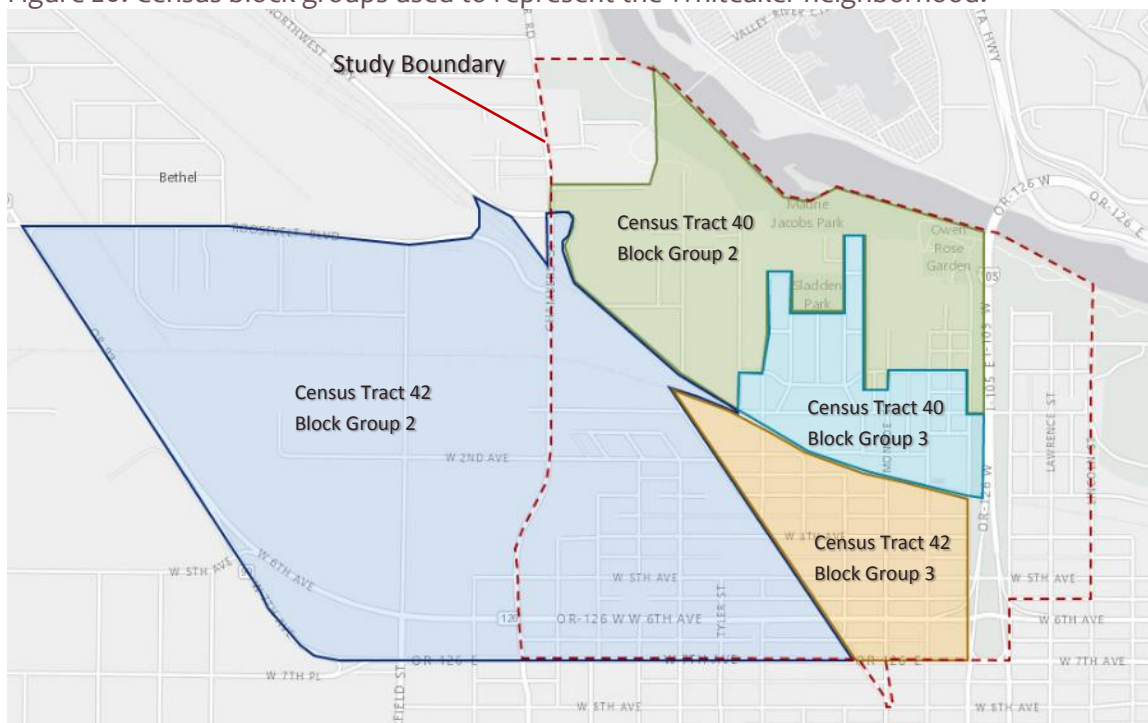
Appendix 4: Demographic Data

The following sections present demographic data for the Whiteaker neighborhood in 2000 and 2010 in the following order:

- Population
- Age
- Race and Ethnicity
- Households
- Housing Tenure (Owner- and Renter-Occupied Units)
- Income
- Education

Census data comes from the four block groups pictured in Figure 26.

Figure 26. Census block groups used to represent the Whiteaker neighborhood.



Note that these census block groups exclude the portion of the Whiteaker to the east of Hwy 105. This excluded area has some residential, so the data under-report the neighborhood's population and other related factors. Census Tract 42 Block Group 2 includes land west of Chambers that is not within the Whiteaker's boundaries. This land is almost exclusively industrial, however, so it does not greatly skew the data presented here.

Population

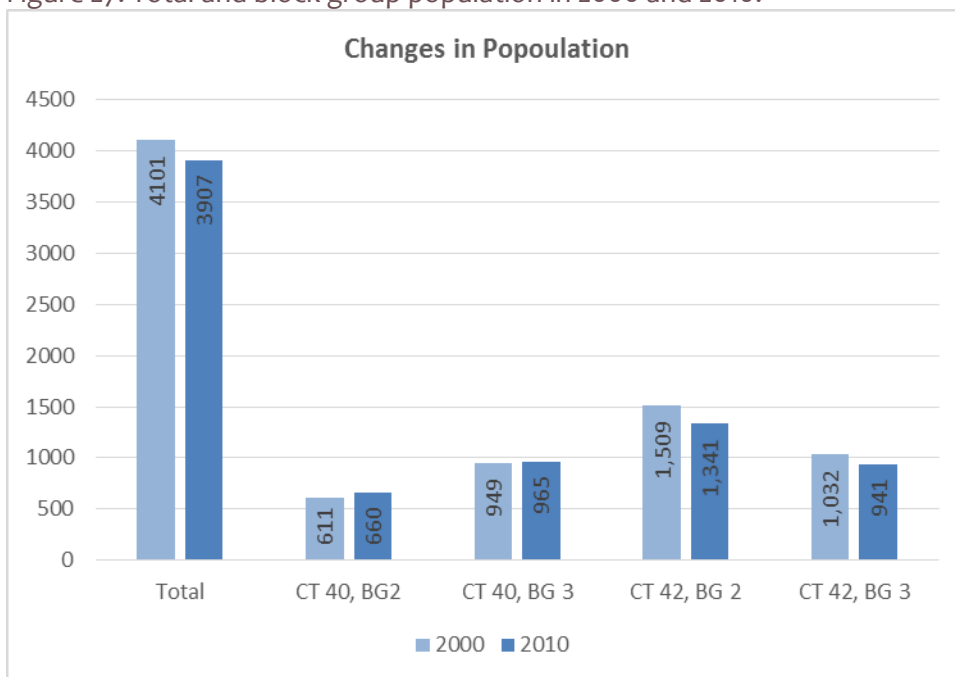
Table 6. Total population in all four block groups.

