



Department of Urban and Regional Planning

COLLEGE OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO **DENVER**

Before-After Affordable Housing Study

Research Team

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Final report to Boulder Housing Partners and Boulder County Housing Authority, 2017

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study tests the realization of a set of concerns typically expressed by residents in opposition to affordable housing in their community. The study used a case study approach for six sites, five Boulder Housing Partners (BHP) sites in the city of Boulder, Colorado and one Boulder County Housing Authority (BHCA) site in the city of Lafayette, Colorado (Table 1-E.S.). We selected these six cases to provide a mix of neighborhood types and housing types targeted for families and individuals. We avoided housing that was exclusively for seniors since research and practices suggest there is less opposition to senior affordable housing.

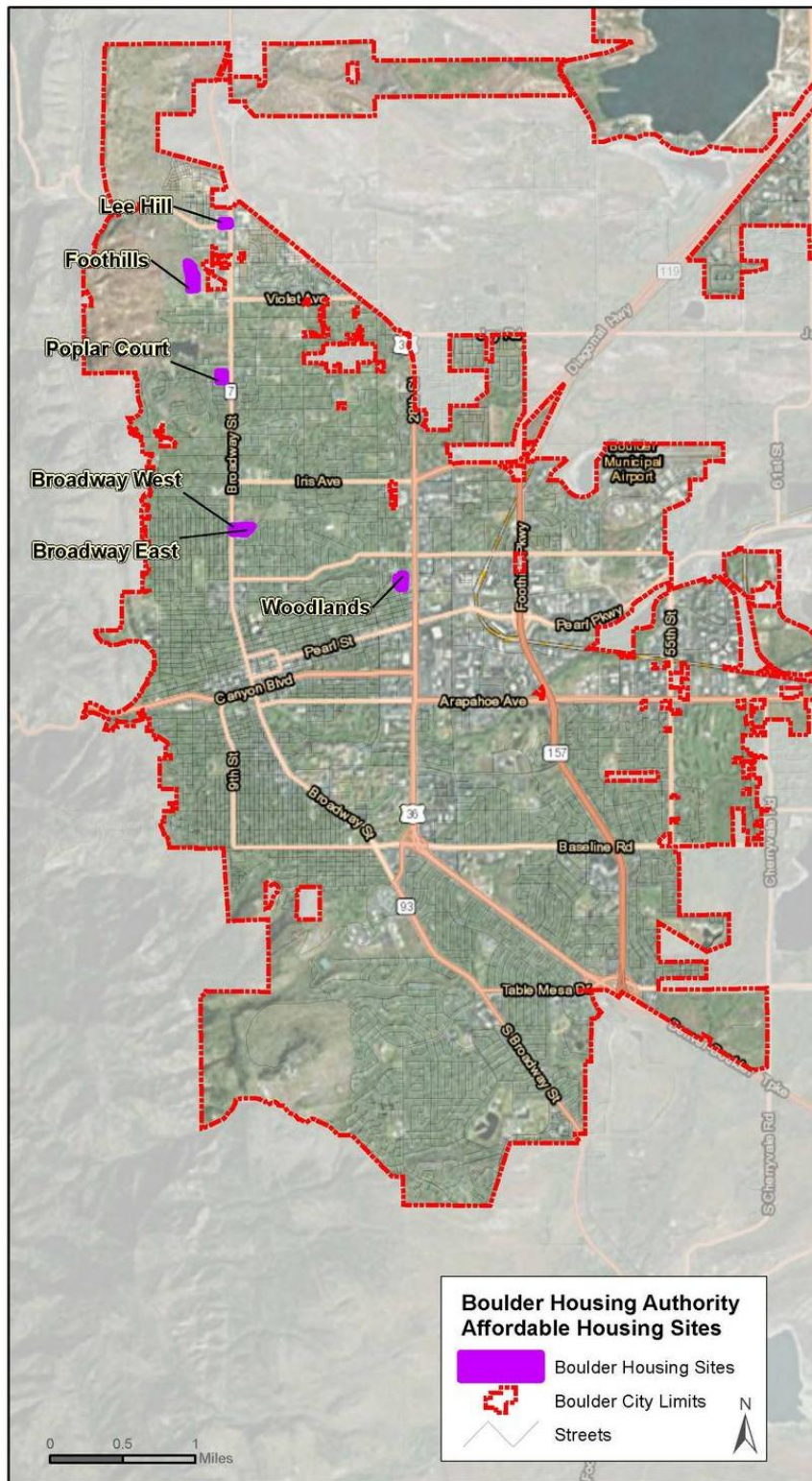
To compare the conditions before and after the housing was constructed, we conducted interviews with neighbors, property managers, and residents of the developments; made multiple site observations at separate dates and times; reviewed development documentation; and drew from several data sources for assessing property values, demographics, and crime.

Table 1-E.S. Case Study Sites

Site Name and Location	Project Start	Year Opened	Units	Population Served	Neighborhood Type	Resident Concerns
Aspinwall and Josephine Commons, Lafayette, CO	2007/8 2007/8	2014 2010	72: 1/2/3/4 BR Townhomes	<60% AMI, families	Mostly single-family and one mobile home park	Property values, fit with existing neighborhood, blocking open space access and views, transient population (renters)
Broadway East, Boulder, CO	<1983; renovated in 2010	1983	44: Townhomes, Apartments	Families with children, seniors, persons with disabilities, <60% AMI	Mixed Use	N/Av
Broadway West*, Boulder, CO	2008	2010	26: Apartments	Families, Individuals, <60% AMI		Height, density, building massing
Foothills Community, Boulder, CO	1998	2001	74: Duplexes, Townhomes	Families, Individuals, low income to market rate	Mostly single-family	Demographics, unit type, unit color, 9th St. extension, circulation, hydrology
1175 Lee Hill, Boulder, CO	2009	2014	31: Studios	Chronically homeless, very low income	Mixed use	Homeless moving into the neighborhood; safety issues; property values, crime, sex offenders, program confusion, etc.
Poplar Homes, Boulder, CO	1995	1996	14: Single family homes, 55-70% AMI	Families,	Mostly single-family	neighborhood compatibility, property values, crime, cars, dogs
Woodlands, Boulder, CO	n/av	1994	35: Townhouses	Families (mostly single parents), low income Family Self Sufficiency program	Mixed use and multi-family	Transmission undergrounding
Total Units		325				

Source: Data provided by BCHA and BHP. Note: *Broadway East and West were developed 27 years apart but they share a large lot, parking area, trash, etc. and are now managed as one site. Broadway East (1983) was renovated in 2010 when Broadway West was constructed.

Figure 1-E.S. Map of Study Sites in Boulder



Study Context

City Context: Boulder and Lafayette

Both cities are experiencing rapid growth and dramatic rises in home prices, home availability, median household income, and education levels. At the same time, the cities have a growing share of non-family households, senior households, households below or just above poverty level, and people who are homeless. For many households, there is a large gap between housing costs and their earnings.

Recognizing the demand for and importance of affordable housing, the comprehensive plans in both cities include goals for affordable housing and policies in both cities have supported the development of affordable housing.

Boulder

From 1990 to 2015, Boulder experienced significant growth (see Table 2-E.S.). Total population increased by 20,607 (25%) and the number of households increased by 7,484 (20%). By race and ethnicity, the city had gains in some categories, but lost residents who are Black, American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut. The increases in the other categories, including Asian, Pacific Islander or Native Hawaiian, Other race (not asked by the Census), Two or more races, and Hispanic, resulted in a 4% decline in share of white households. The population with a bachelor's degree or higher increased by 13,418 persons, raising the percent of the population with at least a college degree from 59% to 72%. When adjusted for inflation, the median household income has remained relatively flat, increasing just 9% from \$53,327 (in constant 2015 dollars) in 1990 (\$29,407 in nominal dollars) to \$58,484 in 2015. At the same time, those living at or below the poverty level increased by 4%, to 21,913, or 20% of the total population.

The sum of these changes indicates that a growing share of the population are older people, living in smaller households without children, and earning wages that have barely kept pace with inflation. At the same time, however, the population includes a growing share of high-income households with high levels of education. The gap between high and low earners in Boulder has led to a Gini Index, which is a measure of income inequality, of 0.53 in 2015. This is much higher than the U.S. Gini Index of 0.48 (Social Explorer).

Housing prices have tracked the higher income earners, rather than those earning the median income or lower (see Table 3-E.S.). This has helped to contribute to the rapid rise in rent (3.4%) and home prices (5.7%). The income needed to afford the median-priced home in Boulder is nearly two times the median household income. Further, the extreme lack of supply is putting additional pressure on market prices; the number of actual vacant units available to rent or buy is only 2%.

Table 2-E.S. Population and Household Change in the City of Boulder (1990 – 2015)

Population Statistics	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990 - 2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	83,312		94,673		97,385		103,919		20,607	25%
Pop. Density (per sq. mi.)	3,694		3,884		3,948		4,213		519	14%
Age										
Under 5 years	3,997	4.8%	3,888	4.1%	3,955	4.1%	3,617	3.5%	(380)	-1.3%
5 to 17 years	8,622	10.3%	10,154	10.7%	9,572	9.8%	10,359	10.0%	1,737	-0.4%
18 to 64	64,161	77.0%	73,240	77.4%	75,154	77.2%	79,527	76.5%	15,366	-0.5%
65 years and over	6,532	7.8%	7,391	7.8%	8,704	8.9%	10,416	10.0%	3,884	2.2%
Race/Ethnicity										
White	77,090	92.5%	83,627	88.3%	85,702	88.0%	91,961	88.5%	14,871	-4.0%
Black	1,048	1.3%	1,154	1.2%	876	0.9%	1,036	1.0%	(12)	-0.3%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	414	0.5%	450	0.5%	431	0.4%	262	0.3%	(152)	-0.2%
Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native Hawaiian	3,208	3.9%	3,854	4.1%	4,679	4.8%	5,315	5.1%	2,107	1.2%
Other, or two or more races	1,552	1.9%	5,588	5.9%	5,697	5.8%	5,345	5.1%	3,793	3.2%
Hispanic	4,022	4.8%	7,801	8.2%	8,507	8.7%	8,950	8.6%	4,928	3.8%
Household Type										
Households:	34,681		39,596		41,302		42,165		7,484	22%
Family households:	15,869	45.8%	16,802	42.4%	16,694	40.4%	17,601	41.7%	1,732	-4.1%
Married-couple family	12,543	36.2%	13,166	33.3%	13,303	32.2%	14,314	34.0%	1,771	-2.2%
Other family	3,326	9.6%	3,636	9.2%	3,391	8.2%	3,287	7.8%	(39)	-1.8%
Households with children	7,521	21.7%	8,298	21.0%	7,876	19.1%	8,177	19.4%	656	-2.3%
Nonfamily households	18,812	54.2%	22,794	57.6%	24,608	59.6%	24,564	58.3%	5,752	4.1%
Education (for pop. 25 years and over)										
Bachelor's degree or higher	28,779	58.9%	37,598	66.8%	39,738	71.6%	42,197	72.3%	13,418	13.4%
Median Household Income										
Median Household Income	\$29,407		\$44,748		\$54,539		\$58,484		\$29,077	99%
Ratio of Income to Poverty Level										
Persons for whom poverty status is determined:	75,926	100%	86,959	100.0%	89,740	100%	94,857	100%	18,931	25%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	14,393	19.0%	15,095	17.4%	20,413	22.8%	21,913	23.1%	7,520	4.1%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	10,979	14.5%	12,637	14.5%	14,427	16.1%	13,138	13.9%	2,159	-0.6%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	50,554	66.6%	59,227	68.1%	54,900	61.2%	59,806	63.1%	9,252	-3.5%

Table 3-E.S. Housing Stock Change in the City of Boulder (1990 – 2015)

	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990 - 2015	
Housing Units										
Total housing units	36,270		40,726		43,479		44,578		8,308	23%
Occupied housing units:	34,681	95.6%	39,596	97.2%	41,302	95.0%	42,165	94.6%	7,484	-1.0%
Owner occupied	16,003	46.1%	19,605	49.5%	19,695	47.7%	20,152	47.8%	4,149	1.7%
Renter occupied	18,678	53.9%	19,991	50.5%	21,607	52.3%	22,013	52.2%	3,335	-1.7%
Vacant	1,589	4.4%	1,130	2.8%	2,177	5.0%	2,413	5.4%	824	1.0%
Units in Structure										
1 Unit:	17,628	48.6%	20,486	50.2%	21,772	50.6%	21,916	49.2%	4,288	0.6%
1, detached	15,121	41.7%	17,906	43.9%	18,424	42.8%	18,327	41.1%	3,206	-0.6%
1, attached	2,507	6.9%	2,580	6.3%	3,348	7.8%	3,589	8.1%	1,082	1.2%
2 to 9	6,506	17.9%	7,214	17.7%	6,890	16.0%	7,773	17.4%	1,267	-0.5%
10 or more	11,076	30.5%	11,633	28.5%	13,113	30.4%	13,546	30.4%	2,470	-0.2%
Mobile home, trailer, other	1,060	2.9%	1,464	3.6%	1,295	3.0%	1,343	3.0%	283	0.1%
Home Values										
Median Value Owner-Occupied	\$122,500		\$304,700		\$496,400		\$512,600		390,100	318%
Median Gross Rent	521		\$818		\$1,109		\$1,243		\$722	139%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE). 2015 data ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Property Values in Boulder (2006 to 2015)

The following chart depicts the average assessed values for land, improvements, and the combined total for all residential parcels in Boulder from 2006 to 2015. Values increased 30% for land, 59% for improvements, and 45% for the two combined. The average unit size decreased by 14%, a reflection of the increase in the number of condominiums and apartments.

Figure 2-E.S. Average property values in Boulder (2006 – 2015)

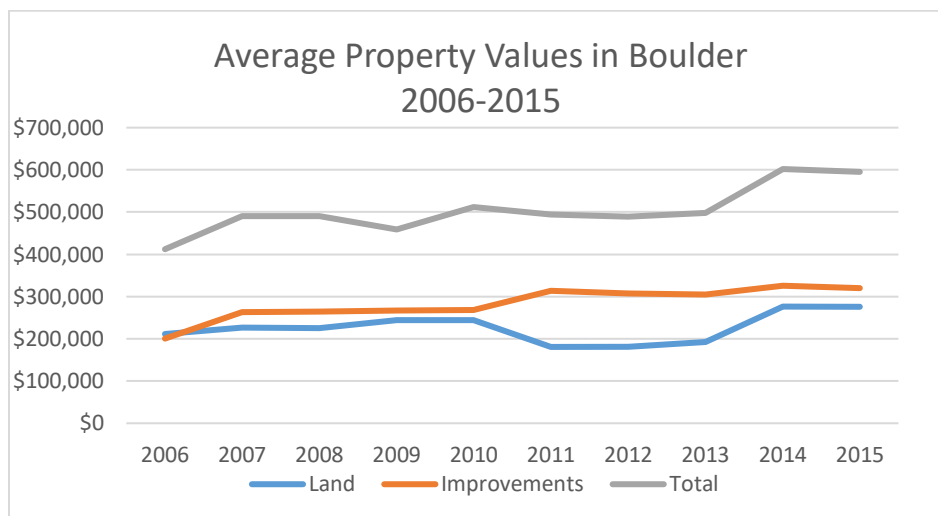


Table 4-E.S. Average Assessed Parcel Values in Boulder (2006 – 2015)

Average Values	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% Change 2006-2015
Land	\$211,587	\$227,159	\$225,741	\$243,928	\$244,187	\$180,772	\$181,671	\$192,868	\$276,327	\$276,000	30%
Improvements	\$200,566	\$262,893	\$264,490	\$266,951	\$268,363	\$313,280	\$307,309	\$304,651	\$325,691	\$319,711	59%
Total Value	\$412,152	\$490,052	\$490,231	\$458,615	\$512,550	\$494,052	\$488,980	\$497,519	\$602,018	\$595,733	45%
Square Feet	1,842	2,101	2,115	2,144	1,750	1,567	1,491	1,571	1,540	1,580	-14%
Year Built	1959	1943	1943	N/AV	1943	1970	1970	1969	1970	1969	1%

Lafayette

Lafayette is a small town of less than 10 square miles located approximately 10 miles east of Boulder and 25 miles north of Denver. From 1990 to 2015, Lafayette's population increased from 14,548 persons to 26,530, an 82% increase (see Table 5-E.S.) Housing units increased by 91%. The age group with the greatest population increase was people who are 65 years and over, at 4.1%, putting them at close to 10% of the population, while the largest decrease was for children under 5 years, -4.1%, who are now 6.6% of the total population. Persons with a bachelor's degree or higher increased by 27%, and median income increased by 5.9% in constant dollars, from \$66,783 in 1990 (\$34,182 in nominal dollars) to \$70,714 in 2015. At the same time, the percent of the population living at or below the poverty level remained a steady percent of the population, 8.4%, but the number of people living at or below poverty almost doubled, from 1,200 persons in 1990 to 2,213 persons in 2015. The population of Lafayette remains predominantly white non-Hispanic at 88%. However, the Hispanic population has more than doubled since 1990, and there is a growing Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native Hawaiian population, which has more than quadrupled, from 316 in 1990 to 1,329 in 2015. Those reporting more than one

race increased by 60% to 1,700 people, while the Black alone population declined by 0.6%, from 143 to 94 people. The Gini index of inequality is lower in Lafayette, 0.43, than the Gini Index for both Boulder (0.53) and the U.S. (0.48).

The median for-sale home price in Lafayette is \$483,500, a 54% increase from \$314,000 in 2009 according to data provided by D.B. Wilson, of Re/Max of Boulder (Hahn, 2017). The median household could afford the median rent of \$1,222, but at least half the households in Lafayette would not be able to afford these rents or home prices. Adding to the unaffordability in the area is a low vacancy rate, which has declined substantially, from 6.6% in 1990 to less than 2.5% in 2015. The vacant units available for rent or for sale is even lower, 1%. This extremely low vacancy makes it more likely that rents will rise faster than inflation. In this 25-year period, rents increased by 134% and home prices increased 247%.

Table 5-E.S. Population and Household Change in Lafayette (1990 – 2015)

Population Statistics	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990-2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Population & Density										
Total Population	14,548		23,197		24,453		26,430		11,882	82%
Pop. density (per sq.mi.)	2,108.6		2,620.9		2,584.2		2,793.1		684.5	33%
Age										
Under 5 years	1,563	10.7%	1,845	8.0%	1,703	7.0%	1,734	6.6%	171	-4.1%
5 to 17 years	3,033	20.8%	4,529	19.5%	4,520	18.5%	4,473	16.9%	1,440	-3.9%
18 to 64	9,127	62.7%	15,483	66.7%	16,261	66.5%	17,644	66.8%	8,517	4.0%
65 years and over	825	5.7%	1,340	5.8%	1,969	8.1%	2,579	9.8%	1,754	4.1%
Race/Ethnicity										
White	12,942	89.0%	19,841	85.5%	20,932	85.6%	23,182	87.7%	10,240	-1.3%
Black	143	1.0%	209	0.9%	270	1.1%	94	0.4%	-49	-0.6%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	107	0.7%	170	0.7%	210	0.9%	112	0.4%	5	-0.3%
Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native Hawaiian	316	2.2%	791	3.4%	938	3.9%	1,329	5.1%	1,013	2.9%
Other, or two or more	1,040	7.2%	2,186	9.4%	2,103	8.6%	1,713	6.5%	673	-0.7%
Hispanic	2,163	14.9%	3,808	16.4%	4,454	18.2%	4,351	16.5%	2,188	1.6%
Household Type										
Households:	5,392		8,844		9,632		10,729		5,337	99%
Family households:	3,816	70.8%	5,951	67.3%	6,354	66.0%	7,032	65.5%	3,216	-5.3%
Married-couple family	3,005	55.7%	4,633	52.4%	4,808	49.9%	5,466	51.0%	2,461	-4.7%
Other family	811	15.0%	1,318	14.9%	1,546	16.1%	1,566	14.6%	755	-0.4%
Households with children	2,453	45.5%	3,512	39.7%	3,514	36.5%	3,435	32.0%	982	-14%
Nonfamily households:	1,576	29.2%	2,893	32.7%	3,278	34.0%	3,697	34.5%	2,121	5.3%
Education Attainment (25 years +)										
Bachelor's degree or higher	2,546	28.1%	6,913	45.7%	8,889	53.3%	9,969	55.0%	7,423	27%
Household income										
Median household income	\$34,182		\$56,376		\$66,202		\$70,714		\$36,532	107%
Ratio of Income to Poverty Level										
Poverty status determination (persons)	14,466	100.0%	23,305	99.9%	24,511	100.1%	26,394	100.0%	11,928	0.0%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	1,220	8.4%	1,636	7.0%	3,061	12.5%	2,213	8.4%	993	0.0%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	2,126	14.7%	3,318	14.2%	3,472	14.2%	3,355	12.7%	1,229	-2.0%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	11,120	76.9%	18,351	78.7%	17,978	73.4%	20,826	78.9%	9,706	2.0%

Table 6-E.S. Housing Stock Change in the City of Lafayette (1990 – 2015)

	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990-2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Housing Units										
Housing Units	5,775		9,115		9,997		11,004		5,229	91%
Occupied housing units	5,392	93.4%	8,844	97.0%	9,632	96.3%	10,729	97.5%	5,337	4.1%
Owner occupied	3,879	71.9%	6,703	75.8%	7,012	72.8%	7,668	71.5%	3,789	-0.4%
Renter occupied	1,513	28.1%	2,141	24.2%	2,620	27.2%	3,061	28.5%	1,548	0.4%
Vacant	383	6.6%	271	3.0%	365	3.7%	275	2.5%	-108	-4.1%
Units in Structure										
1 Unit:	4,018	69.6%	6,933	75.6%	7,654	73.3%	8,258	75.1%	4,240	5.5%
1, detached	3,115	53.9%	5,481	59.8%	5,785	55.4%	6,710	61.0%	3,595	7.1%
1, attached	903	15.6%	1,452	15.8%	1,869	17.9%	1,548	14.1%	645	-1.5%
2 to 9	689	11.9%	940	10.3%	955	9.1%	1,137	10.3%	448	-1.6%
10 or more	65	1.1%	417	4.5%	848	8.1%	845	7.7%	780	6.6%
Mobile home, trailer, other	1,003	17.4%	876	9.6%	985	9.4%	764	6.9%	-239	-10.4%
Home Values										
Median Value Owner-Occupied units	\$81,300		\$193,700		\$257,700		\$281,700		\$200,400	247%
Median Gross Rent	\$523		\$834		\$1,139		\$1,222		\$699	134%

Property Values in Lafayette (2007 to 2015)

The following chart and table depict the average assessed values (in nominal dollars) for land, improvements, and the total value (land plus improvements) for all residential parcels in our sample from Lafayette from 2007 to 2015. Values increased 24% for land, 9% for improvements, and 13% for the two combined. The average size decreased by 16%, which represents the increase in the number of condos and multi-family apartment buildings. The average year built has remained 1984 over time due to the large share of units built before 1984 (3700 of the 7762 in our sample) and many fewer units built more recently.

Figure 3-E.S. Average property values in Lafayette (2007–2015)

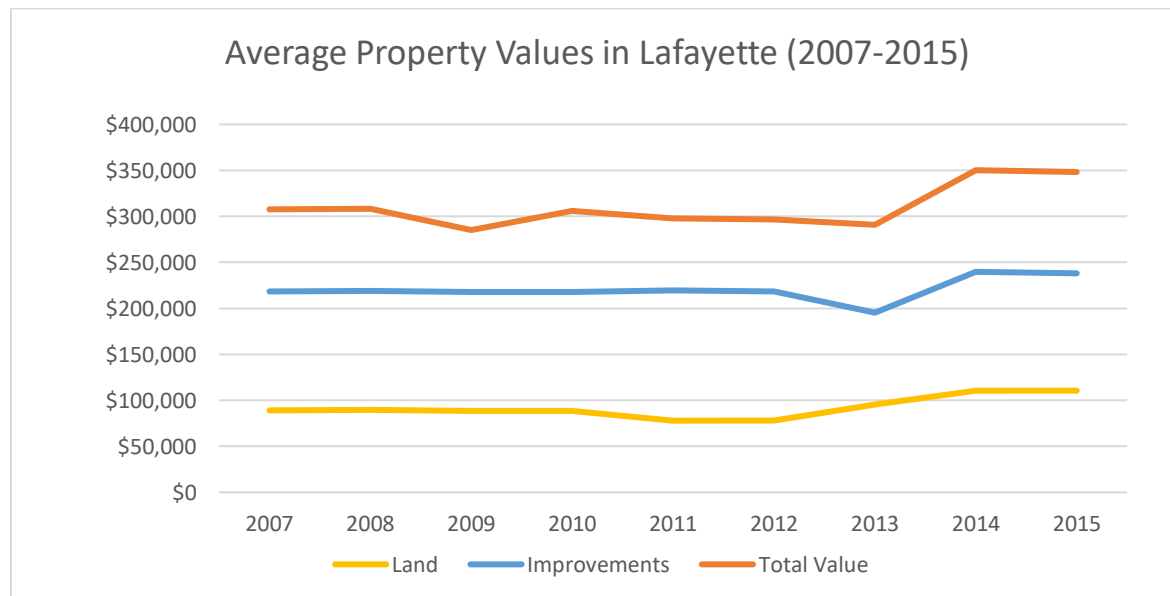


Table 7-E.S. Change in Lafayette Residential Property Values (2007-2015)

Average Values	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% Change 2007-2015
Land	\$89,155	\$89,420	\$88,276	\$88,273	\$77,879	\$77,895.04	\$95,319	\$110,477	\$110,392	24%
Improvements	\$218,474	\$218,836	\$217,679	\$217,914	\$219,795	\$218,598.83	\$195,298	\$239,691	\$237,922	9%
Total Value	\$307,629	\$308,256	\$285,110	\$306,187	\$297,674	\$296,493.87	\$290,617	\$350,169	\$348,314	13%
Square Feet	1,901	1,914	1,920	1,590	1,590	1,560	1,591	1,580	1,591	-16%
Year Built	1984	1984	448	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	0%

Related Studies

Public opinion surveys demonstrate wide agreement that the government should have policies and programs to create housing for people in need. However, this general support “does not translate into endorsement of specific local efforts to increase the amount of affordable housing” (Belden, Shashaty, & Zipperer, 2004, p. 5). Community members’ concerns about the potential negative effects of affordable housing and its residents can cause delays, demands for untenable physical modifications, and calls for the intended residential composition to be changed—demands that undermine the intention and threaten the successful development of proposed projects (Tighe, 2010).

Several decades of research on neighbor attitudes have sought to document which aspects of affordable housing development are assumed by community members to be problematic. The complete list identified through research and public opinion surveys includes: perceived threat to property values, fears for personal safety and security, concerns about a decline in neighborhood quality, “character,” or amenities (Dear 1992; Goetz 1996), poor maintenance of low-income housing and unattractive design (Belden, Shashaty & Zipperer, 2004), a decline in the “image of the community”, the “inability of the community to keep out other undesirable land uses once one has been sited” (Schively, 2007, p. 256), traffic, parking, overburdening municipal services and schools, and stress on water and sewer systems.

There have been a huge number of studies that have attempted to quantify the impact of affordable housing on communities, seeking to prove (or disprove) these entrenched concerns. “For the most part, the research demonstrates that well-managed housing that fits the scale of the neighborhood seldom produces the negative impacts” (Tighe, 2010, p. 9) noted above. Several studies from 1996 to the present have investigated whether the development of affordable housing leads to an increase in crime (Goetz et al., 1996; Galster, et al., 2002; Woo & Joh, 2015). These studies found no evidence, or that the development or redevelopment of affordable housing seemed to mitigate or reduce crime. Studies focused on the effects on property values have found little to no effect, especially when the housing is managed by nonprofits. Any property value impacts on surrounding properties appear to be due to “the structure of affordable housing units/ sites, characteristics of the host neighborhood, compatibility between the affordable housing site and the neighborhood, and clustering of affordable housing units” (Nguyen, 2005, p. 15). More recently, Young’s 2016 study of 3,083 low-income housing developments in 20 metropolitan areas found no significant effect on property values, except for Denver, where there was a positive effect on the price per square foot values of housing near low-income housing projects. Diamond and McQuade’s study (2016) of housing prices near LIHTC units in 129 counties in 15 states and had somewhat different results. Similar to other studies, these authors found that LIHTC units tend to have a positive effect on home prices in low-income areas, but they lead to a long-term decline in areas with high median incomes and low minority populations. But there are variations in their findings and several other factors were found to matter, including distance from the LIHTC site, race and income of the neighboring residents, property characteristics of the LIHTC project, density, amenities and disamenities, etc. These nuances correspond with the review of studies by Ahrentzen in 2008 that notes the context of the development—size, quality and design, the property management, and the neighborhood context—all matter in terms of the effect on property values.

Case Study Findings

Overall, this study confirms the results of other similar studies: the expressed concerns prior to development were largely unwarranted, although there were some exceptions at the Aspinwall development in Lafayette. However, even these exceptions appear to be addressable through improved property management and communications between the development and the neighborhood.

Demographic changes to the neighborhood

It can be clearly stated that the introduction of affordable housing to the case study neighborhoods *did not produce any negative changes to the social character or quality of the neighborhoods*. In terms of neighborhood residents’ educational level, income, and poverty rate, the neighborhoods surrounding the affordable housing developments we studied were in most cases *better* than the city overall. Additionally, the study neighborhoods were generally less racially diverse (i.e., whiter) than the city overall. The percentage of residents in Boulder and Lafayette with bachelor’s degrees or higher has increased significantly over time, and the areas surrounding the case study sites are no exception. In the

neighborhoods surrounding four of the five Boulder case study sites, the median household income is significantly *higher* than that of the city overall. At one site (Woodlands), the rate of increase in median income is greater than Boulder's has been since 1990, but the median income in the neighborhood remains lower than the city. In the neighborhood surrounding Aspinwall in Lafayette, median household income has increased steadily, but at a lower rate than the city overall, and the median household income in the neighborhood remains lower than the city. Similarly, the percentage of neighborhood residents in poverty in the neighborhoods surrounding the five Boulder sites is lower than that of the city overall. In the Aspinwall neighborhood in Lafayette, the increase of residents in poverty has been significantly smaller than that of the city overall, although the overall percentage near Aspinwall remains higher, at approximately the same percentage it was before the development (10%). In the neighborhoods surrounding four of the five Boulder case study sites, the percentage of residents in poverty is significantly *lower* than that of the City overall. Finally, the city of Boulder is 88.5% white; four of the five Boulder case study neighborhoods have a higher percentage of white residents than the city overall. Lafayette is 87.7% white, which is a higher percentage than the Aspinwall neighborhood. However, that neighborhood has lost 15% of its Hispanic population while the city overall has become more Hispanic.

Crime

The introduction of affordable housing developments did not lead to any increase in crime in the surrounding neighborhoods. Specifically, in the past three years, there were no documented crimes near three of the five Boulder sites. While two of the sites had crimes in the vicinity, these were not associated with the affordable housing developments. There were rumors of mail theft-related crime in the neighborhood surrounding the Lafayette case study site. However, mail theft had occurred in that area prior to the development of Aspinwall, and in a similar crime in nearby Louisville in 2016, the arrested perpetrators were not from Lafayette. To our knowledge, no one has been arrested for the alleged mail theft incident in Lafayette.

Traffic & Parking

Despite being relatively higher density development than their surrounding neighborhoods, five of the six affordable housing developments in our study did not generate traffic or parking-related issues. In Lafayette, neighbors of Aspinwall development have experienced an increase in traffic and speeding in their neighborhood, however the source of the speeders is unclear. The high volume of traffic is widely acknowledged to be "terrible" in Boulder due to the county's rapid growth and densification, but only a few residents or neighbors in Lafayette pointed to the affordable housing developments as a potential cause of some traffic-related issues but not necessarily the traffic *volume*.

Property Values

Concerns for property values in surrounding neighborhoods is widely cited as residents' primary concern about affordable housing development. However, our analysis of the six case study sites found that they had *no negative effect* on neighboring property values. All case study neighborhoods saw increases in assessed property values close to the city average or much greater. In the neighborhoods that experienced a slower rate of growth than the city overall, the cause was due to the size of homes. The only slight declines observed that did not correspond to a citywide decline were the median value of improvements within an eighth mile of the Lee Hill, Foothills, and Poplar developments in 2014. However, this decline in improvement values appears to be due to a systematic adjustment in assessed improvements for certain types of properties throughout Boulder. We did not investigate the

adjustment with the assessor, but 21% of our sample of 27,475 parcels had declines between \$50,000 and \$1,000,000 this time. Of the 2,090 parcels near the five Boulder sites, 655 saw a reduction of \$50,000 to \$366,000 in assessed improvement values.

Moreover, all of the case study neighborhoods contained predominantly single-family homes prior to the construction of affordable housing developments, and this character has been maintained since the developments were completed.

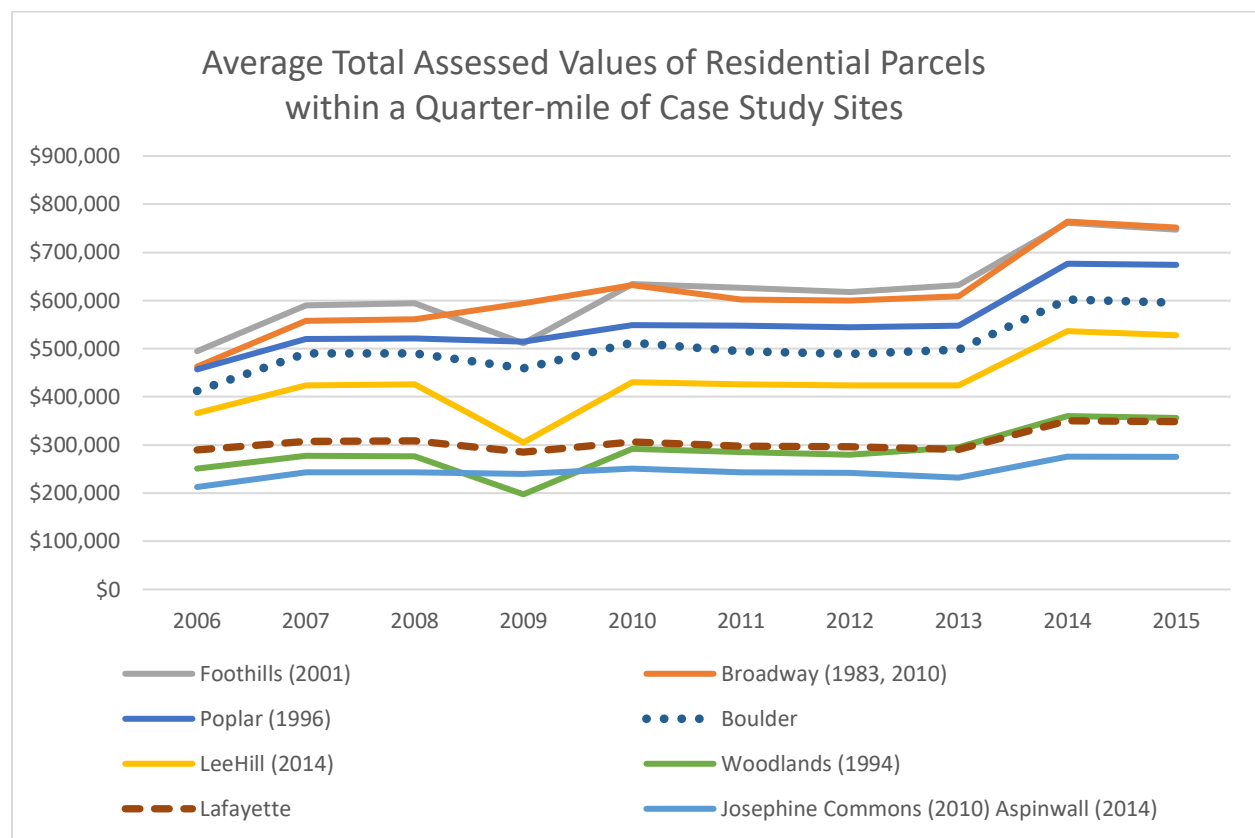
Average residential property values (land plus improvements) did not decline at any of the six case study sites. They all increased whether valued on a per square foot or total value basis. At four of the six sites—Broadway, Poplar, Lee Hill, and Foothills, the per-square-foot value increase from 2006 to 2015 for parcels within a quarter-mile of the sites was significantly greater than the increase for the median value of all other residential properties in Boulder. At Broadway and Poplar, the increase was also significantly greater for total values (land and improvements). For Lee Hill and Foothills, the total value increase was greater than it was for Boulder, but the difference was not significant. Parcels near the Woodlands development are the exception for both per square foot and total values. The values increased, and at a higher rate than the median increase for Boulder, but the increase was significantly less than the increase for Boulder on a per-square foot basis (\$45/s.f. compared to \$117/s.f.), and total value (18% compared to 36%). In Lafayette, the per-square foot value of parcels near Aspinwall and Josephine Commons increased significantly less than they did for all other residential properties in Lafayette (\$27/s.f. compared to \$43/s.f.), but there was no significant difference in the increase in total values (12% compared to 13%).