	2000	2010	% Change
Total			
Population	4101	3907	-4.7%

Table 7. Population in each block group.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change
Total												
Population	611	660	8.0%	949	965	1.7%	1,509	1,341	-11.1%	1,032	941	-8.8%

Figure 27. Total and block group population in 2000 and 2010.



Data sources:

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Total Population. Table P001.

2010 – US Census Bureau. Census 2010 Summary File 1, Total Population. Table P1.

Age

Table 8. Total age distribution in all four block groups.

	2000	2010	% Change
Under 5	7.2%	5.4%	-28.1%
5 to 14	9.8%	7.6%	-25.0%
15 to 20	8.2%	6.9%	-20.2%
21 to 24	11.5%	9.7%	-19.0%
25 to 34	18.8%	18.3%	-6.4%
35 to 44	18.4%	16.5%	-13.5%
45 to 54	16.0%	16.4%	-1.5%
55 to 64	5.4%	13.8%	143.5%
65 to 74	2.4%	3.3%	34.1%
75 and older	2.3%	2.0%	-16.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	-4.0%

Table 9. Age distribution in each block group.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change
Under 5	6.0%	5.3%	-2.9%	7.6%	7.7%	6.0%	7.3%	4.1%	-39.7%	7.6%	5.0%	-39.7%
5 to 14	10.9%	9.2%	-8.1%	11.5%	10.0%	-9.8%	8.7%	5.4%	-26.4%	9.1%	7.3%	-26.4%
15 to 20	8.8%	5.3%	-34.0%	8.2%	9.0%	13.7%	7.3%	6.8%	-43.8%	9.3%	5.7%	-43.8%
21 to 24	11.3%	8.6%	-17.2%	10.8%	7.1%	-32.3%	9.6%	8.2%	-6.2%	15.1%	15.4%	-6.2%
25 to 34	19.4%	19.9%	11.8%	17.6%	19.9%	17.3%	17.6%	14.6%	-9.8%	21.3%	21.0%	-9.8%
35 to 44	15.3%	19.1%	35.6%	18.0%	15.2%	-12.5%	20.6%	16.2%	-10.9%	17.2%	16.7%	-10.9%
45 to 54	16.7%	13.7%	-10.5%	15.4%	13.1%	-11.7%	17.3%	23.0%	-20.0%	14.0%	12.3%	-20.0%
55 to 64	6.2%	12.0%	111.4%	5.9%	11.6%	105.8%	5.8%	17.0%	187.2%	4.1%	12.7%	187.2%
65 to 74	2.1%	5.0%	158.3%	2.0%	3.8%	94.4%	3.5%	2.6%	109.1%	1.1%	2.6%	109.1%
75 and older	3.3%	1.9%	-36.8%	2.9%	2.6%	-7.7%	2.3%	2.1%	0.0%	1.2%	1.4%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	9.0%	100.0%	100.0%	3.8%	100.0%	100.0%	-8.3%	100.0%	100.0%	-8.3%

Figure 28. Age distribution in all block groups in 2000 and 2010.

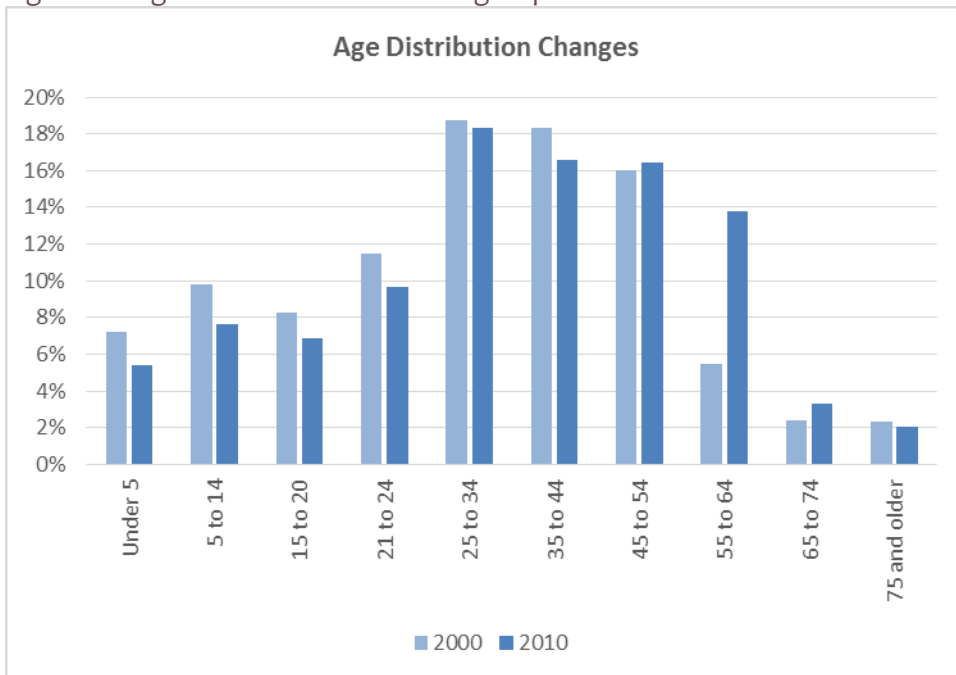
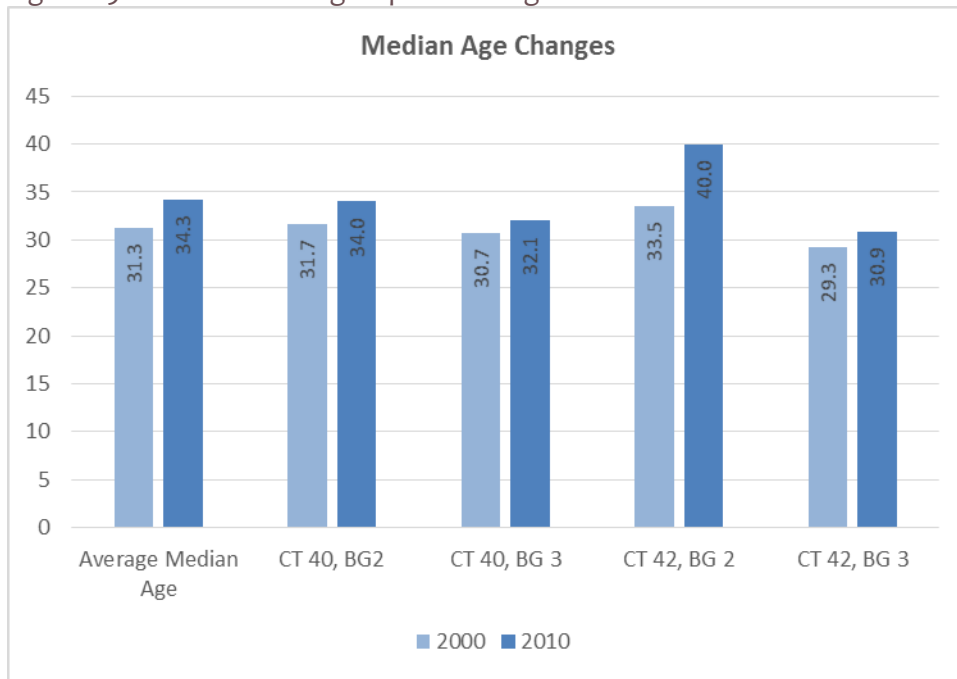


Figure 29. Total and block group median ages in 2000 and 2010.



Data sources (age distribution):

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Sex by Age. Table P012.

2010 – US Census Bureau. Census 2010 Summary File 1, Sex by Age. Table P12.

Data sources (median age):

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Median Age by Sex. Table P013.

2010 – US Census Bureau. Census 2010 Summary File 1, Median Age by Sex. Table P13.

Race and Ethnicity

Table 10. Total race distribution in all four block groups.

	2000	2010	Change
White	80.2%	83.3%	3.1%
Black or African American	1.8%	1.9%	0.1%
American Indian and Alaska Native	2.3%	1.6%	-0.7%
Asian	1.9%	0.9%	-0.9%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.2%	0.2%	-0.1%
Some other race	8.4%	5.9%	-2.5%
Two Races	4.5%	5.5%	1.0%
Three or More Races	0.7%	0.6%	-0.02%

Table 11. Race distribution in each block group.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change
White	85.6%	80.3%	-5.3%	86.3%	83.3%	-3.0%	74.5%	83.8%	9.3%	79.9%	84.7%	4.8%
Black or African American	0.8%	2.1%	1.3%	1.8%	1.5%	-0.3%	2.9%	2.7%	-0.2%	0.8%	1.1%	0.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native	1.8%	1.1%	-0.7%	2.3%	1.6%	-0.8%	2.5%	2.1%	-0.4%	2.2%	1.3%	-1.0%
Asian	0.7%	0.8%	0.1%	1.6%	0.9%	-0.6%	3.2%	1.4%	-1.8%	0.9%	0.4%	-0.4%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	-0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%
Some other race	4.4%	9.2%	4.8%	4.0%	5.2%	1.2%	11.5%	4.8%	-6.7%	10.3%	5.8%	-4.4%
Two Races	5.1%	5.9%	0.8%	3.9%	6.1%	2.2%	4.1%	4.8%	0.7%	5.2%	5.7%	0.5%
Three or More Races	1.5%	0.3%	-1.2%	0.1%	1.3%	1.2%	0.9%	0.4%	-0.5%	0.4%	0.5%	0.1%

Figure 30. Non-white race distribution in all block groups in 2000 and 2010.