Table 8-E.S. Summary of property values difference in difference test 2006 to 2015

Median Value within a ¼ Mile of BHP Property	N	Difference in Value per Square Foot	Percent Change in Value per Square Foot	Percent Change in Total Value	Percent Change in Total Value Adjusted by Square Footage
Broadway	553	\$157**	53%**	48%**	0.03%**
Poplar	517	\$172**	78%**	45%**	0.03%**
Lee Hill & Foothills	488	\$157**	53%**	48%	0.00%
Woodlands	530	<i>\$45**</i>	<i>18%**</i>	<i>18%**</i>	0.02%
Boulder	25,135	\$117	48%	36%	0.02%
Aspinwall	239	\$27**	16%**	12%	0.01%
Lafayette	7,522	\$43**	24%**	13%	0.01%

Significance: *p < .05, ** p < .01

Figure 4-E.S. Average Total Assessed Values of Residential Parcels near Case Studies (2006-2015)



CONCLUSION

The goal of this project was to learn whether and in what ways the development of affordable housing impacts its surrounding neighborhood. To study this question in the city of Boulder and Boulder County, Colorado, we carefully selected case study sites that comprised a range of neighborhood types, construction dates, number and type of units, and tenant demographics, and had a variety of documented neighborhood resident concerns prior to construction.

This study employed a comprehensive approach, drawing from multiple data sources and methods, to test the validity of the concerns neighborhood residents raised regarding the six affordable housing developments we examined. We conducted an extensive news archive search to identify the concerns and issues that were publicly raised about each site before and after its development. To test whether, and to what extent, the specific concerns raised as well as typical concerns about affordable housing developments were valid in these cases, we compared the conditions in each neighborhood prior to the development of the affordable housing with the current neighborhood conditions. Specifically, we used census data to describe the neighborhood's demographics before and after the affordable housing was developed; detailed parcel records to track changes in the types and values of the surrounding housing units; and analysis of police and fire activity and crime data surrounding each affordable housing development. Previous studies have noted that there are several characteristics of the affordable housing itself and the character of the neighborhood in which it is built that affect whether the affordable housing impacts crime, property values, nuisances, and other concerns. To ensure we had a nuanced understanding of each affordable housing development, we also conducted on-site observations to document the construction quality, design, and property management; interviews with

neighbors to understand their interactions with and observations of the site; surveys of residents to gain an insider's perspective on the developments; and interviews with property managers to ask questions about the things we observed or heard through our research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In concept, affordable housing is widely supported by community residents. It is included in comprehensive plans, and voters commonly support funding proposals for it. The Boulder city and county comprehensive plans and subcommunity plans have adopted goals for affordability, diversity, and inclusive neighborhoods. The great majority of residents interviewed in this study expressed support for affordable housing. Nonetheless, too often, when affordable housing is proposed for development, neighbors express concern.

In communities such as Boulder and Lafayette that are experiencing intense growth pressures, residents often feel overwhelmed by the pace of change. They also have invested time and money in their neighborhood and they seek input into the design and uses of new developments within their communities. While it can be demonstrated that relatively small housing developments such as those produced by BHP and BCHA do not make major impacts on their neighborhoods, because of residents' heightened sensitivity to change, when higher-density affordable developments are proposed, they may meet with undue negativity, as well as legitimate concerns about traffic flows, noise from deliveries, and whether there is adequate access to social supports and services for the intended residents.

Based on the findings of this study, our recommendations to improve the process of future development efforts all fall under the heading of "Communication," and it should be frequent, two-way, and ongoing beyond the certificate of occupancy.

Communicate clearly during the planning process.

Planners need to be careful about using nuanced, technical language in communication with the public. When adopted plans call for affordable housing, the plans should be specific about how much and where this type of housing is needed. If the public does not truly understand what is planned, and has only a vague idea of the commitment to "affordability" goals, they may feel that a specific plan for affordable housing is a "bait and switch." To prevent a misperception that the housing authorities are being intentionally vague (or lacking in expertise), neighbors should be made aware that the process of securing funding for affordable housing development is often slow, piecemeal and dependent on external decisions. Several of the neighbors we interviewed did not know who was eligible to live in affordable housing or how it was funded and operated. This added to the mistrust and skepticism about the development, the "government", the tenants, and the housing authority. Communicating eligibility requirements, the types of jobs worked by the residents who live in affordable housing, and the sources, timing, and tenuous nature of funding will help the neighboring residents understand the need, the credibility, whose receiving funding, and from what sources.

Similarly, housing developers, and the host City, need to let the public know when HUD policy, funding, or city policies and standards require a change to the design. Conveying these legitimate development constraints may prevent the public from feeling misled about the project. Stakeholder committees in the planning process should be diverse and sufficient, and planners should make it transparent how committee input will be used in development decisions. Finally, the housing authorities should maintain a social media presence during the development phase to provide prompt answers to public questions, and to correct misinformation before rumors spread.

Provide excellent property management that includes communication with neighbors and the police department

The relatively few problems we observed at the case study sites could be directly attributed to property management problems. For example, the issues with litter around the Broadway site during the first two site visits was resolved by the third visit; the interview with the property manager indicated that the issue was due to a temporary gap in management. Likewise, complaints from neighbors around Aspinwall due to residents smoking on neighbors' private property were both caused and solved by property management. Police activity and unsolved rumors about potential crimes near the Aspinwall site could also be addressed through more active engagement with the police and communication to the surrounding neighbors. These updates could also explain police activity, much of which is for medical calls. The housing authority/property managers should be in active communication with the police to understand the nature of their visits and how to address them. When neighbors hear from police officers that the police activity was from "Section 8 stuff", it stigmatizes people who have Housing Choice Vouchers; suggests that the "Section 8" program is supporting criminals; and leaves the interpretation to the neighbor, which may lead to an inaccurate understanding and additional unfounded rumors about the police activity. The Good Neighbor Agreement that 1175 Lee Hill has with its surrounding neighborhoods appears to be a successful model for this type of ongoing communication that should be adopted by other developments.

Communicate the expertise of the housing authorities.

The two housing authorities whose properties were included in this study are expert developers and property managers. Neighbors are often concerned about the impact that "hard to house" residents will have on their community. However, skilled property managers keep any issues that arise internal to the developments. In contrast, site-based "Section 8" apartments typically have a greater impact on their neighbors. Demonstrating and communicating the housing authorities' legacy of successful property development, properties' award-winning designs, the life-changing opportunities provided to residents—as well as the authorities' excellent track record of carefully listening and responding to neighbors' concerns—will help instill confidence in the future.

Provide ongoing information post-occupancy.

The multi-family rental properties in this study are typical in that they are not well-integrated into the surrounding community of single-family homes. Units turn over relatively frequently, residents have different schedules, and residents and neighbors seldom interact. In this sense, these properties are not any more disruptive to or isolated from the neighborhood than a market-rate development would likely be. However, when nearby residents perceive differences or experience problems, they need a way to get information and answers to minimize frustrations. The model being used by the Lee Hill development may be useful for others to adopt, especially Aspinwall. The residents we interviewed who lived in the Aspinwall neighborhood were looking for information on the frequent police visits, a way to talk to property managers, a way to solve the problem of off-site smokers, and the like.

Communicate the ways that affordable housing benefits the entire community and how it works.

While many Boulder residents support the notion of affordable housing, in a housing market that is challenging for many households, questions can arise about the "fairness" of subsidized units and whether the residents "deserve" to live in Boulder. In Boulder, the need for affordable housing can be

tied to the salient homelessness issue. The wide divergence between what most jobs pay and what most housing costs have pushed thousands of people into housing crises, including sheltered and unsheltered forms of homelessness. Most neighbors of the County's homeless shelter whom we interviewed were not happy with its presence. Yet, some of those same neighbors saw the value of the transitional housing at 1175 Lee Hill and were pleased with its operations. Similarly, in Lafayette, while neighbors have raised concerns about the design and development process and some management issues, they have embraced the diversity of their neighbors. The public needs to understand that having an ample supply of good-quality, affordable units is essential for solving the homelessness crisis that is both directly and indirectly affecting so many residents of Boulder.

Tighe's 2010 study concluded that "Affordable housing appears to have "no effect when (1) affordable housing is sited in healthy and vibrant neighborhoods; (2) the structure of the affordable housing does not change the quality or character of the neighborhood; (3) the management of affordable housing is responsive to problems and concerns; and (4) affordable housing is dispersed" (p. 24). Our findings echo this conclusion. The majority of the neighbors we interviewed were pleased with the developments and had positive perceptions of the residents.

Well-designed, well-managed affordable housing provides life-changing benefits for the residents with almost no cost to the surrounding neighborhood. Together, the findings of this study suggest that the strong demand for affordable housing must be met through creative funding, thoughtful siting, innovative design, and collaborative planning. Once built, neighbors, affordable housing residents, and property managers need to openly and actively discuss neighborhood concerns and solutions to any issues that arise. The six cases in this study demonstrate that affordable housing can be successfully added to a wide variety of neighborhoods without creating negative material or social impacts.

INTRODUCTION

The affordable housing shortage is at or near a crisis level in many cities throughout the U.S. In 2014, the National Housing Conference reported that 21% of the 46 million low- and moderate-income working households were paying more than half their income for rent, and another 15% were paying more than 35%. In Colorado, the National Low Income Housing Coalition's 2016 housing gap analysis puts Colorado above the national median for the housing shortage. For every 100 workers in Colorado earning 50% or less of their area's median income, there are 55 units available and affordable to them (2016). Further, these numbers do not capture the complete shortage, which would include additional units for homeless persons, those with disabilities, those unable to work, and seniors.

The problem in Boulder, Colorado is particularly acute, as Boulder's median home price is 88% higher than the national median home price (Stromberg, 2016). The median household income in the city of Boulder, \$58,484 (2015 ACS), is not high enough to cover the high housing prices. The unaffordability is especially acute for workers in essential jobs, such as school teachers, patrol officers, janitors, licensed nurses, and full-time retail associates. Of these five positions, only the school teacher can afford the median rent, and none of them could afford to own a home in Boulder (2016).

Both demand and supply contribute to the affordable housing shortage. On the demand side, from 2000-2013, "inflation-adjusted wages were stagnant or fell for the entire bottom 70% of wage earners. This extends even to those with college degrees" (Economic Policy Institute 2014)ⁱ, while housing costs continue to rise at a rate above inflation in most cities. The burgeoning population of seniors, many of whom have little to no savings and only a limited fixed income, further adds to the need for affordable housing.

On the supply side, there are two major causes for the shortage. First, there is a lack of public and private funding sources to build, renovate, or subsidize more housing, especially as construction costs increase. Most of the current stock of affordable housing is provided either through low-cost market units managed by the private sector, or subsidized housing developed and managed by nonprofit developers or public housing authorities (PHAs). However, only 1.2 million households in the U.S. live in publicly managed housing units. Housing subsidies support another 10 million households with qualifying incomes or disabilities that affect their earning potentialⁱⁱ. The second issue preventing supply is residents' opposition to the construction of new affordable housing developments in their neighborhoods. These concerns, real or perceived, often delay or change proposed affordable housing developments, which increases total development costs, or even completely prevent the housing developments. Opposition can leave affordable housing developers with few sites where the land and infrastructure costs are affordable and the neighborhood and location are suitable for residents with few means.

Because of the challenge posed by neighborhood opposition, several studies have investigated whether and to what extent residents' pre-development concerns were realized once the housing was built. The studies use different approaches and focus on varying aspects, such as changes in crime, traffic, or property values, but generally find little evidence to support the pre-development concerns. The purpose of this study was to investigate the validity of multiple concerns expressed by neighborhood residents in Boulder County in response to affordable housing developments constructed by the housing authorities for the City of Boulder and Boulder County in Colorado. Boulder Housing Partners (BHP) is the city's housing authority, and Boulder County Housing Authority (BCHA) builds and manages affordable housing in other cities or unincorporated areas in the county.

Specifically, this study tests the realization of a set of concerns typically expressed by residents in opposition to affordable housing in their community. The study used a case study approach for six sites, five BHP sites in the city of Boulder, and one BCHA site in the city of Lafayette (see Table 1). All but the Poplar single-family home development, which sold the homes as deed-restricted units, are managed by the respective housing authority. The City remains involved with Poplar to oversee the sale and purchase of the units. To compare the conditions before and after the housing was constructed, we conducted interviews with neighbors, property managers, and residents of the developments; made multiple site observations at separate dates and times; reviewed development documentation; and drew from several data sources for assessed property values, demographics, and crime. The full methods and sources are described in the Methods and Data section.

Report Overview

The complete findings from this study are detailed in the remaining sections of this report. We first provide a brief background on the results from similar studies. These studies helped to inform the methodology used for this study, which is described in the third section. We then present the findings from each site. In the concluding section, we provide a list of considerations for current and future affordable housing developments.

Funding

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Table 1. Case Study Sites

Site Name and Location	Project Start	Year Opened	Units	Population Served	Neighborhood Type	Resident Concerns
Aspinwall @ Josephine Commons, Lafayette, CO	2007/8 2007/8	2014 2010	72: 1/2/3/4 BR Townhomes	<60% AMI, families	Mostly single-family and one mobile home park	Property values, fit with existing neighborhood, blocking open space access and views, transient population (renters)
Broadway East, Boulder, CO	<1983; renovated in 2010	1983	44: Townhomes, Apartments	Families with children, seniors, persons with disabilities, <60% AMI	Mixed Use	N/Av
Broadway West*, Boulder, CO	2008	2010	26: Apartments	Families, Individuals, <60% AMI		Height, density, building massing
Foothills Community, Boulder, CO	1998	2001	74: Duplexes, Townhomes	Families, Individuals, low income to market rate	Mostly single-family	Demographics, unit type, unit color, 9th St. extension, circulation, hydrology
1175 Lee Hill, Boulder, CO	2009	2014	31: Studios	Chronically homeless, very low income	Mixed use	Homeless moving into the neighborhood; safety issues; property values, crime, sex offenders, program confusion, etc.
Poplar Homes, Boulder, CO	1995	1996	14: Single family homes	Families	Mostly single-family	neighborhood compatibility, property values, crime, cars, dogs
Woodlands, Boulder, CO	n/av	1994	35: Townhouses	Families (mostly single parents), low income Family Self Sufficiency program	Mixed use and multi-family	Transmission undergrounding
Total Units		325				

Source: Data provided by BCHA and BHP. Note: *Broadway East and West were developed 27 years apart but they share a large lot, parking area, trash, etc. and are now managed as one site. Broadway East, developed in 1983, was renovated in 2010 when Broadway West was constructed.

RELATED STUDIES

Providing housing for households who cannot afford market-rate units is one of the most critical, but most challenging, issues facing communities today. Local governments and non-profit organizations are typically at the front lines of this challenge, seeking creative ways to overcome the financial and regulatory barriers that make creating affordable housing difficult and complex. Even when the right combination of policies, incentives, funding opportunities, land availability, and design is accomplished, public opposition can derail proposed housing projects.

Public opinion surveys demonstrate wide agreement that the government should have policies and programs to create housing for people in need. However, this general support “does not translate into endorsement of specific local efforts to increase the amount of affordable housing” (Belden, Shashaty, &

Zipperer, 2004, p. 5). That is, while community residents acknowledge the need for such housing, they do not want it near their own homes. “When the issue transforms from general to specific—when it becomes personal—the public is far less supportive of accepting housing for moderate- and low-income people. Darker feelings of fear overtake fairness and opportunity for many Americans” (Ibid.). The “protectionist attitudes of and oppositional tactics adopted by community groups facing an unwelcome development in their neighborhood” are sometimes characterized as “not in my backyard” opposition (Dear 1992, 288). Community members’ concerns about the potential negative effects of affordable housing and its residents can cause delays, demands for untenable physical modifications, and calls for the intended residential composition to be changed—demands that undermine the intention and threaten the successful development of proposed projects (Tighe, 2010).

Several decades of research on neighbor attitudes have sought to document which aspects of affordable housing development are assumed by community members to be problematic. Early studies found three specific concerns that remain persistent: perceived threat to property values, fears for personal safety and security, and concerns about a decline in neighborhood quality, “character,” or amenities (Dear 1992; Goetz 1996). In their review of public opinion surveys on affordable housing, Belden, Shashaty and Zipperer (2004) identified poor maintenance of low-income housing and unattractive design as additional concerns. Schively (2007) cited residents’ concerns about a decline in the “image of the community” and the “inability of the community to keep out other undesirable land uses once one has been sited” (p. 256). Bratt and colleagues (2012) round out the list, noting that communities have additionally expressed concern with traffic and parking, overburdening municipal services and schools, and stress on water and sewer systems due to the development of housing for low-income households.

There have been a huge number of studies that have attempted to quantify the impact of affordable housing on communities, seeking to prove (or disprove) these entrenched concerns. “For the most part, the research demonstrates that well-managed housing that fits the scale of the neighborhood seldom produces the negative impacts” (Tighe, 2010, p. 9) noted above. For example, studies have shown that new affordable housing does not necessarily yield higher municipal or school costs (Bratt et al., 2012). Ellen & Voicu (2006) effectively argue that housing developed by non-profit organizations is likely of higher quality and has better long-term maintenance than similar housing produced by for-profit developers.

Several studies have investigated whether the development of affordable housing leads to an increase in crime. If a neighborhood’s physical quality is diminished due to the introduction of subsidized housing, it could lead to community disinvestment and social decline. However, Galster and colleagues’ (2002) frequently cited Denver-based study found “no statistically significant evidence” that the development of scattered-site supportive housing projects led to increased rates of reported crime. Similarly, Goetz and colleagues (1996) found evidence that “there were significantly fewer crime calls” (p. 2) at apartment complexes that were purchased, rehabilitated, and converted to subsidized housing by community development corporations. Further, Woo and Joh’s (2015) investigation of the impact of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) properties on neighborhood crime rates found that “contrary to popular perception, LIHTC developments have a mitigating impact on neighborhood crime” (p. 87).

The greatest number of neighborhood opposition studies have investigated whether affordable housing impacts surrounding property values. Many such studies have found no significant negative effect. For example, Goetz and colleagues (1996) found that “nonprofit-developed subsidized housing projects improve the property value of nearby residential units” although “public housing and privately owned publicly subsidized housing have slight negative effects” (p. 1.) Their study asserted that the condition of the private housing market in the neighborhood has a more significant impact on property values

than the existence of any subsidized housing. Nguyen's (2005) review of 17 previous studies that used large housing sales data sets to attempt to measure these effects furthered these conclusions. Specifically, any property value impacts on surrounding properties appear to be due to "the structure of affordable housing units/ sites, characteristics of the host neighborhood, compatibility between the affordable housing site and the neighborhood, and clustering of affordable housing units" (p. 15). Affordable housing appears to have "no effect when (1) affordable housing is sited in healthy and vibrant neighborhoods, (2) the structure of the affordable housing does not change the quality or character of the neighborhood, (3) the management of affordable housing is responsive to problems and concerns, and (4) affordable housing is dispersed" (p. 24). Using real estate sales data from Trulio, Young's 2016 study of 3,083 low-income housing developments in 20 metropolitan areas found no significant effect on property values, except for Denver, where there was a positive effect on the price per square foot values of housing near low-income housing projects. Diamond and McQuade's study (2016) of housing prices near LIHTC units in 129 counties in 15 states and had somewhat different results. Similar to other studies, these authors found that LIHTC units tend to have a positive effect on home prices in low-income areas, but they lead to a long-term decline in areas with high median incomes and low minority populations. But, there are variations in their findings and several other factors were found to matter, including distance from the LIHTC site, race and income of the neighboring residents, property characteristics of the LIHTC project, density, amenities and disamenities, etc. These nuances correspond with the review of studies by Ahrentzen in 2008 that notes the context of the development—size, quality and design, the property management, and the neighborhood context—all matter in terms of the effect on property values.

In addition to the myriad studies that have demonstrated that affordable housing has little measurable negative impact on the surrounding neighborhood, "there is significant evidence that once developed, neighbors have few complaints about their new neighbors or the new homes" (Tighe, 2010, p. 10). Moreover, "studies have shown that neighbors who experience the development of affordable housing or the integration of poor residents into existing neighborhoods are largely positive about their new neighbors after the fact" (Tighe, 2010, p. 13). Nonetheless, neighborhood opposition remains a perpetual impediment to affordable housing development.

While community residents' stated concerns about affordable housing focus on perceived negative externalities of the development, many in the housing field have observed that these arguments are often merely politically correct disguises for racist and classist attitudes towards the residents of the proposed housing. There is a subtext of fear that the residents are undeserving of assistance, and will introduce pathologies of poverty into the neighborhood such as crime, drugs, vandalism and graffiti, and poorly supervised children and pets (Freeman & Botein, 2002).

This report makes no attempt to address any underlying race- or class-based prejudice, and instead focuses on attempting to document the veracity of the overtly stated concerns about affordable housing. Following Pendall (1999), we "presume that we can learn much more about the planning and development process by taking these concerns at face value, that is, by believing that people who complain about traffic (for example) are really worried about traffic instead of assuming they wish to exclude low-income households or racial minorities" (p. 112-113).

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Boulder

Population and Housing Changes in Boulder (1990 to 2015)

From 1990 to 2015, Boulder experienced significant growth (see Table 2). Total population increased by 20,607 (25%) and the number of households increased by 7,484 (20%). Population density increased by 14%. The age group with the greatest percentage increase was persons 65 years and over (2.2%), while the largest percentage decrease was for children under 5 years (-1.3%). Family households increased by 1,732, but declined as a percent of all households from 46% to 42%. The percent of households with children declined from 22% to 19%, despite the addition of 656 new households with children. By far, the household type with the greatest increase was nonfamily households, i.e. households with one or more unrelated adults. These increased by 5,752, making them 58% of all households. By race and ethnicity, the city had gains in some categories, but lost residents who are Black, American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut. The increases in the other categories, including Asian, Pacific Islander or Native Hawaiian, Other race (not asked by the Census), Two or more races, and Hispanic, resulted in a 4% decline in share of white households. The population with a bachelor's degree or higher increased by 13,418 persons, raising the percent of the population with at least a college degree from 59% to 72%.

When adjusted for inflation, the median household income has remained relatively flat, increasing just 9% from \$53,327 (in constant 2015 dollars) in 1990 (\$29,407 in nominal dollars) to \$58,484 in 2015. At the same time, those living at or below the poverty level increased by 4%, to 21,913, or 20% of the total population.

In sum, these changes indicate that a growing share of the population are older persons, living in smaller households without children, and earning wages that have barely kept pace with inflation. At the same time, however, the population includes a growing share of high-income households with high levels of education. Boulder's Gini Index, a measure of income inequality, was 0.53 in 2015. This is much higher than the U.S. Gini Index of 0.48 (Social Explorer).

Housing prices have tracked the higher income earners, rather than those earning the median income or lower (see Table 3). The income needed to afford the median-priced home in Boulder is nearly two times the median household income. Households must earn at least \$50,000 to afford the median-priced rental unit, leaving these unaffordable to 44% of households. Since 1990, the number of housing units increased by 23%, slightly above the increase in households (20%), but not enough to create sufficient vacancies. Though vacancies have technically increased from 4.4% in 1990 to 5.4% in 2015, the actual number of vacant units available for rent or for sale are only 2% of all housing units. The difference may be due to a large number of second or seasonal homes that are occupied for less than two months of the year. This low vacancy is well below the recommended vacancy rate of 6% to 7%, which provides a cushion for turnover, seasonal fluctuations, and the like, thereby keeping rent increases closer to inflation, about 2% to 3% annually (Ruggles, 2016). In contrast, rents in Boulder have risen at an annual rate of 3.4%, and home values have risen 5.7% each year.

Table 2. Population and Household Change in the City of Boulder (1990 – 2015)

Population Statistics	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990 - 2015	
Population & Density	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	83,312		94,673		97,385		103,919		20,607	25%
Pop. Density (per sq. mi.)	3,694		3,884		3,948		4,213		519	14%
Age										
Under 5 years	3,997	4.8%	3,888	4.1%	3,955	4.1%	3,617	3.5%	(380)	-1.3%
5 to 17 years	8,622	10.3%	10,154	10.7%	9,572	9.8%	10,359	10.0%	1,737	-0.4%
18 to 64	64,161	77.0%	73,240	77.4%	75,154	77.2%	79,527	76.5%	15,366	-0.5%
65 years and over	6,532	7.8%	7,391	7.8%	8,704	8.9%	10,416	10.0%	3,884	2.2%
Race/Ethnicity										
White	77,090	92.5%	83,627	88.3%	85,702	88.0%	91,961	88.5%	14,871	-4.0%
Black	1,048	1.3%	1,154	1.2%	876	0.9%	1,036	1.0%	(12)	-0.3%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	414	0.5%	450	0.5%	431	0.4%	262	0.3%	(152)	-0.2%
Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native Hawaiian	3,208	3.9%	3,854	4.1%	4,679	4.8%	5,315	5.1%	2,107	1.2%
Other, or two or more races	1,552	1.9%	5,588	5.9%	5,697	5.8%	5,345	5.1%	3,793	3.2%
Hispanic	4,022	4.8%	7,801	8.2%	8,507	8.7%	8,950	8.6%	4,928	3.8%
Household Type										
Households:	34,681		39,596		41,302		42,165		7,484	22%
Family households:	15,869	45.8%	16,802	42.4%	16,694	40.4%	17,601	41.7%	1,732	-4.1%
Married-couple family	12,543	36.2%	13,166	33.3%	13,303	32.2%	14,314	34.0%	1,771	-2.2%
Other family	3,326	9.6%	3,636	9.2%	3,391	8.2%	3,287	7.8%	(39)	-1.8%
Households with children	7,521	21.7%	8,298	21.0%	7,876	19.1%	8,177	19.4%	656	-2.3%
Nonfamily households	18,812	54.2%	22,794	57.6%	24,608	59.6%	24,564	58.3%	5,752	4.1%
Education (for pop. 25 years and over)										
Bachelor's degree or higher	28,779	58.9%	37,598	66.8%	39,738	71.6%	42,197	72.3%	13,418	13.4%
Median Household Income										
Median Household Income	\$29,407		\$44,748		\$54,539		\$58,484		\$29,077	99%
Ratio of Income to Poverty Level										
Persons for whom poverty status is determined:	75,926	100%	86,959	100.0%	89,740	100%	94,857	100%	18,931	25%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	14,393	19.0%	15,095	17.4%	20,413	22.8%	21,913	23.1%	7,520	4.1%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	10,979	14.5%	12,637	14.5%	14,427	16.1%	13,138	13.9%	2,159	-0.6%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	50,554	66.6%	59,227	68.1%	54,900	61.2%	59,806	63.1%	9,252	-3.5%

Table 3. Housing Stock Change in the City of Boulder (1990 – 2015)

	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990 - 2015	
Housing Units										
Total housing units	36,270		40,726		43,479		44,578		8,308	23%
Occupied housing units:	34,681	95.6%	39,596	97.2%	41,302	95.0%	42,165	94.6%	7,484	-1.0%
Owner occupied	16,003	46.1%	19,605	49.5%	19,695	47.7%	20,152	47.8%	4,149	1.7%
Renter occupied	18,678	53.9%	19,991	50.5%	21,607	52.3%	22,013	52.2%	3,335	-1.7%
Vacant	1,589	4.4%	1,130	2.8%	2,177	5.0%	2,413	5.4%	824	1.0%
Units in Structure										
1 Unit:	17,628	48.6%	20,486	50.2%	21,772	50.6%	21,916	49.2%	4,288	0.6%
1, detached	15,121	41.7%	17,906	43.9%	18,424	42.8%	18,327	41.1%	3,206	-0.6%
1, attached	2,507	6.9%	2,580	6.3%	3,348	7.8%	3,589	8.1%	1,082	1.2%
2 to 9	6,506	17.9%	7,214	17.7%	6,890	16.0%	7,773	17.4%	1,267	-0.5%
10 or more	11,076	30.5%	11,633	28.5%	13,113	30.4%	13,546	30.4%	2,470	-0.2%
Mobile home, trailer, other	1,060	2.9%	1,464	3.6%	1,295	3.0%	1,343	3.0%	283	0.1%
Home Values										
Median Value Owner-Occupied	\$122,500		\$304,700		\$496,400		\$512,600		390,100	318%
Median Gross Rent	521		\$818		\$1,109		\$1,243		\$722	139%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE). 2015 data ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Property Values in Boulder (2006 to 2015)

The following chart and table depict the average assessed values (not adjusted for inflation) for land, improvements, and the combined total for all residential parcels in Boulder from 2006 to 2015. Values increased 30% for land, 59% for improvements, and 45% for the two combined. The average unit size decreased by 14%, a reflection of the increase in the number of condominiums and apartments. The number of new units is also evident in the more recent average year built by 2015, 1969, compared to the average of 1959 in 2006.

Figure 1. Average property values in Boulder (2006 – 2015)

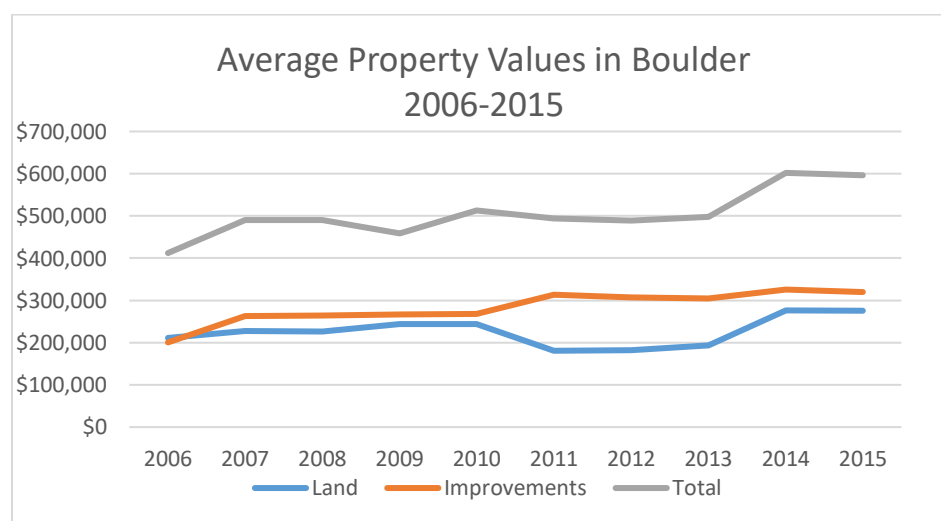


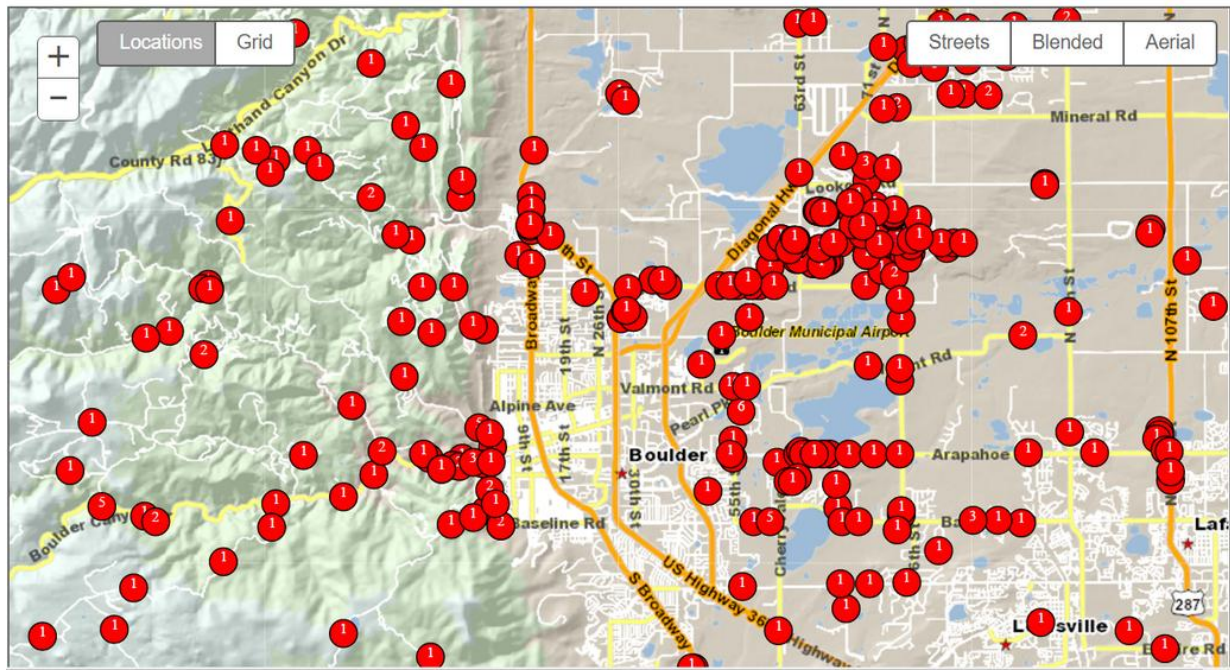
Table 4. Average Assessed Parcel Values in Boulder (2006 – 2015)

Average Values	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% Change 2006-2015
Land	\$211,587	\$227,159	\$225,741	\$243,928	\$244,187	\$180,772	\$181,671	\$192,868	\$276,327	\$276,000	30%
Improvements	\$200,566	\$262,893	\$264,490	\$266,951	\$268,363	\$313,280	\$307,309	\$304,651	\$325,691	\$319,711	59%
Total Value	\$412,152	\$490,052	\$490,231	\$458,615	\$512,550	\$494,052	\$488,980	\$497,519	\$602,018	\$595,733	45%
Square Feet	1,842	2,101	2,115	2,144	1,750	1,567	1,491	1,571	1,540	1,580	-14%
Year Built	1959	1943	1943	N/AV	1943	1970	1970	1969	1970	1969	1%

Crime in Boulder (2014 to 2016)

The Boulder County Crime Viewer provides access to an online mapping tool of documented crimes within the last two years (Figure 2). The data used to generate these maps were not available in aggregate when we requested the source data. From 2014 to 2016, as the map below shows, most of the crime in Boulder was not in the core of the city. Except for vehicle trespassing crimes along the northern section of Broadway, which is near 1175 Lee Hill and the Boulder County Homeless Shelter, there were no documented crimes within the vicinity of the six case study sites.