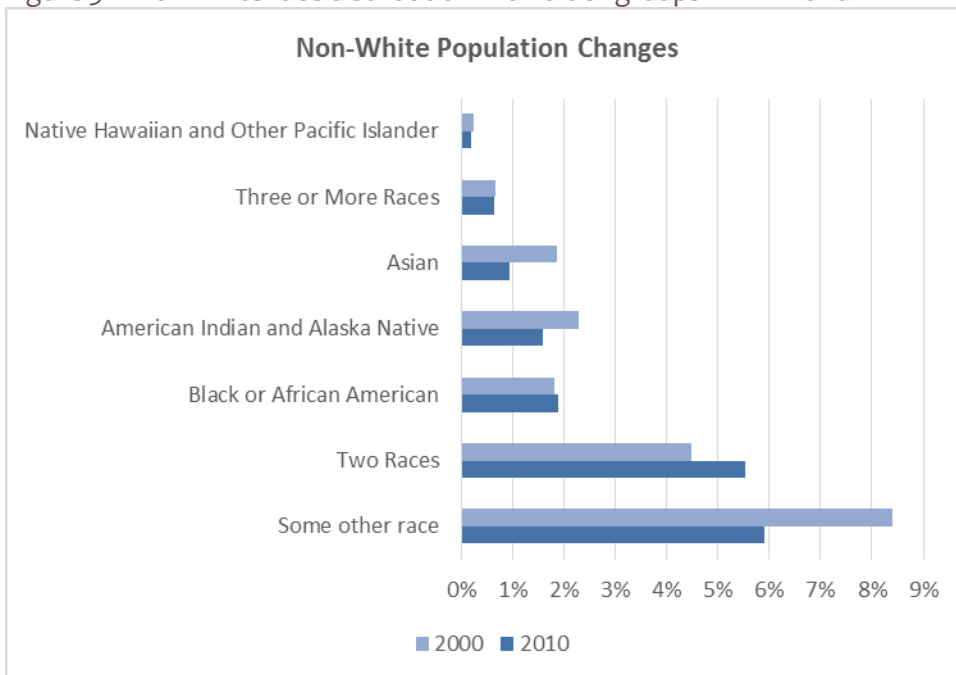
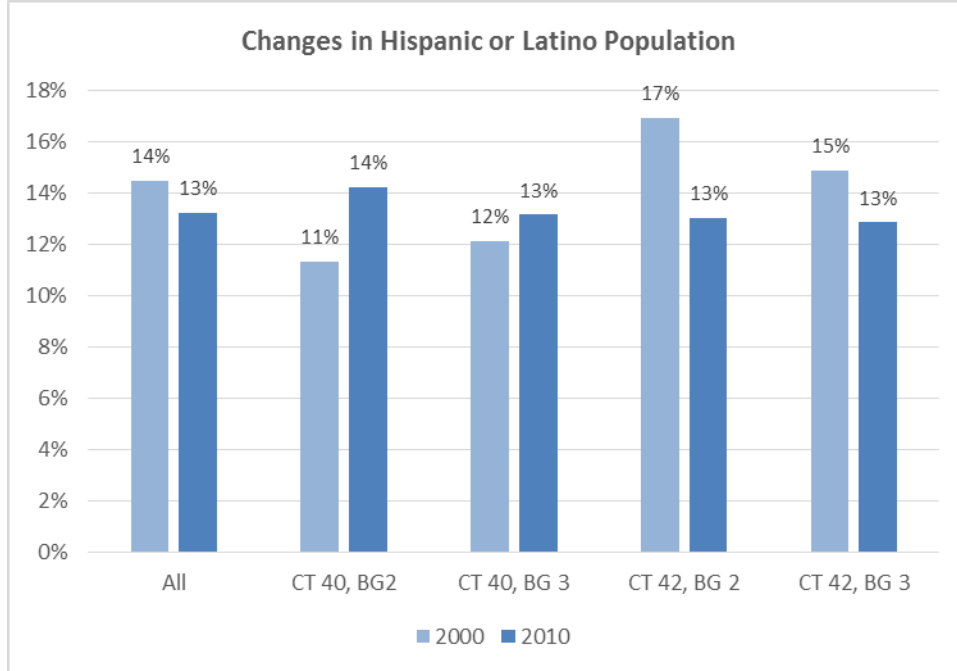


Figure 31. Total and block group percent of population that identifies as Hispanic or Latino in 2000 and 2010.



Data sources (race):

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Race. Table P003.

2010 – US Census Bureau. 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Race. Table P1.

Data sources (ethnicity):

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Hispanic or Latino by Race (Total Races Tallied). Table P010.

2010 – US Census Bureau. Census 2010 Summary File 1, Hispanic and Latino or Not Hispanic and Latino by Race. Table P9.