Figure 2. Crimes in and around Boulder (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Crime Map of all crimes from 1-1-2014 to 12-31-2016. <http://webpubapps.bouldercounty.org/sheriff/crime/>

Lafayette

Lafayette is a small town of less than 10 square miles located approximately 10 miles east of Boulder and 25 miles north of Denver. The town has nearly doubled in population in the last 25 years, like many other cities and towns along Colorado's Front Range.

Population and Housing Changes in Lafayette (1990 to 2015)

From 1990 to 2015, Lafayette's population increased from 14,548 persons to 26,530, an 82% increase (see Table 5). The increase in the number of separate households was 99%, indicating an increase in smaller households living in more housing units. The increase in population density was 33%, while housing units increased by 91%. The age group with the greatest population increase was people who are 65 years and over, at 4.1%, putting them at close to 10% of the population, while the largest decrease was for children under 5 years, -4.1%, who are now 6.6% of the total population. This is the result of a reduction in family households, which declined from 71% to 66% of households, including a 14% reduction in the percent of family households with children, which dropped to 32% of the total. Persons with a bachelor's degree or higher increased by 27%, and median income increased by 5.9% in constant dollars, from \$66,783 in 1990 (\$34,182 in nominal dollars) to \$70,714 in 2015. At the same time, those living at or below the poverty level remained a steady percent of the population, 8.4%, but the number of people living at or below poverty almost doubled, from 1,200 persons in 1990 to 2,213 persons in 2015.

The population of Lafayette remains predominantly white non-Hispanic at 88%. However, the Hispanic population has more than doubled since 1990, and there is a growing Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native Hawaiian population, which has more than quadrupled, from 316 in 1990 to 1,329 in 2015. Those reporting more than one race increased by 60% to 1,700 persons, while the Black alone population declined by 0.6%, from 143 to 94 persons.

Based on the census data of all housing units, the median home value appears relatively affordable to the median-income household in Lafayette (see Table 6). At current interest rates, assuming an adequate down payment and few other debts, a household earning \$50,000 could afford the median-priced home, estimated at \$281,000 in the 2015 Census. However, based on homes available for sale, the median home price in Lafayette is \$483,500, a 54% increase from \$314,000 in 2009 according to data provided by D.B. Wilson, of Re/Max of Boulder (Hahn, 2017). The median household could afford the median rent of \$1,222, but, at least half the households in Lafayette would not be able to afford these rents or home prices. Adding to the unaffordability in the area is a low vacancy rate, which has declined substantially, from 6.6% in 1990 to less than 2.5% in 2015. The units vacant that are actually available for rent or for sale is even lower, 1%. This extremely low vacancy makes it more likely that rents will rise faster than inflation. In this 25-year period, rents increased by 134% and home prices increased 247%.

The Gini index of inequality is lower in Lafayette, at 0.43, than the Gini Index for both Boulder (0.53) and the U.S. (0.48).

Table 5. Population and Household Change in Lafayette (1990 – 2015)

Population Statistics	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990-2015	
Population & Density										
Total Population	14,548		23,197		24,453		26,430		11,882	82%
Pop. density (per sq.mi.)	2,108.6		2,620.9		2,584.2		2,793.1		684.5	33%
Age										
Under 5 years	1,563	10.7%	1,845	8.0%	1,703	7.0%	1,734	6.6%	171	-4.1%
5 to 17 years	3,033	20.8%	4,529	19.5%	4,520	18.5%	4,473	16.9%	1,440	-3.9%
18 to 64	9,127	62.7%	15,483	66.7%	16,261	66.5%	17,644	66.8%	8,517	4.0%
65 years and over	825	5.7%	1,340	5.8%	1,969	8.1%	2,579	9.8%	1,754	4.1%
Race/Ethnicity										
White	12,942	89.0%	19,841	85.5%	20,932	85.6%	23,182	87.7%	10,240	-1.3%
Black	143	1.0%	209	0.9%	270	1.1%	94	0.4%	-49	-0.6%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	107	0.7%	170	0.7%	210	0.9%	112	0.4%	5	-0.3%
Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native Hawaiian	316	2.2%	791	3.4%	938	3.9%	1,329	5.1%	1,013	2.9%
Other, or two or more	1,040	7.2%	2,186	9.4%	2,103	8.6%	1,713	6.5%	673	-0.7%
Hispanic	2,163	14.9%	3,808	16.4%	4,454	18.2%	4,351	16.5%	2,188	1.6%
Household Type										
Households:	5,392		8,844		9,632		10,729		5,337	99%
Family households:	3,816	70.8%	5,951	67.3%	6,354	66.0%	7,032	65.5%	3,216	-5.3%
Married-couple family	3,005	55.7%	4,633	52.4%	4,808	49.9%	5,466	51.0%	2,461	-4.7%
Other family	811	15.0%	1,318	14.9%	1,546	16.1%	1,566	14.6%	755	-0.4%
Households with children	2,453	45.5%	3,512	39.7%	3,514	36.5%	3,435	32.0%	982	-14%
Nonfamily households:	1,576	29.2%	2,893	32.7%	3,278	34.0%	3,697	34.5%	2,121	5.3%
Education Attainment (25 years +)										
Bachelor's degree or higher	2,546	28.1%	6,913	45.7%	8,889	53.3%	9,969	55.0%	7,423	27%
Household income										
Median household income	\$34,182		\$56,376		\$66,202		\$70,714		\$36,532	107%
Ratio of Income to Poverty Level										
Poverty status determination (persons)	14,466	100.0%	23,305	99.9%	24,511	100.1%	26,394	100.0%	11,928	0.0%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	1,220	8.4%	1,636	7.0%	3,061	12.5%	2,213	8.4%	993	0.0%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	2,126	14.7%	3,318	14.2%	3,472	14.2%	3,355	12.7%	1,229	-2.0%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	11,120	76.9%	18,351	78.7%	17,978	73.4%	20,826	78.9%	9,706	2.0%

Table 6. Housing Stock Change in the City of Lafayette (1990 – 2015)

	1990		2000		2010		2015		Change 1990-2015	
Housing Units										
Housing Units	5,775		9,115		9,997		11,004		5,229	91%
Occupied housing units	5,392	93.4%	8,844	97.0%	9,632	96.3%	10,729	97.5%	5,337	4.1%
Owner occupied	3,879	71.9%	6,703	75.8%	7,012	72.8%	7,668	71.5%	3,789	-0.4%
Renter occupied	1,513	28.1%	2,141	24.2%	2,620	27.2%	3,061	28.5%	1,548	0.4%
Vacant	383	6.6%	271	3.0%	365	3.7%	275	2.5%	-108	-4.1%
Units in Structure										
1 Unit:	4,018	69.6%	6,933	75.6%	7,654	73.3%	8,258	75.1%	4,240	5.5%
1, detached	3,115	53.9%	5,481	59.8%	5,785	55.4%	6,710	61.0%	3,595	7.1%
1, attached	903	15.6%	1,452	15.8%	1,869	17.9%	1,548	14.1%	645	-1.5%
2 to 9	689	11.9%	940	10.3%	955	9.1%	1,137	10.3%	448	-1.6%
10 or more	65	1.1%	417	4.5%	848	8.1%	845	7.7%	780	6.6%
Mobile home, trailer, other	1,003	17.4%	876	9.6%	985	9.4%	764	6.9%	-239	-10.4%
Home Values										
Median Value Owner-Occupied units	\$81,300		\$193,700		\$257,700		\$281,700		\$200,400	247%
Median Gross Rent	\$523		\$834		\$1,139		\$1,222		\$699	134%

Property Values in Lafayette (2007 to 2015)

The following chart and table depict the average assessed values (in nominal dollars) for land, improvements, and the total value (land plus improvements) for all residential parcels in our sample from Lafayette from 2007 to 2015. Values increased 24% for land, 9% for improvements, and 13% for the two combined. The average unit size decreased by 16%, which represents the increase in the number of condos and multi-family apartment buildings. The average year built has remained 1984 over time due to the large share of units built before 1984 (3700 of the 7762 in our sample) and many fewer units built more recently.

Figure 3. Average property values in Lafayette (2007–2015)

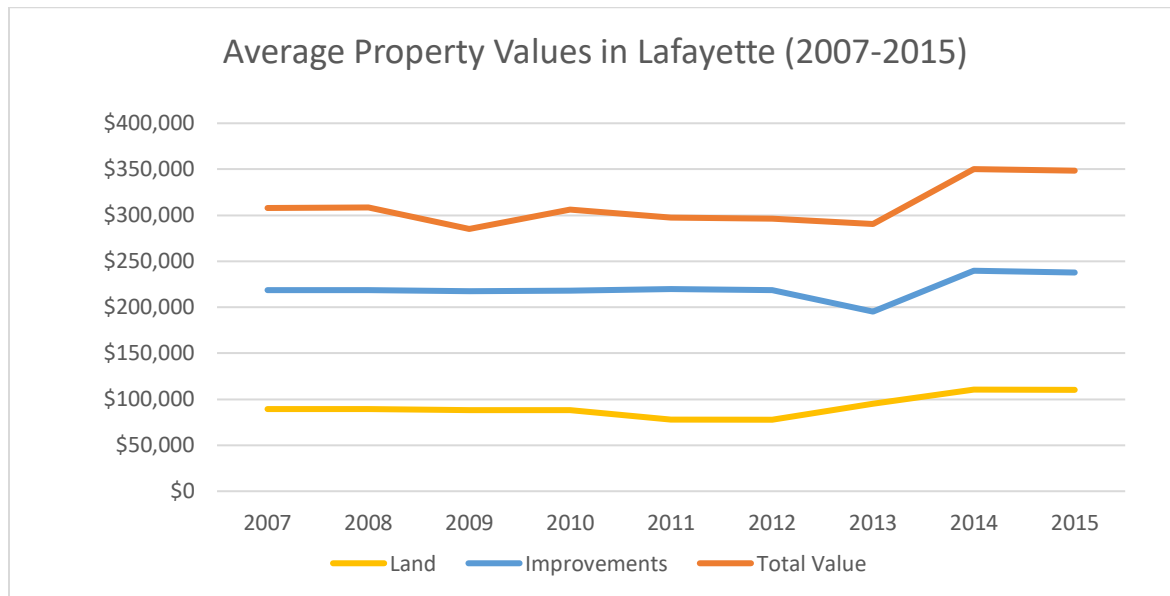


Table 7. Change in Lafayette Residential Property Values (2007-2015)

Average Values	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% Change 2007-2015
Land	\$89,155	\$89,420	\$88,276	\$88,273	\$77,879	\$77,895.04	\$95,319	\$110,477	\$110,392	24%
Improvements	\$218,474	\$218,836	\$217,679	\$217,914	\$219,795	\$218,598.83	\$195,298	\$239,691	\$237,922	9%
Total Value	\$307,629	\$308,256	\$285,110	\$306,187	\$297,674	\$296,493.87	\$290,617	\$350,169	\$348,314	13%
Square Feet	1,901	1,914	1,920	1,590	1,590	1,560	1,591	1,580	1,591	-16%
Year Built	1984	1984	448	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	0%

Crime in Lafayette (2007 to 2015)

According to the 2015 Annual Report of the Lafayette Police Department, there has been a decline from 2011-2015 in the number of Calls for Service, Group A crimes reported to the National Incident Based Reporting System, and total arrests. However, there was a slight increase in the number of police reports in the last two years. Relevant to this study is the ratio of calls for service to police reports and total arrests. The police department recorded 21,119 calls for service, but just 4,184 reports, and even

fewer arrests, 1,027. This roughly translates to 20% of calls necessitating police reports, and just 5% resulting in actual arrests.

As noted in the methods section, regarding the data used for crime analysis, calls for service range from medical help, to noise disturbances, to actual personal or property crimes. Crimes are typically the lowest percentage of total calls. As Table 8 shows, the annual number of arrests are only 4% to 5% of annual calls for service. This ratio is important for interpreting the dispatch calls we report for each of the six study sites. Only a small share of the calls for service at these sites are for illegal offenses.

Table 8. City of Lafayette Annual Police Reports (2011–2015)

City of Lafayette Annual Police Reports					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Calls for service	26,433	24,922	26,023	23,206	21,119
Police reports	4,149	4,060	4,123	4,163	4,184
National Incident Based Reporting System (Group A)*	1479	1486	1387	1309	1415
Total Arrests	1442	1277	1054	1033	1027
% of Total Calls for Service	5%	5%	4%	4%	5%

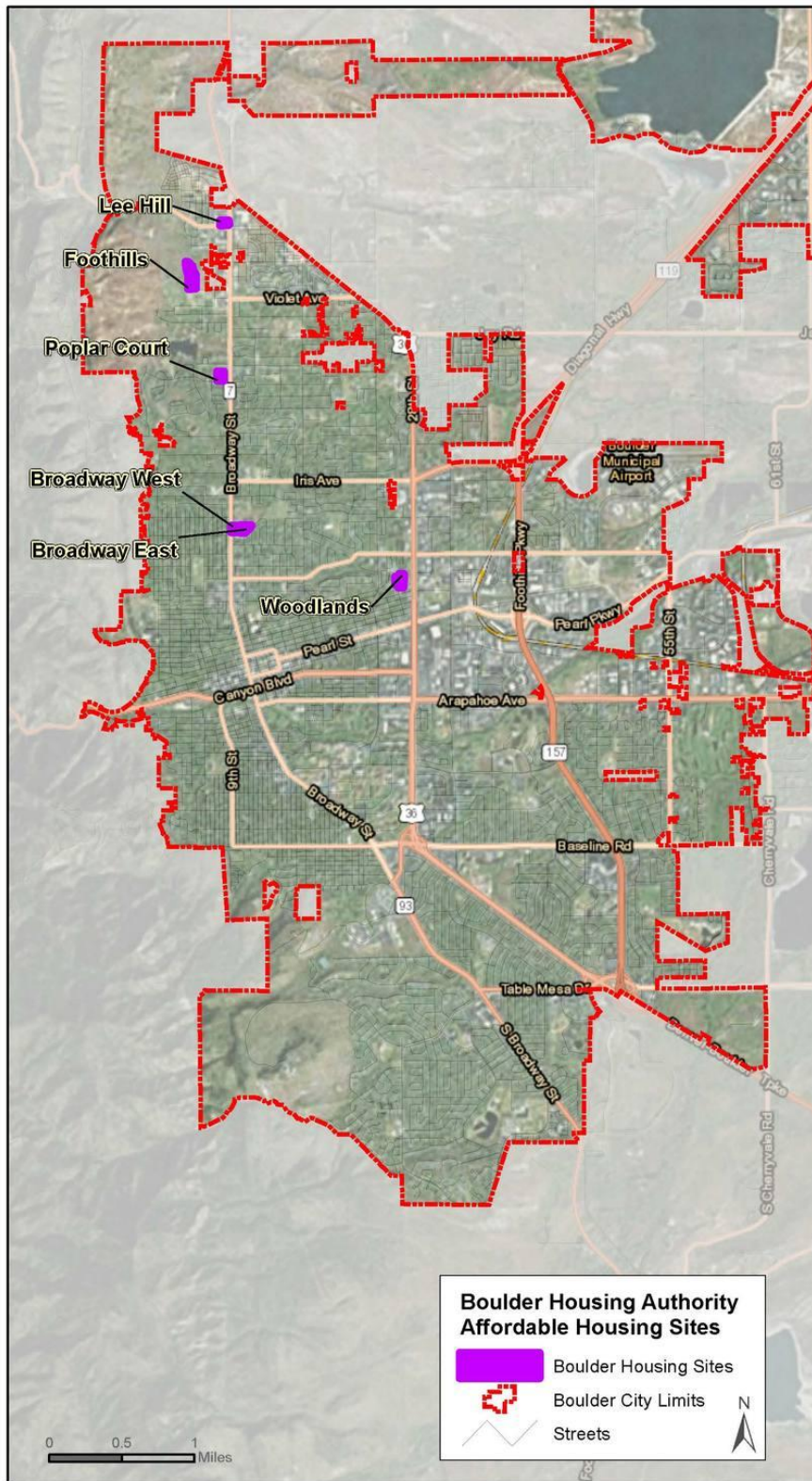
* "Colorado requires all law enforcement agencies to compile crime statistics through the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) method... Law enforcement collects data and reports Group A offenses (above). Some determining factors to designate an offense as Group A include seriousness of offense, frequency & prevalence nationwide. Only arrest data is reported on offenses which do not fall in Group A reporting, Group B offenses include, but are not limited to, child abuse (non-physical), curfew, disorderly conduct, harassment, liquor violations, obstructing justice, public peace offenses and trespassing. Over 800 police reports were entered for Group B offenses in 2015." (Lafayette Police Department Annual Report, 2015, p. 4).