Households

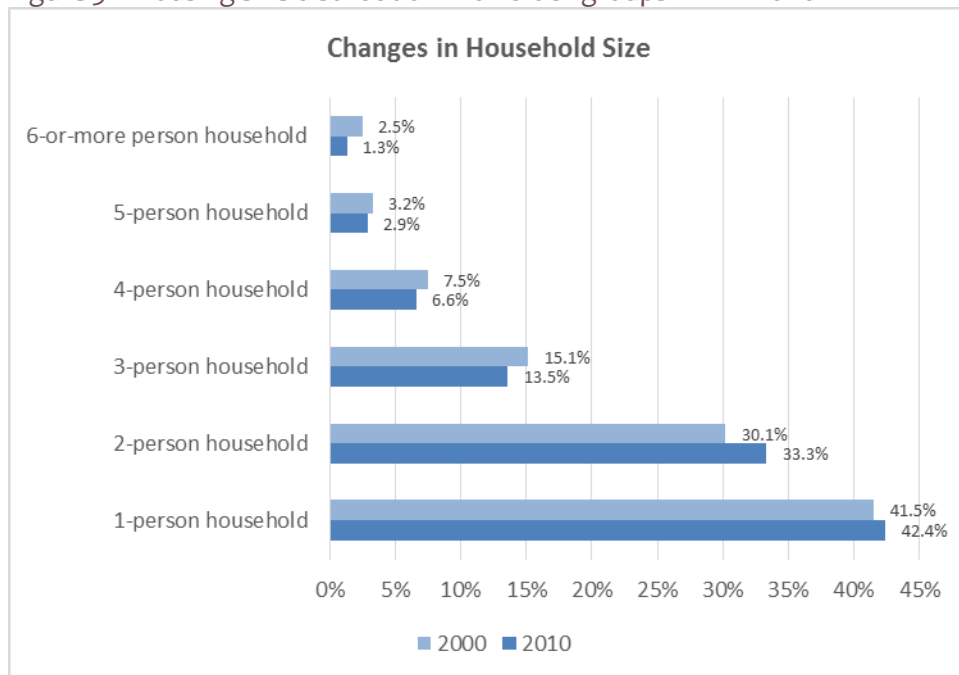
Table 12. Total household size distribution in all four block groups.

	2000		2010		% Change
	Count	%	Count	%	
1-person household	730	41.5%	749	42.4%	2.6%
2-person household	530	30.1%	587	33.3%	10.8%
3-person household	266	15.1%	239	13.5%	-10.2%
4-person household	132	7.5%	116	6.6%	-12.1%
5-person household	57	3.2%	51	2.9%	-10.5%
6-or-more person household	44	2.5%	23	1.3%	-47.7%
Total Households	1,759	100.0%	1,765	100.0%	0.3%

Table 13. Household size distribution in each block group.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change
1-person household	121	41.0%	-3.3%	137	34.3%	-5.8%	220	40.1%	8.2%	252	48.9%	5.2%
2-person household	95	32.2%	23.2%	132	33.0%	5.3%	160	29.1%	1.9%	143	27.8%	17.5%
3-person household	43	14.6%	0.0%	71	17.8%	-11.3%	86	15.7%	-9.3%	66	12.8%	-16.7%
4-person household	21	7.1%	0.0%	39	9.8%	-5.1%	43	7.8%	-23.3%	29	5.6%	-13.8%
5-person household	8	2.7%	12.5%	12	3.0%	83.3%	24	4.4%	-50.0%	13	2.5%	-38.5%
6-or-more person household	7	2.4%	-14.3%	9	2.3%	-22.2%	16	2.9%	-62.5%	12	2.3%	-66.7%
Total Households	295	100%	6.1%	400	100%	-0.8%	549	100%	-3.5%	515	100%	1.9%

Figure 32. Housing size distribution in all block groups in 2000 and 2010.



Data sources:

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Household Size. Table H013.

2010 – US Census Bureau. Census 2010 Summary File 1, Household Size. Table H13.

Housing Tenure

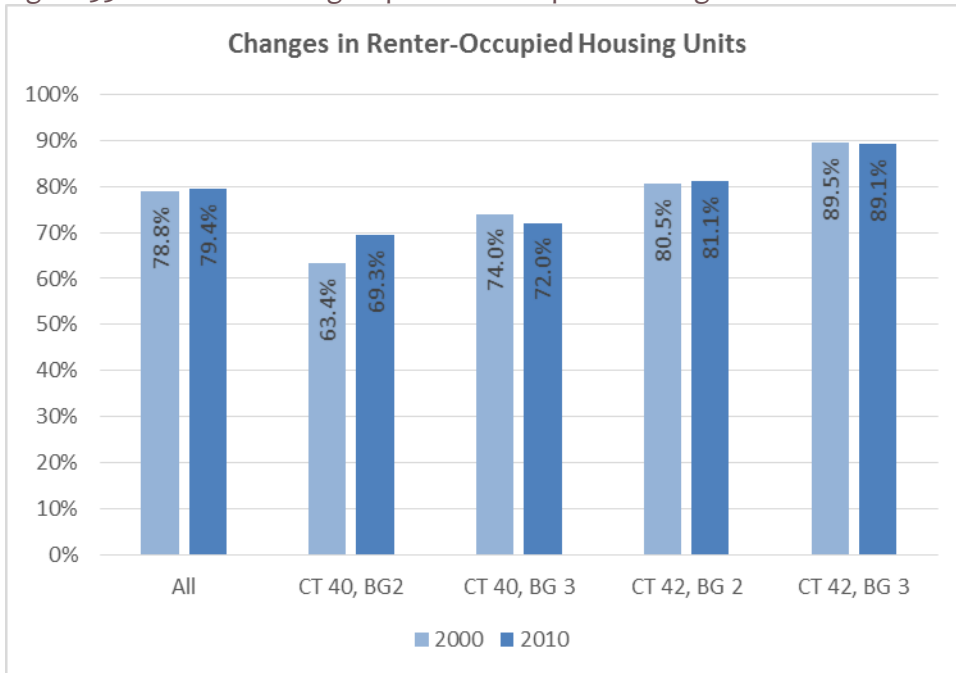
Table 14. Total housing tenure distribution in all four block groups.

	2000		2010		% Change
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	373	21.2%	364	20.6%	-2.4%
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	1386	78.8%	1401	79.4%	1.1%
Total Occupied Housing Units	1759	100%	1765	100%	0.3%

Table 15. Housing tenure distribution in each block group.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change	2000	2010	% Change
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	108	36.6%	-11.1%	104	26.0%	6.7%	107	19.5%	-6.5%	54	10.5%	5.6%
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	187	63.4%	16.0%	296	74.0%	-3.4%	442	80.5%	-2.7%	461	89.5%	1.5%
Total Occupied Housing Units	295	100%	6.1%	400	100%	-0.8%	549	100%	-3.5%	515	100%	1.9%

Figure 33. Total and block group renter-occupied housing units in 2000 and 2010.



Data sources:

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Household Type, Matrices H11, H12, and H17.

2010 – US Census Bureau. Census 2010 Summary File 1, Household Type, Tables H11, H12, H16, and H18. US Census Table QT-H3

Income

Table 16. Total income distribution in all four block groups.

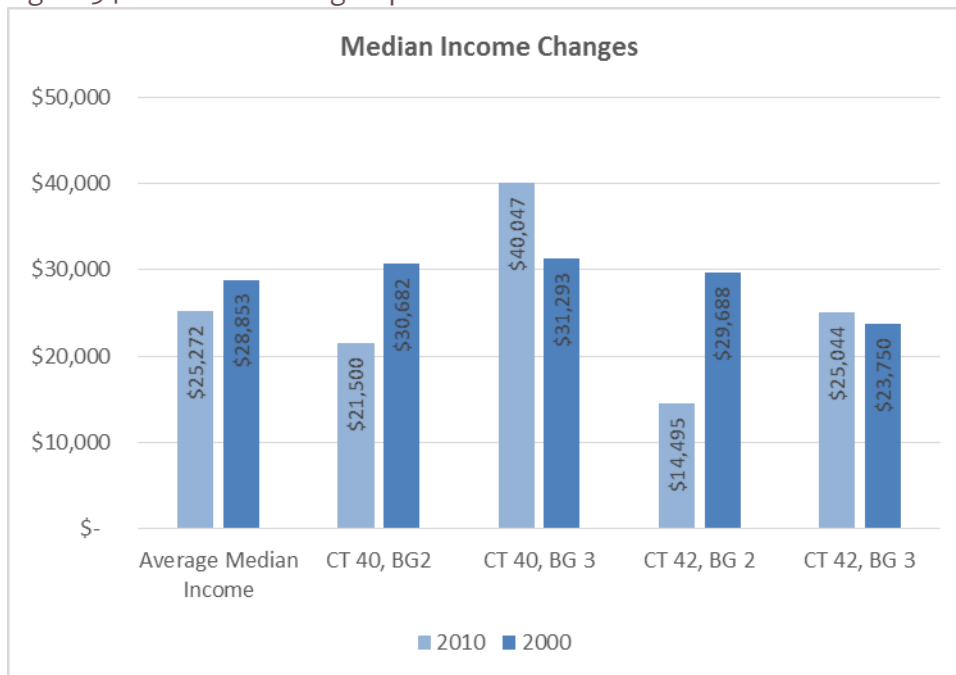
	2000	2010	Change
Less than \$20,000	41.6%	69.7%	28.2%
\$20,000 to \$29,999	15.7%	7.6%	-8.0%
\$30,000 to \$39,999	16.6%	6.4%	-10.2%
\$40,000 to \$49,999	10.6%	4.5%	-6.1%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	6.4%	2.7%	-3.8%
\$60,000 to \$74,999	3.6%	3.2%	-0.4%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	1.6%	3.3%	1.7%
\$100,000 or more	4.0%	2.6%	-1.3%

Table 17. Income distribution in each block group.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change
Less than \$20,000	45.5%	47.6%	2.1%	26.4%	64.9%	38.4%	40.5%	81.8%	41.3%	51.7%	68.2%	16.5%
\$20,000 to \$29,999	15.1%	11.7%	-3.4%	17.5%	3.9%	-13.5%	15.9%	3.0%	-12.9%	14.4%	13.6%	-0.8%
\$30,000 to \$39,999	8.4%	7.7%	-0.8%	24.7%	6.0%	-18.6%	17.3%	4.0%	-13.3%	14.8%	8.3%	-6.4%
\$40,000 to \$49,999	13.6%	6.0%	-7.5%	11.5%	7.7%	-3.8%	9.9%	2.6%	-7.3%	8.8%	3.2%	-5.6%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	4.8%	2.8%	-2.0%	9.7%	5.8%	-4.0%	7.5%	2.0%	-5.5%	3.8%	0.6%	-3.2%
\$60,000 to \$74,999	3.3%	6.0%	2.7%	3.7%	5.4%	1.6%	2.8%	1.7%	-1.1%	4.4%	1.9%	-2.5%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	0.0%	7.7%	7.7%	1.7%	2.7%	0.9%	2.1%	1.8%	-0.2%	2.1%	4.1%	2.0%
\$100,000 or more	9.3%	10.5%	1.1%	4.7%	3.6%	-1.1%	3.9%	3.0%	-0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

NOTE: Margin of Error for 2010 too large for data to be significant.