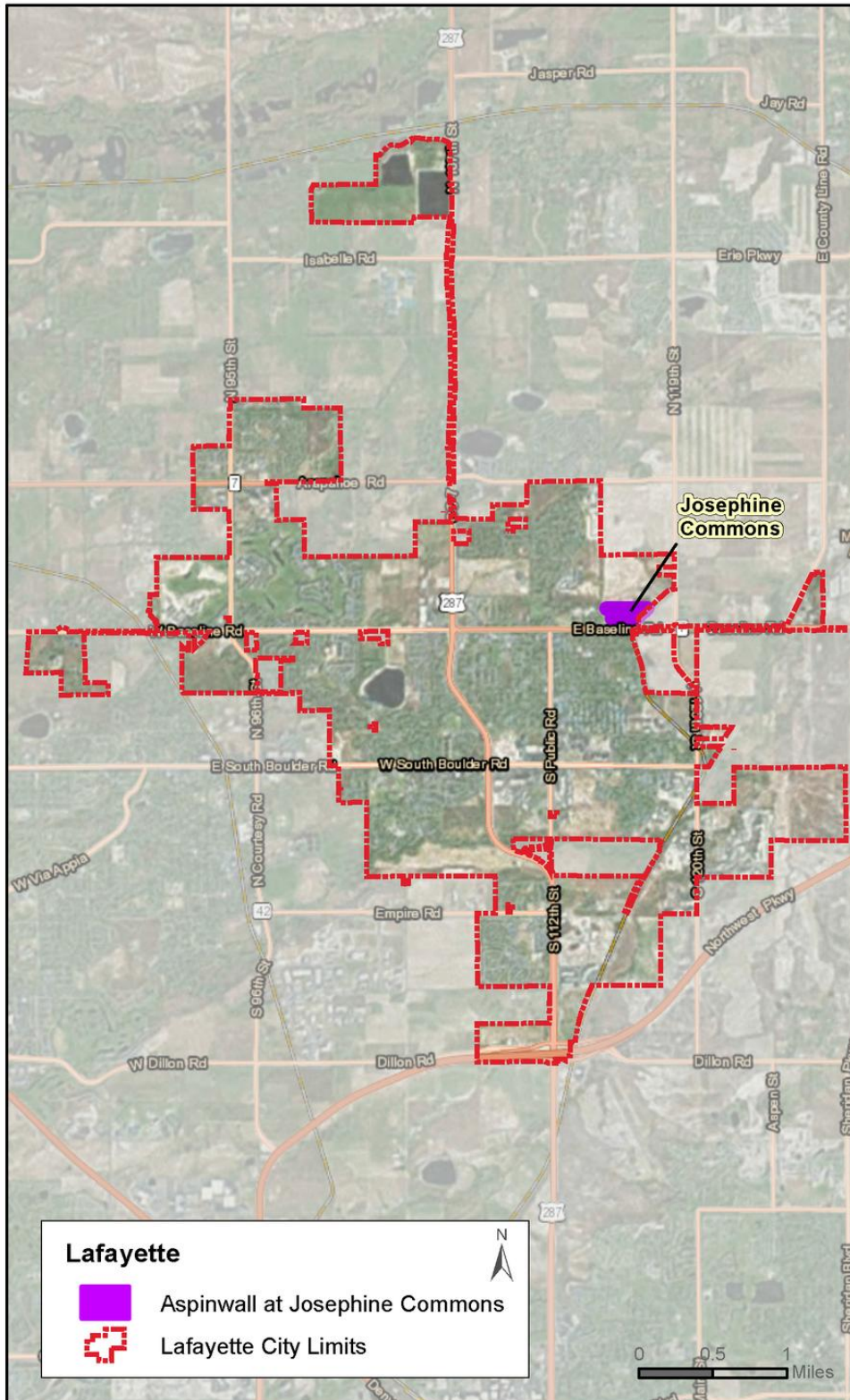
METHODS AND DATA

We used a case study methodology to study the six selected sites. For each of the sites, we collected data that would allow us to test whether, and to what extent, the before-construction concerns were realized after construction. When possible, we compared data on the conditions before the housing was constructed with the conditions after the housing was constructed. Due to the earlier years of development of some of the sites, we were unable to do this for each variable for each development. Additionally, some data is not available at or below a neighborhood scale, namely demographics. To supplement the limitations of secondary data sources, we used interviews, site observations, and content analysis from archival sources.

Site Selection

We chose to study six sites as this number provides enough cases to represent a range of neighborhoods and housing types. The six sites were selected from among the 20 sites developed by the two housing authorities since 1971. Selection criteria included the location, date constructed, types of resident concerns prior to construction, number and type of units, population(s) served, eligible income levels, and neighborhood type. We eliminated developments restricted to senior citizens since senior affordable housing tends to receive less opposition when proposed; developments constructed before 1980 to avoid data availability issues; and developments that were mixed-income or primarily market-rate. From the remaining sites, we selected six sites that provided a mix of housing types, e.g. single-family, duplexes, townhomes, apartments, and studios; neighborhoods types, e.g. primarily single-family, mostly multi-family, and mixed; and tenant demographics, e.g. individuals, families, seniors, and individuals transitioning from homelessness.





Neighbor Concerns

To understand the concerns of neighboring residents before each of the sites was developed, we conducted two types of document searches. We started with archival research using Lexis Nexis for newspaper articles and the internet for public documents, reports, and other official and unofficial postings, such as those of neighborhood groups. Our search terms were related to affordable housing plans in Boulder and Lafayette, including “affordable housing,” the two agencies’ names, the names and addresses of the proposed developments, and the like. The second search reviewed official development documents related to each site provided by the two housing authorities. These case files included development plans, citizen comments on the public record, official responses to public comment, and other development-related documents produced by the PHAs and city or county agencies. However, these case files varied in length and some did not include any citizen comments.

From these searches, we anticipated identifying specific residents whose concerns were logged in the public record. However, this search yielded only a few names and we were unsuccessful in our attempts to contact them for most sites, except for the Aspinwall development in Lafayette.

Current Conditions

Site Evaluations

We conducted detailed site observations to assess the current conditions of the six sites. The visits were conducted in the summer of 2016 so day and evening visits were generally during daylight hours. We visited each site from four to five times to view the conditions and on-site activity at different times of the day and throughout the week, including afternoon and evening, weekday and weekend.

During each site visit the researcher first walked around the perimeter of the development, paying close attention to the dumpster areas, landscaping, building conditions, and parking. The researcher then sat in a central place for the remainder of the visit. Each visit lasted approximately 20-30 minutes to observe traffic, noise levels, tenant activities on the property and in the surrounding neighborhood. The researchers used a detailed observation sheet, additional note taking, and photography to document their observations (see Appendix A). After each site visit, these data were used to fill out the site observation score sheet. The score sheet contains 20 categories that relate to the development’s impact on the neighborhood, including fit with the neighborhood design and character, evidence of storm water issues, levels of noise, traffic, parking, trash, and pets, and design quality and maintenance of the building and landscaping. The researcher scored each category from 1 to 4 (from negative to positive) using objective criteria. (See Appendix A for examples of each point value in each category.) In addition to the numeric scoring, detailed notes with pictures were also compiled for each scoring category.

Interviews with Property Managers

We conducted in-person interviews with property managers from each site to provide additional information on any past and present issues. The interview script included questions about their knowledge of the site development process, whether there were or are issues with surrounding neighborhoods or neighbors, their assessment of how the development might be currently affecting the surrounding neighborhoods, and interactions with the police, fire, or other city or county departments. Beyond the script, we also asked about any issues we observed during our site visits that could negatively affect the neighborhood.

Resident Surveys

We sent out a survey to all residents at each case study site about living in the development and the neighborhood. The anonymous questionnaire asked residents about interactions with their neighbors both within and outside the development and whether they think there are traffic, parking, crime, noise, or other problems around their site. Additionally, the survey included questions about respondents' housing history, their perceptions of their current housing, and how living at the site has affected their life. We offered both electronic and paper versions of the survey and in English and Spanish. We created flyers inviting residents to complete the survey, and the property managers hung the flyers at each site. The survey was mailed to all residents by BHP and BCHA and we left paper versions of the survey at each site. Residents could mail or drop off their survey at BHP, or put it in the collection boxes we left at each site. On the boxes and in the flyer we noted the boxes would not be opened by property managers. We did not receive any completed questionnaires from three of the sites (Broadway, Lee Hill, and Poplar), and received two from Woodlands and two from Josephine Commons at Aspinwall; we received 10 completed surveys from the Foothills Community. We also conducted follow-up interviews with two residents who responded to our request for an interview at the end of the survey. The low response rate may have been the timing—we requested a relatively short turn around; lack of reminders; lack of an incentive; and the perceived association with their property managers. For those who did not overlook the survey amidst their other mail, they may not have had the time or interest to complete it.

Neighborhood Impact: Interviews with Neighboring Residents and Businesses

To judge the pre-development concerns against the current conditions in areas such as change in neighborhood character, traffic on nearby streets, neighborhood safety, crime, and noise, we sought information from nearby residents through scripted interviews.

Interview Recruitment

To recruit neighbor participants, we sent letters to all residential and commercial properties within a quarter-mile radius of the study sites. We used the Boulder County Assessor's website to collect the addresses. The website provides an interactive map that allows users to select specific parcels and create buffers around them, within which all addresses are identified. The selected addresses can then be downloaded into a spreadsheet file. Using this method, we mailed approximately 1200 letters to neighbors of our case study sites. Recipients were instructed to contact us by phone or email if they were interested in participating in a 30-minute interview. Participation was completely voluntary; they were not compensated in any way. We received a total of 43 phone messages and 38 emails. From these inquiries 42 people consented to an interview by phone or in-person. The interviews included at least three neighbors from each site as follows: Aspinwall at Josephine Commons (9); Broadway (7); Foothills (11); Lee Hill (9); Poplar (3); and Woodlands (3). The inquiries that did not result in an interview were due to a few reasons, largely the respondent's time or interest after he or she learned more about the study. A few provided brief comments by email in lieu of an interview.

While 43 responses from 1,200 letters is a low percentage, 3.6%, the typical response rate for direct mail with letter-size envelopes is 3.5%ⁱⁱⁱ. Thus, this response is expected, especially considering the respondents were not offered an incentive and had to make time to schedule and participate in a 30-minute interview. Additionally, we were seeking qualitative information from these interviews so a large sample, which would allow for generalization to a larger population, was not our intention. From the interviews, we sought differences in opinions and experiences, rather than repetition in answers.

Through 43 interviews we gathered both a range of differences in opinions and perspectives, as well as repetition on certain issues. The sample also was diverse by age, income, household size and characteristics, and gender. Nevertheless, the sample was weighted heavily by other factors: most were homeowners of single family-detached housing; all but one had at least a college education; and a third of those reporting their income earned \$150,000 or more (see Table 9).

Interview Conduct and Interpretation

We developed the interview script based on typical pre-development concerns expressed by neighbors of affordable housing. (See Appendix B for the interview script and letter.) Participants consented to the research and were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. The researchers recorded the interviews using an audio recording device and note taking. Afterwards, each interview was summarized per the interview questions. Not all interviews were transcribed verbatim. As interviews were conducted the researchers created a master list of major themes and subthemes that were used to further describe, compare and contrast interviews for each site, and collectively across all sites.

Table 9. Locations and Demographics of Interview Participants*

Type of Residence	N	Gender	N	Education Level	N	Household Income	N	Age	N
Detached Single Family	32	Male	22	< High School	--	less than \$19,999	--	<=29	--
Duplex or Triplex	1	Female	17	High School/GED	1	\$20,000-\$29,999	--	30-34	--
Row House/Townhouse	2	TOTAL	39	2-yr Assoc./Cert.	2	\$30,000-\$39,999	1	35-39	--
Apartment/Condo	--			College	31	\$40,000-\$49,999	2	40-44	5
Mobile Home/Trailer	4			Graduate School	5	\$50,000-\$59,999	2	45-49	2
Student Housing	--	Household Characteristics	N	TOTAL	39	\$60,000-\$69,999	3	50-54	10
Other	--	2 adults + children	13			\$70,000-\$79,999	1	55-59	6
TOTAL	39	1 adult + children	2	Workers in Household	N	\$80,000-\$89,999	1	60-64	2
Ownership	N	2 related/married adults	15	1st Adult-Part-time	8	\$90,000-\$99,999	1	65-69	6
Own	38	1 adult	7	2nd Adult-Full-time	34	\$100,000-\$149,999	8	70-74	4
Rent	1	2 or more unrelated adults	2	Retired	7	\$150,000 or more	11	75-79	2
Other	--	Other		Stay-at-home	1	Prefer not to answer	9	80+	1
TOTAL	39	TOTAL	39	TOTAL	50	TOTAL	39		38
Housing Site	N								
Aspinwall	9								
Broadway	7								
Foothills	11								
Lee Hill	9								
Poplar	3								
Woodlands	3								
TOTAL	42								

*Note: Some of the interviewees declined to provide demographic information, explaining the difference between the number interviewed (42) and the total demographics (38 or 39).

Neighborhood Change

Population, Demographics, and Housing Structures

To compare the demographics and housing stock in the neighborhoods around the properties across time, we used block group data from the U.S. Decennial Censuses for 1990, 2000, and 2010, and the multi-year American Community Survey (ACS) for years in between, including the 2011-2015 data for 2015. Where data permitted, we used broad ranges in time to account for trends that may have been in place before the housing was built, as well as the longer-term changes in the neighborhoods after the housing was built. Since block group boundaries and codes change over time as the total population in the block group changes, we visually identified block groups for each comparison year using maps and data tables available from Social Explorer Professional.

These data have two limitations when used across time and mid-decade. First, block groups and census tracts change over time. The Census Bureau divides tracts or block groups between census years, when necessary, in order to keep urban tracts at a reasonable size for analysis. Second, while the decennial census is the most accurate in terms of total population and housing counts, since 2000, the census has omitted certain fields. Instead, the census uses the rolling ACS to capture more detailed information. Thus, we used this data for the non-decadal years and for questions in the decadal years that are not asked by the decennial census. The advantage of the ACS is the number of specific fields and the more

frequent data collection. The disadvantage is the large standard errors for some fields and geographies. Using the three-year and five-year estimates reduces the size of the error term, but does not eliminate it. Thus, in some years the numbers we present may not be accurate. In these instances, the trends, rather than the absolute numbers, are the focus of the comparison.

Property Values

To assess the potential effect of the affordable housing developments on nearby property values, we used multiple years of parcel data from the Boulder County Assessor. The data include property type, e.g. single family, land values, value of improvements on the land, the combined total value of land and improvements, and the building square footage. The years available are 2006 to 2015. However, the data is not complete or consistent in all cases.

While actual sales values would have been the preferred method, as have been used in other studies, sales data were not available or reliable for this study due to the number of properties in the surrounding buffers that would have sales information before and after the developments were constructed. Of the possible 3,100 sites within a quarter-mile of the developments, 569 sites had two sales dates, but many of these had changes in their property type or land use. For example, properties in North Boulder were converted from agriculture to residential and subdivided. Using this data masked the total value of the original parcel that had been subdivided: for instance, a single parcel that sold for \$1.8 million in 1985 might be listed as \$203,000 in 2003 because the original parcel was subdivided into several parcels for condos.

We also could not use per-square-foot pricing, which is commonly used to account for differences in values across building types of different sizes, quality, and structures. Properties that had changes in square footage, e.g. from an 800-square foot bungalow to a large 4,000 square foot single-family home yielded inaccurate increases in the value of the home on a square-footage basis. Also, the assessor ceased including finished basement areas within the total square footage of the parcel record data for some properties. This resulted in potentially hundreds of cases losing *recorded* square footage between 2006 and 2015, even though the square footage did not actually change.

After substantial cleaning through inspecting individual properties on the Boulder County Assessor's website, there were 2,105 remaining parcels, which provided an ample sample size for statistical tests, both within each of the six cases, and across the six cases (see Table 10 for the number of parcels analyzed for each site).

- **Within case**, we compared growth in values between parcels in two rings extending from the development: within zero to one-eighth mile, and within one-eighth to one-quarter mile. Many of the zero to one-eighth mile parcels were adjacent to the case study developments. We used these two rings to compare properties with a similar location, and thus with similar locational influences on their value, but in different distances to the affordable housing.
- **Across cases**, we combined the parcels from both rings for all sites and compared them to all other parcels in the respective city, either Boulder or Lafayette.

Table 10. Number of Parcels Used in Property Values Analysis

Case Study Site	Distance to Case Site		
	Zero to one-eighth-mile	Quarter- to half-mile	Total
Aspinwall and Josephine Commons	96	143	239
Broadway East and West	212	342	554
Foothills Community	6	136	142
Lee Hill	32	327	359
Poplar	233	285	518
Woodlands	130	402	532
TOTAL	613	1,492	2,105

The final caveat with the parcel data is the nature of property values within an urban area. Property data is not normally distributed due to different property types; differences in the structures, e.g. quality, age, size, upgrades; and differences in proximity to major streets, parks, commercial areas, schools, etc. To test for statistical significance, we used a non-parametric test for difference, the Mann-Whitney U, which is appropriate for non-normal data. For a comparison to the statistical significance tests, we looked at the descriptive trend lines.

Crime and Safety

We measured the current state of crime and safety at the city of Boulder case study sites through three methods: dispatch call data from the City of Boulder Police Department, interviews with neighbors and property managers, and tenant surveys. However, detailed crime data at the neighborhood level was not available in a format that could be tested before and after the developments were constructed prior to 2014.

The dispatch data is a list of all calls to the Boulder police or fire departments; it is *not* a record of committed crimes. The data were available for January 1, 2014 through October 10, 2016. The data include date, time of day, address and apartment number of the caller, and reason for the call. According to the *Boulder Police Department 2015 Annual Report*, overall dispatch calls increased from 203,850 in 2014 to 216,018 in 2015. The top five call categories in 2015 were traffic accidents, animal complaints, medical calls, welfare checks, and noise complaints.

For each case study site, we reviewed the date, time and type of calls and assigned each call an event number. In some cases, there were multiple calls relating to the same event. For example, the dispatch data may record three calls—“fall,” “medical call,” and “assist”—all addressing a single instance in which a resident fell and required medical assistance. We would have assigned this cluster a single event number and categorized the nature of the event as “medical.”

We sorted the events by type, using the following categories and specific examples of dispatch data text (Table 11). Summarizing the call type data for each case study site allowed us to compare whether the types of incidents at these properties differed from the rest of Boulder.

Table 11. Crime Categories from Dispatch Calls

Category	Examples
Admin/ Other	Follow-up, Officer-initiated event
Assist Calls	Other agency assist, Civil assist
Crime- Person	Harassment, Assault
Crime- Property	Burglary, Trespassing, Theft
Drunk Person	Drunk person
Fire-Related (non-medical)	Fire alarm, Fire assist
Medical	Sick, Chest pain, Overdose, Traumatic injury, Breathing problem
Missing Person/ Runaway	Attempt to locate, Runaway, Missing person
Nuisance- Animal	Animal complaint
Nuisance- Disturbance	Disturbance, Domestic disturbance
Nuisance- Loitering	Loitering
Nuisance- Noise	Noise complaint, Fireworks
Nuisance- Vehicle	Abandoned vehicle, Parking issue
Welfare Check	Welfare check

CASE STUDIES

Each case follows the same format in three major sections as follows:

- **Introduction:** The introduction provides a brief overview of the area and background on the affordable housing development. The development background is based on records obtained from the two housing authorities, including staff reports, site plans, etc. To provide the neighborhood context, we use current parcel data from the Boulder County Assessor to show the current mix of housing units and their land and improvement values, and current census data on the population and housing stock. This data is compared to the respective city for greater context.
- **Post-Development:** This section draws from our five sources of data: several on-site observations; census data on neighborhood change before and after development, and in comparison to the city; statistical analysis of change in property values; recent police or emergency activity; interviews with neighbors; and survey responses from tenants of the developments. Unless otherwise noted, all photographs were taken by the research team.
- **Evaluation:** In the final section, we summarize the data presented in the post-development section to assess whether the developments have negatively impacted the neighborhood in terms of the list of concerns expressed by neighboring residents prior to development.

Our objective was to make each case as thorough and consistent as the others, however, some cases are more detailed because of the availability of data, which was limited for developments constructed prior to 2000. Neighbor feedback also was limited by the response to our requests for interviews.

Project Overview

Josephine Commons consists of a three-story building with 70 one- and two-bedroom apartments, and four duplexes (Figure 5). Aspinwall Community surrounds the development and includes 72 townhouses and duplexes for families and individuals (Figure 6). Both properties are 100% affordable for individuals and families earning up to 60% of the Boulder County Area Median Income (AMI), which is within HUD's Low Income category. In 2016, these limits were \$39,840 for 1 person, \$45,540 for two persons, and \$56,880 for 4 persons.

Figure 5. Entrance to the community center and senior apartments at Josephine Commons



Figure 6. View looking west at a row of townhomes at Aspinwall



Boulder County bought the land in 1998 (Figure 7). The site is situated between residential development (to the west and south), open space (to the north), and future development (to the east). The open space to the north is where three open spaces come together: Lafayette Great Park, Rothman Park, and Josephine Roche Open Spaces. The residential development to the west is mostly single family homes along Brooks Avenue, Fitch Avenue, and Elm street. The southern boundary is Dounce Street between Brooks and N. Burlington Avenue. Burlington Avenue was extended north of Baseline Road for the development. The west end of Dounce is single family homes. The east end is the former Carpenter's Country Corner Mobile Home Park, which had 100 homes. The owner of the park sold it in late 2016 for \$1 million to BV Builders (Hahn, 2017). The east side is a fallow farm in the early stages of redevelopment, with proposed single family homes starting at \$400,000.

Figure 7. Pre-development site of Josephine Commons and Aspinwall Community

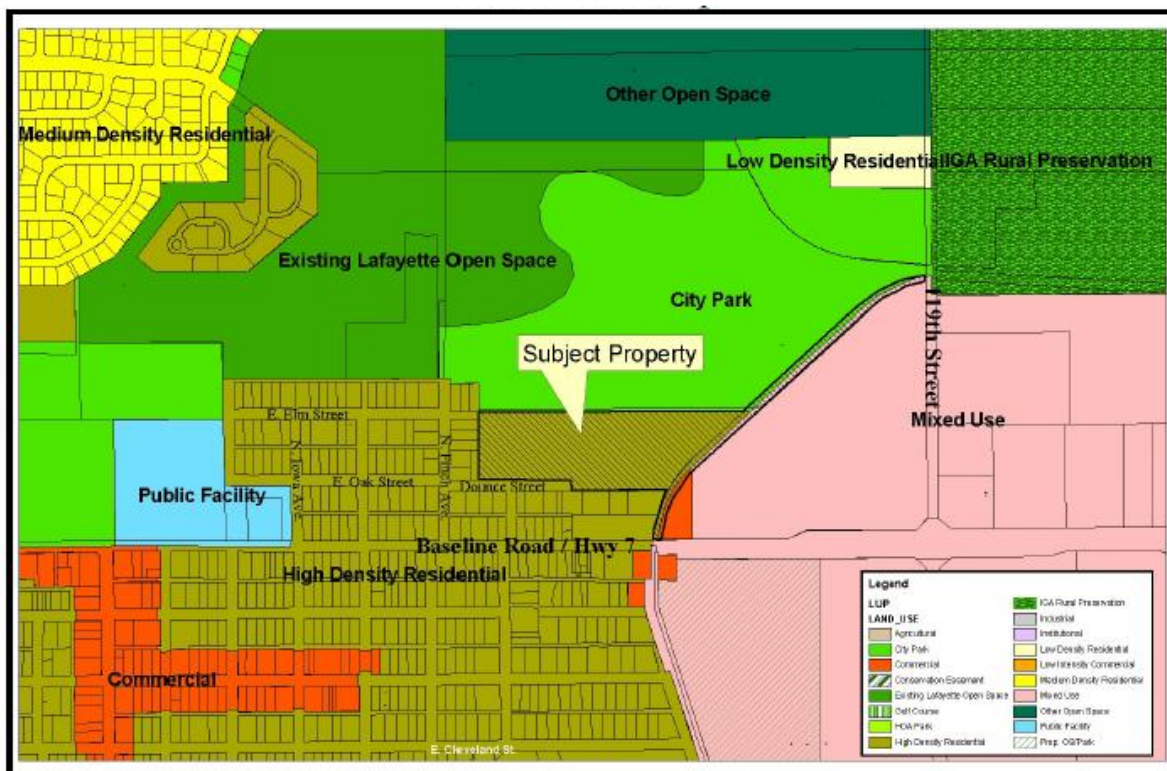


Source: BCHA Sketch Plan submitted to the City of Lafayette's Planning Commission, November 24, 2008

Before the planning process could begin, the site had to be exempted from Lafayette's Growth Management ordinance, adopted in 1993 and updated with an annual permit cap in 1995 (McPhee, 1996). Since many residents and city staff felt the cap was limiting the development of affordable housing and raising housing costs, in April 2000 Lafayette voters were asked to approve a charter amendment to specify the permit cap include 50 permanently affordable housing units every year (Whaley, 2000; Blevins, 2000). The ballot measure also stipulated the 14-acre site owned by BCHA be exempt from the limitations "so long as it is developed for residential purposes by the Boulder County Housing authority or its agent"^{iv}. The lot then had to be rezoned from Medium Density Residential (R1)

and Developing Resource (DR) to higher density residential. Through the multi-year planning process involving the City, County, Senior Citizen Advisory Committee, and residents in the adjacent neighborhood, the site was rezoned to a Planned Unit Development with a mix of Two Family Residential (R2/PUD), Multi-Family Residential (R3/PUD), Senior and Special Residential (RSR/PUD) zoning, and P (Public). The rezoning to higher density follows Lafayette's 2000 comprehensive plan, which designated the site and surrounding areas as high-density residential (Figure 8). The use of the land for higher-density affordable housing also follows the City's affordable housing policies, including allowance of additional dwelling unit permits for low- to moderate-income residents with an annual income of 80% of the area AMI; encouraging both senior and low to middle-income housing; and increasing the number of multi-family rental housing units in Lafayette to increase affordability.

Figure 8. Land use map from the 2000 Lafayette Comprehensive Plan designating the site and its surroundings as high-density residential



Source: BCHA's Lafayette Community Sketch Plan Review – Revised November 24, 2008, p.2

The development is mostly stick frame construction with extensive energy enhancements, including solar panels, designs to maximize daylighting, on-site storm water management, and other green building and site features. These energy enhancements follow the principals within the Boulder County Sustainable Energy Plan. The site also includes playgrounds, a new connection to the public trail access and dog park, community vegetable gardens, green space, and a community center for the Aspinwall and Josephine Commons residents. The development also has full-time property managers located on-site.

The total project cost was \$40 million dollars with a financing mix of 4% Low Income Housing Tax Credits from the State of Colorado, HUD Community Development Block Grant-Disaster Relief funds, and a

private loan. The City of Lafayette contributed to the development by waiving \$1 million of the \$3.5 million residential development fees.

But the development process was not without controversy, despite the city policies in support of the development, including the proposed rezoning of the site to high density in the 2000 comprehensive plan; the voters' approval to exempt the parcel from the growth amendment in to help meet the need for affordable housing; and the City policies to promote affordable housing. Part of the concern was due to what the residents felt had been a change in the type of development originally proposed in 2000, which many believed would be 100% senior housing. However, the 2000 vote was not just for senior housing. When BCHA presented their sketch plan to the Plan Commission in 2008, the mix of units included "153 dwelling units, of which seven are single family detached, 22 are duplex units, 44 are townhome units and 80 are senior apartments" for a gross density of 10.6 dwelling units per acre. The Lafayette Plan Commission granted conditional approval to move forward, pending a successful response to the City's 54 site conditions, which were mostly technical or design-related, e.g. public land dedication, yard setbacks, lot coverage, street and tree designs, etc. In August 2010, after two nights of debate by the City Council with extensive citizen input, the Council voted to approve the 153 units, including 70 senior units. After another year of negotiations between the City and BCHA, in July, 2011 City Council approved the Development Agreement between BCHA and the City.

Those in opposition to the development expressed the following concerns:

- Density is too great, especially in relation to nearby properties, and compared to the original discussions for the land in the late 1990s. In the public comments record, residents said they were "told that the development would likely be senior housing with 50 or 60 units, similar to a complex on South Carr Street" (Snider, 2010). Some residents believed the higher density would change the rural character of the neighborhood.
- Lack of accessibility for the residents due to the distance to city services, and that the nearest bus stop is more than a half mile away. They also cited inadequate sidewalks and pedestrian safety measures along Baseline Road.
- Drainage from the proposed new road, N. Burlington Avenue, which would serve as the main entrance, would create water runoff into the adjacent properties to the east and west of the road, Bolyard Auto Body Repair and Carpenter's Country Corner Mobile Home Park.
- Increased traffic on the adjacent residential streets that were not designed for high traffic volumes. Residents also stated it would be difficult to get out of the complex and onto nearby streets since the parking was in the middle of the proposed development.
- Diversion of traffic through a new street off Baseline road, which might encourage drivers to cut through the mobile home park, endangering the tenants living in the park.
- The units would not be as affordable as they should be since rents would be based on a percentage of Boulder County's Area Median Income (AMI), rather than Lafayette's AMI. However, this concern was not based on actual numbers. In 2011, the Census estimated the two AMI levels were only \$277 apart, \$66,479, and \$66,202, respectively (American Community Survey, 2007-2011 Estimate). This would amount to a five dollar a month difference in rent.
- Flood plain concerns since 1.65 acres of the site was in a non-regulatory flood plain associated with Drainage Way 2. A non-regulatory flood plain is not regulated by FEMA. BCHA planned to fill this area to remove it from the flood plain.

- BCHA did not have a solid financing plan for this development.¹ Residents worried the authority would not be able to manage the large project without more funding, staffing and other resources (Aguilar, 2010).

Neighborhood Context

The area within a quarter-mile of the development is mostly single-family residential—206 of the 239 parcels are single-family. The other parcels include 10 condominiums, 22 duplex or triplexes, and one property between four and eight units (Table 12). The adjacent mobile home park was not included in the property value analysis due to the different valuation of the land and improvements in mobile home parks. The average year built of the nearby housing is 1940 for the single-family units, 1954 for the duplexes, and 2005 for the condominiums. The average total assessed value for the single-family homes in 2015 was \$271,000, but ranged from \$135,000 to \$663,000. The condos ranged in assessed value from \$200,000 to \$380,000.

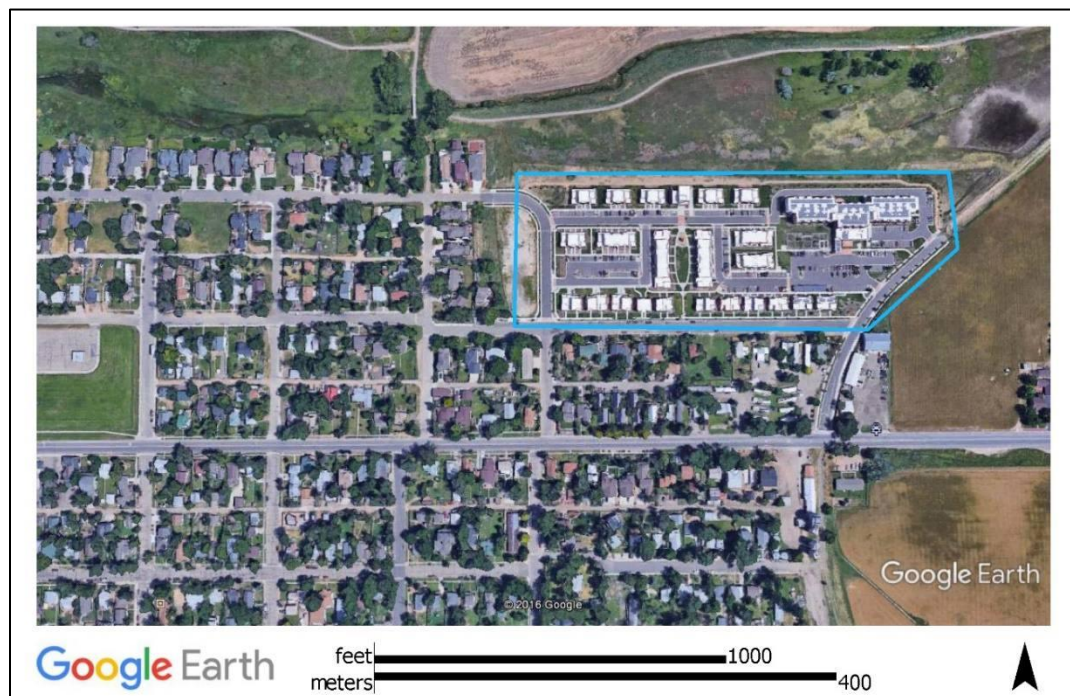
Table 12. Property Types near Aspinwall (2015)

2015 Property Type	No. Parcels	Avg. Square Feet	Avg. Year Built	Avg. Land Value	Avg. Improvement Value	Avg. Total Parcel Vale
Condominiums	10	1,481	2005	\$0	\$286,500	\$286,500
Duplex/Triplex	22	1,862	1954	\$93,409	\$203,291	\$296,700
Multi-Unit (4-8)	1	2,888	1900	\$180,000	\$310,000	\$490,000
Multi-Unit (9+)	--					
Single Family	206	1,312	1940	\$101,558	\$169,541	\$271,099
Weighted Average Values		1,377	1944	\$96,887	\$178,129	\$275,016
Total	239					
Lafayette	7,522	1,598	1984	\$110,821	\$239,821	\$350,642

Source: Author's calculations based on Boulder County Assessor parcel data (2015)

¹ A resident cited a recent loan default loan with the Blue Vista Thistle community in Longmont developed by BCHA. However, this was a for-sale development and the default was due to the difficulty finding qualified buyers.

Figure 9. Aerial view of the completed development and surrounding properties in 2016



Source: Google Earth, 2016

Census data from 2000 to 2015 shows this area has seen significant population growth in the last 15 years with most population and housing growth occurring between 2000 and 2010, before Aspinwall and Josephine Commons were developed (see Table 13). Unlike the rest of Lafayette, most of the growth was from family households, but similar to the entire city, only a third of the family households had children under 18 years. The number of non-family households (one or more unrelated adults), which are mostly single individuals, more than doubled. Perhaps because of the large increase in single-person households, and thus, a single income, the median household income in this neighborhood increased by less than it did for Lafayette overall, 12% in the area compared to 25% for the city. The number of households living at or below the poverty level between 2000 and 2010 increased by 3% (from 10% to 13%), and by 1% from 2010 to 2015. Citywide, the number of households at or below poverty increased by 1% from 2000 to 2015.

The population is 86% of non-Hispanic white, but there was a 7% increase in the Hispanic population from 2000 to 2015. By comparison, the Hispanic population in the city increased by less than 1%. Persons of other races either declined or grew by less than 1%.

The housing stock changed in total units, tenure mix, and values (see Table 14). There was a 94% increase in total units, from 2,834 in 2000 to 5,487 in 2015. Almost half of this growth was in single family homes, 1,213 units, but as a percentage of total units, single family homes declined from 80% to 63%. Much of this change occurred between 2000 and 2010. According to the census, from 2000 to 2015, the median home values of owner-occupied units increased by 62%, (\$158,050 to \$255,600, not adjusted for inflation), and median rents increased by 52% (\$770 to \$1167). Sales data reported by The Denver Post reported home sales in Lafayette increased “54 percent over the past seven years, from \$314,000 in 2009 to \$483,500 in 2016, according to data provided by D.B. Wilson, of Re/Max of Boulder” (Hahn, 2017).

Post-Development Evaluation

Changes in Population and Housing

As noted above in the section on neighborhood context, the neighborhoods surrounding Aspinwall and Josephine Commons have changed in both the number of persons and number and type of housing units over the last 15 years. The growth and change in unit mix has steadily occurred during the 15-year period. The addition of the 146 Josephine and Aspinwall units does not appear to have led the total amount or type of growth, but it contributes to the most recent increase. The percent increase in population in this neighborhood from 2000 to 2015 (6%), is less than half the percent increase in population in Lafayette (13%).