Figure 34. Total and block group median income in 2000 and 2010.



Data sources (income):

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Household Income in 1999. Table P052.

2010 – US Census Bureau. 2009-2013 5-Year American Community Survey, Household Income in Past 12 Months (In 2013 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars). Table B19001.

Data sources (median income):

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Median Family Income in 1999 (Dollars). Table P077.

2010 – US Census Bureau. 2009-2013 5-Year American Community Survey, Median Household Income in Past 12 Months (In 2013 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars). Table B19013.

Education

Table 18. Total education distribution in all four block groups for adults age 25 and older.

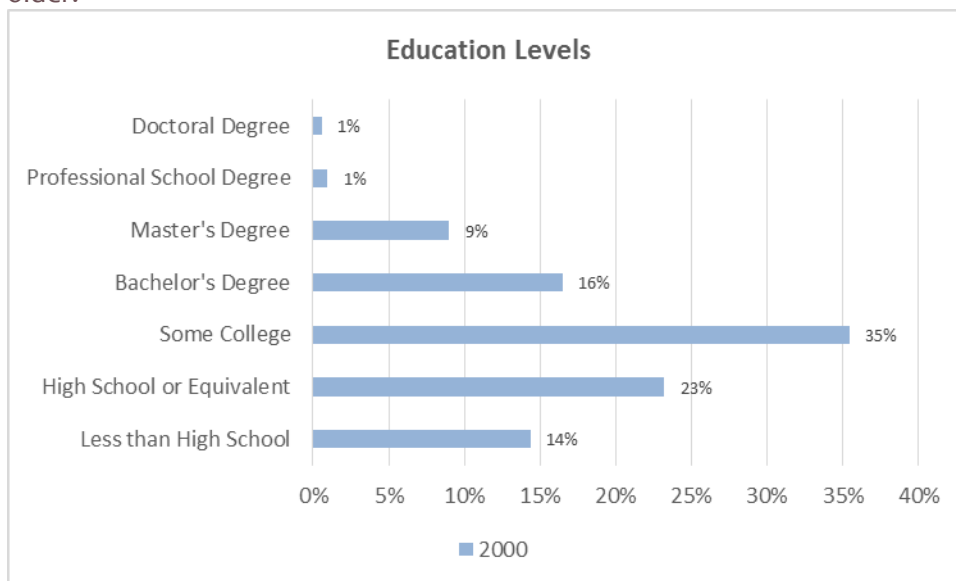
	2000	2010	Change
Less than High School	14.4%	13.1%	-1.3%
High School or Equivalent	23.2%	19.0%	-4.2%
Some College	35.4%	44.1%	8.6%
Bachelor's Degree	16.5%	15.8%	-0.7%
Master's Degree	9.0%	5.0%	-3.9%
Professional School Degree	0.9%	2.3%	1.3%
Doctoral Degree	0.6%	0.8%	0.2%

Table 19. Education distribution in each block group for adults age 25 and older.

	Census Tract 40, Block Group 2			Census Tract 40, Block Group 3			Census Tract 42, Block Group 2			Census Tract 42, Block Group 3		
	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change
Less than High School	9.4%	0.0%	-9.4%	12.6%	20.6%	8.0%	18.6%	10.5%	-8.2%	12.6%	14.1%	1.5%
High School or Equivalent	17.3%	30.7%	13.4%	22.5%	15.1%	-7.4%	26.4%	19.2%	-7.2%	22.8%	17.7%	-5.1%
Some College	32.5%	42.9%	10.4%	35.8%	37.2%	1.4%	34.2%	43.0%	8.8%	38.8%	53.3%	14.5%
Bachelor's Degree	17.5%	7.7%	-9.8%	18.9%	21.6%	2.7%	15.4%	16.1%	0.7%	15.4%	12.6%	-2.8%
Master's Degree	18.9%	9.5%	-9.4%	7.6%	3.8%	-3.8%	5.4%	6.8%	1.4%	9.4%	2.3%	-7.0%
Professional School Degree	1.8%	7.1%	5.3%	1.8%	1.7%	-0.1%	0.0%	2.8%	2.8%	1.0%	0.0%	-1.0%
Doctoral Degree	2.5%	2.1%	-0.4%	0.8%	0.0%	-0.8%	0.0%	1.6%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

NOTE: Margin of Error for 2010 too large for data to be significant.

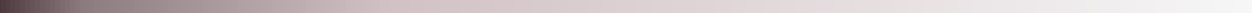
Figure 35. Education distribution in all block groups in 2000 and 2010 for adults age 25 and older.



Data sources:

2000 – US Census Bureau. Census 2000 Summary File 1 100-percent Data, Sex by Education Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older. Table P037.

2010 – US Census Bureau. 2009-2013 5-Year American Community Survey, Education Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older. Table B15003.



Appendix 5: Interview Methodology

The research presented in this report draws heavily on qualitative data gathered from interviews with City of Eugene staff, fermented beverage businesses located in the Whiteaker, and Whiteaker residents (or former residents).

I selected City staff based on their area of expertise and involvement with the Whiteaker neighborhood. I contacted three staff members by email, and then spoke with all three either over the phone or in person. These conversations were informal, without set questions.

I selected fermented beverage businesses based on their availability and responsiveness. I contacted all 11 businesses by email, and received responses from five. Four of these five spoke with me on the phone or in person.

I selected residents based on referrals from City staff and other residents. I contacted 11 residents by email, and received responses from nine. Eight of these nine spoke with me in person. All but three residents had some connection with either the Whiteaker Community Council or the Eugene City Council.

I recorded all notes from interviews by hand during interviews.

Table 20. Interviewing documentation.

Name	Position/Business	Contacted	Responded	Interviewed
Robin Hostick	Planning Director, City of Eugene	X	X	X
Stuart Ramsing	Division Manager, Building and Permit Services Division, City of Eugene	X	X	X
Rene Kane	Neighborhood Planner, City of Eugene	X	X	X
	Eugene Wine Cellars Tasting Room	X		
Rob Cohen	Falling Sky Pour House and Delicatessen	X	X	X
	Hard Times Distillery Tasting Room	X		
Ron Howard	Hop Valley Brewing Company	X	X	X
Brandon Woodruff	Mancave Brewing Company	X	X	X
	Ninkasi Brewing Company	X		
Jeff Althouse	Oakshire Brewing	X	X	
	Oregon Wine LAB	X		
	Sam Bond's Garage	X		
Alan Mitchell	Territorial Vineyards & Wine Company	X	X	X
	Wildcraft Cider Works	X		
Claire Syrett	Current City Councilor, Ward 7	X	X	X
	2 Former City Councilors, Ward 7	X	X	X
	2 WCC Board Members	X		
	1 WCC Board Member	X	X	
	1 WCC Board Member	X	X	X
	1 Former WCC Board Member	X	X	X
	3 Non-WCC, Non-City Council Residents	X	X	X
	Total	25	17	15

Interview Questions for Businesses

Business History and Site Selection

1. What year did you locate in the Whiteaker?
 - a. Was your business in operation before that?
 - i. If so, for how long?
2. What made you decide to locate in the Whiteaker?
 - a. In particular, what appealed to you about the Whiteaker that other locations didn't have to offer?
 - b. What did you know about the Whiteaker before you located here?

More about your business

3. Can you talk a little bit about your business model and company values?
4. What, if any, relationship do you have with other businesses in the Whiteaker?
 - a. With other fermented beverage businesses?
 - b. With other non-fermented beverage businesses?

Relationship to Neighborhood

5. Life/Work
 - a. How long have you lived in the Eugene/Springfield area?
 - b. Do you live in the Whiteaker?
 - i. If yes, how long have you lived in the Whiteaker?
 - c. Approximately what percentage of your employees live in the Whiteaker?
6. What do you see as the economic impacts of your business?
 - a. Who experiences them?
7. What do you see as the social impacts of your business (how has the neighborhood changed because of your business)?
 - a. Who experiences them?
8. What do you see as the impacts your business has had on the physical landscape of the neighborhood (how have the aesthetics of the neighborhood changed)
9. What, if any, other changes have you noticed in the neighborhood since your business opened?
10. How would you characterize your relationship with residents of the neighborhood?
 - a. Relationship with the neighborhood council
 - b. Relationships with individual residents

Lessons Learned

11. Can you think of any lessons you've learned from opening your business in the Whiteaker?
 - a. If you could go back in time, is there anything you would do differently when starting your business up in this neighborhood?
 - b. Is there any advice you have for other businesses that are thinking about locating here?

Interview Questions for Residents

First, I'm going to ask you some general background questions:

1. What is your relation to the Whitaker Neighborhood?
 - a. How long have you lived here?
 - b. Do you work in the neighborhood?
 - c. Are you active in the community?
 - d. Do you own a business in the community?
2. Do you have any relationship to the brewing, cider, and other fermented beverage businesses that operate in the Whiteaker?
 - a. Do you work or have you worked for a fermented beverage business?
 - b. Do you know anyone who does or has?

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about how you have personally been affected by fermented beverage businesses in the neighborhood:

3. Do fermented beverage businesses impact your day-to-day life? If so, how?
 - a. Have you experienced a change in your quality of life as a result of fermented beverage businesses?
4. Have fermented beverage businesses changed the neighborhood?
 - a. Have they changed the physical neighborhood? If so, how?
 - b. Have they changed the community culture? If so, how?
 - c. Do you know anyone who has moved to the neighborhood because of the fermented beverage businesses? If so, what type of people?
 - d. Do you know anyone who has left the neighborhood because of the fermented beverage businesses? If so, what type of people?
 - e. Any other changes related to fermented beverage businesses?

Finally, I'd like to ask you about the specific benefits or detriments of fermented beverage businesses that you have observed:

5. Do you see any economic benefits or detriments related to fermented beverage businesses?
 - a. What are they
 - b. Who experiences them?
6. Do you see any social benefits or detriments (i.e. changes in the local culture that have improved or detracted from the neighborhood's sense of community) related to fermented beverage businesses?
 - a. What are they?
 - b. Who experiences them?
7. Do you see any benefits or detriments to the physical landscape of the neighborhood (i.e. aesthetic changes that have improved or worsened your experience of the built neighborhood) related to fermented beverage businesses?
 - a. What are they?