Table 13. Change in Demographics and Housing in the Aspinwall Neighborhood and Lafayette (2000 – 2015)

	2000		2010 (2009-2013*)		2015		Aspinwall Change (2000-2015)		Lafayette Change (2000 - 2015)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	6,212		5,962		6,583		371	6%	3,233	14%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	3,119		2,999		3,269			5%	172	7%
Age										
Under 5 Years	401	6%	450	8%	496	8%	95	24%	-111	-6%
5 to 17 Years	1,270	20%	960	16%	1,113	17%	-157	-12%	-56	-1%
18-64	4,063	65%	4,075	68%	4,410	67%	347	9%	2,161	14%
65+	478	8%	477	0.08	564	9%	86	18%	1,239	92%
Race										
White	4,579	74%	4,426	74%	4,923	75%	344	8%	3,341	17%
Black	60	1%	40	1%	33	1%	-27	-45%	-115	-55%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	37	1%	50	1%	6	0%	-31	-84%	-58	-34%
Asian or Pacific Islander	183	3%	160	3%	272	4%	89	49%	538	68%
Other, or two or more races	105	2%	116	2%	284	4%	179	170%	-473	-22%
Hispanic	1,250	20%	1170	0.196	1,065	16%	-185	-15%	543	14%
Households by Household Type										
Households:	2,392	100%	2,445	100%	2,698	100%	306	13%	1,885	21%
Family Households	1,569	66%	1,539	63%	1,781	66%	212	14%	1,081	18%
Married-couple Family	1,171	49%	1,107	45%	1,422	53%	251	21%	833	18%
Other Family	398	17%	432	18%	359	13%	-39	-10%	248	19%
Households with children	913	38%	815	33%	943	35%	30	3%	-77	-2%
Nonfamily Households	823	34%	906	37%	917	34%	94	11%	804	28%
Educational Attainment										
Persons 25 Years+ with Bachelor's or higher*	1,519	38%	2,063	50%	3,118	69%	1,599	105%	3,056	44%
Median HH Income*	47,679		\$54,150		\$52,829		\$5,150	11%	\$14,338	25%
Ratio of Income In 2014 To Poverty Level *										
Population in poverty status determination:	6,011	100%	6,032	100%	6,583	100%	572	10%	3,089	13%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	593	10%	304	5%	672	10%	79	13%	577	35%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	872	15%	1,721	29%	1,218	19%	346	40%	37	1%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	4,546	76%	4,007	66%	4,693	71%	147	3%	2,475	13%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000); * data for 2010 (ACS 2013 (5-Year Estimates) (SE); 2015 data (ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 14. Change in the Housing Stock near Josephine Commons and Aspinwall (2000 – 2015)

	2000		2010 (2009-2013*)		2015		Aspinwall Change 2000 - 2015		Lafayette Change 2000 - 2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	2,477	100%	2,567	100%	2,716	100%	239	10%	1,889	21%
Occupied Housing Units:	2,392	97%	2,445	95%	2,698	99%	306	13%	1,885	21%
Owner Occupied	1,632	66%	1,579	62%	1,830	67%	198	12%	965	14%
Renter Occupied	760	31%	866	34%	868	32%	108	14%	920	43%
Vacant	77	3%	122	5%	18	1%	-59	-77%	4	1%
Housing Units in Structure*	2,454	100%	2,490	100%	2,716	100%	262	11%		
1 Unit:	1,959	80%	2,237	90%	2,349	86%	390	20%	1,325	19%
1, detached	1,735	71%	1,965	79%	2,070	76%	335	19%	1,229	22%
1, attached	224	9%	272	11%	279	10%	55	25%	96	7%
2-9 Units	316	13%	131	5%	165	6%	-151	-48%	197	21%
10 or More Units	41	2%	34	1%	92	3%	51	124%	428	103%
Mobile Home, trailer, other	128	5%	88	4%	110	4%	-18	-14%	(112)	-13%
Housing Values										
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$158,050		\$240,100		\$260,800		\$102,750	65%	88,000	45%
Median Gross Rent*	\$770		\$1,107		\$1,098		\$328	43%	388	47%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE). 2015 data ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Site Observations and Evaluations

The four separate observations were conducted in in July (Table 15). More details from each observation are in the appendix, along with additional photos. Across the four observations, most categories received perfect scores (4 out of 4), with six exceptions, resulting in an overall score of 3.5. The six exceptions include litter (3.5); design fit with neighborhood (3), context fit with neighborhood (2), accessibility and mobility (2), environment encroachment (3), and open space access and views (3). These results are described after the table.

Table 15. Summary of Site Visits for Aspinwall and Josephine Commons

	23-Jul	24-Jul	25-Jul	29-Jul	Total of Visits
	5:40-6PM	6:40-7PM	5:00-5:20PM	5:15-5:40PM	Score
Aspinwall & Josephine Commons	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Friday	
Impact on Neighborhood					
Noise	4	4	4	4	4
Trash: Litter	3	4	4	3	3.5
Trash: Dumpster	4	4	4	4	4
Graffiti	4	4	4	4	4
Number of People on Property	[20]	[19]	[13]	[21]	n/a
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4
Parking	4	4	4	4	4
Pets	4	4	4	4	4
Traffic in/out of the Development	4	4	4	4	4
Storm Water Runoff	4	4	4	4	4
Environmental Encroachment	3	3	3	3	3
Open Space Access & Views	3	3	3	3	3
Design Fit with neighborhood	3	3	3	3	3
Context Fit with neighborhood	2	2	2	2	2
Development Quality & Location					
Building Condition: Aesthetics	4	4	4	4	4
Building Condition: Safety	4	4	4	4	4
Landscaping, Fencing, & Trees	4	4	4	4	4
Playground Condition & Use	4	4	4	4	4
Access & Mobility	2	2	2	2	2
Average Score per Day	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6

The site observation scores closely matched what we heard through the interviews with neighboring residents. When asked about graffiti, vandalism, trash, or poor building quality, none of the interviewees noted these things as issues. As one interviewee stated, there were “no material impacts” from the development.

Impact on Neighborhood:

Building conditions. The building conditions, both in safety and aesthetics, landscaping, and playground all received perfect scores from each of our site visits (Figures 10 and 11). The building and grounds are well-maintained and attractive, and there was no graffiti. There were no signs of wear on the buildings, or broken items in need of repair. The playground equipment appears new and the grounds surrounding the equipment were not worn or in need of maintenance, e.g. there were no dirt patches, items that might cause harm, or broken pieces. We did observe some small pieces of litter on-site during two of the site visits, which resulted in a lower score, 3, but the dumpster areas, which are enclosed with fencing, were well-maintained and provided separate bins for trash and recycling.

Figure 10. Dumpsters for trash and recycling are enclosed and maintained at Josephine Commons and Aspinwall



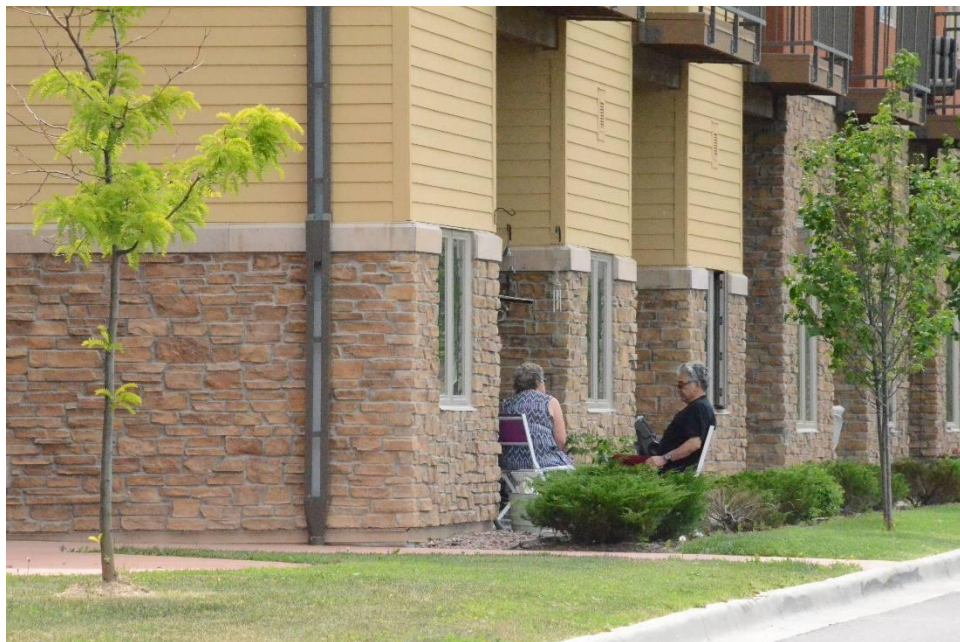
Figure 11. Building conditions, landscaping, and gardens at Josephine Commons and Aspinwall



Pets, noise and loitering. We did not observe excessive noise, unleashed pets, or loitering on or around the property. On two of the visits, we did not see any pets, and on the other two visits, three people were walking their dogs on leashes, and there was a cat sleeping on a front porch. The grounds have pet waste containers and bags with instruction and warning signs about the importance of cleaning up after pets for health reasons. A few of the neighbors we interviewed noted that the residents use the dog poop bins, and that neighbors surrounding the area walk through there with their dogs. They did note, however, that the bins need better maintenance, e.g. more frequent emptying and bag replacement.

On each visit, we observed between 10 and 21 people on site, including people sitting on their porches, on the benches throughout the development, and getting in and out of their cars (Figure 12). This results in a ratio of one to two people per acre who were not inside. In our observations of the surrounding properties, we did not see residents of Josephine Commons or Aspinwall loitering near the adjacent homes or on the streets.

Figure 12. Two residents of the Josephine Commons senior development on the back patio of their unit



Traffic and parking. Traffic and parking did not appear to be an issue from our visits (Figures 13 and 14). The buildings surround a large surface parking lot and there are rows of spaces in front of the townhomes, totaling 213 spaces for 146 units, resulting in 1.34 spaces per unit for Josephine Commons, and 2.15 spaces per unit at Aspinwall. One of the entrances into the development off Baseline road is separate from the neighborhood and was constructed for the development. The other entrance connects to Elm street, an existing residential street that was extended into the development, and another exits onto Brooks Avenue, which was also extended. During our four observation visits, as well as additional visits to the site, there was minimal traffic and several parking spaces were empty. The property managers did not think parking or traffic was a problem. To get an actual assessment of the parking situation, BCHA conducted a parking study of the development in July 2016. Staff counted the number of cars every two hours between 7:00am and 7:00pm on two weekdays and two weekend days. During only one two-hour segment (7:00am-9:00am) on a Saturday morning was there as many cars as units, and this was only for Josephine Commons. Based on the data, BCHA concluded the actual number of cars on site in relation to the units was 1.01 per unit for Josephine Commons and 0.92 per unit for Aspinwall.

Figure 13. Very little traffic was observed around the Aspinwall development during our site visits



Figure 14. Parking spaces under a canopy of solar panels



Figure 15. Storm water drainage between the rows of townhomes



Storm water: While it had not rained on the days of our site visits, the grounds have storm water features to allow for adequate drainage, and the parking lots are divided with landscaping features. There is also on-site storm water management through a detention pond. There was no evidence of soil erosion or water lines on buildings or other structures, which would indicate poor storm water drainage and management.

Environmental Encroachment. The development received a 3 on our 4-point scale: “Development provides some restraints to ensure environmental protection.” By creating a higher-density development, the development helps to preserve open space by accommodating the projected population growth for the city and county on a smaller footprint. It also provides affordable workforce housing so that people who work in Lafayette and Boulder County can afford to live near work. The

development does not occupy the entire site, allowing room for community open space, including raised beds for vegetable gardens, water detention, and public trail connections. The development also has energy saving features, including solar panels, daylighting, and low-water landscaping. However, the grassy areas throughout require water and mowing and the large surface parking lots create surface runoff (Figures 14 and 15, above).

Open Space Access & Views. While the development preserves the large open space to the north, and incorporates additional open space within the development, the site received a 3 to reflect the reduced views of open space for the immediate neighbors. The neighbors still have access to the open space, and there are open space views looking east on Dounce, and north on Brooks, but the neighbors on the south side of Dounce, the west side of Brooks, and the east end of Elm Street, no longer have a completely unobstructed view of the open space.

Context and Fit within the Neighborhood

We scored the design of the development and the connection to the neighborhood lower because of the internal design of the development, which is not as connected to the neighborhood as the perimeter of the site. Although the development extended three streets on its north, west, and eastern edges; Elm Street, Brooks, and N. Burlington Avenue, the internal portion of the site contains a large parking lot with roadways that function more like internal access than public streets, even though they have street names. The higher density of the development, about 10 units per acre, and the architectural designs, are also different from most of the surrounding homes. That said, there is wide variation in the homes nearby by size, age, and value. Nearby homes are an eclectic mix of one and two-story single family homes, duplexes, small “miner shacks”, and bungalows from different periods over the last 100 years. While the Aspinwall project uses a natural palette and the wood and stone facades attempt to match the old town feel, and the town’s mining history, the uniform and repetitious design of the Aspinwall project conflicts with the more organic design of the adjacent neighborhoods.

Access, Parking, & Mobility

The Aspinwall community is located on a major arterial (Baseline Road) serving high volume automobile traffic with moderate public transportation access, no designation for bicycle access and inconsistent sidewalks. The nearest bus stops are three quarters (seven-tenths) of a mile away and the RTD Park and Ride station is 1.3 miles south, where there are four buses (the local 225, the Dash and Jump to Boulder, and the L line to Denver and Longmont). The bus service is mostly geared for intercity work commutes to Longmont, Boulder, and Denver, and not for intracity destinations, such as for medical appointments the grocery store, etc., especially since the buses do not run on the weekend and the stop is more than a half mile away. The nearest amenities are to the west along Baseline Road, including an elementary school within 0.6 miles, the public library (1.1 miles), and a King Soopers full sized grocer and Wal-Mart (1.4 miles). Walking may be unsafe along baseline due to the heavy traffic volumes and inconsistent sidewalks, which are sometimes covered by weeds. But, there is a bike trail that connects to the north side of the development, allowing a resident to bike to the King Soopers in 11 minutes on mostly off-road and residential streets, except for a short segment along 111th and Baseline roads.

The exact car ownership rate among residents is unknown, but the property managers noted about 20 of the families subscribe to the RTD eco pass bus ticket and a several do not own cars. The parking study mentioned above confirms that car ownership is lower than expected, about 1.01 vehicles owned per unit for Josephine Commons and 0.92 vehicles per unit for Aspinwall.

To address the accessibility issues, the City required that BCHA escrow \$50,000 to pay for a future covered bus stop on Baseline road should RTD decide to extend their routes. In the meantime, Via special transit serves Josephine Commons at least once a day. BCHA has also hired a “Mobility for All”

planner who is working on connecting residents with transportation options, including car sharing, Eco passes, earn-a-bike programs, etc.

Figure 16. The development has several areas with bike racks including this one with an air pump and fix-it station



Crime

Police and Fire Department Activity at Josephine Commons and Aspinwall

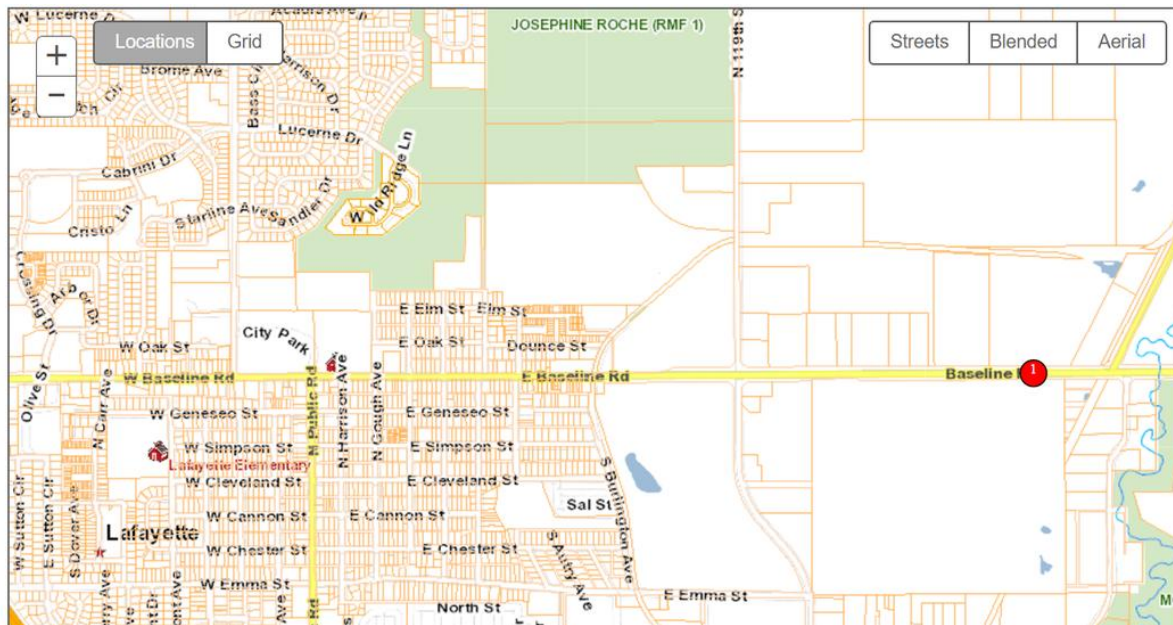
The available maps and records did not show convicted crimes in or near the development, the dispatch record of calls for service from the development for the last two-and-one-quarter years (January 1, 2015 to March 28, 2017) show there is about one call per week (Table 16). About half of these are medical related, which coincides with the presence of senior housing.

Table 16. Number of Dispatch Calls by Type and Incident for Josephine Commons and Aspinwall (2015 – 2017)

Calls for Service				
Josephine Commons & Aspinwall	2015	2016	2017-YTD	TOTAL
Admin/ other	1	1		2
Assist calls	13	5		18
Crime- person	1	4	1	6
Crime- property / vehicle	5	7	2	14
Drunk person	1			1
Fire-related (non-medical)	2	2		4
Medical	24	30	11	65
Missing person/ runaway	1			1
Nuisance- animal	2	1		3
Nuisance- disturbance	2	1		3
Nuisance-loitering				
Nuisance- noise				
Nuisance- vehicle			2	2
Welfare check	3	2	1	6
TOTAL EVENTS	55	53	17	125
TOTAL LAFAYETTE	21,119	N/AV	N/AV	N/AV

From January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2016, the Boulder County Sherriff's department did not show any recorded crimes within the vicinity of the development (Figure 17).

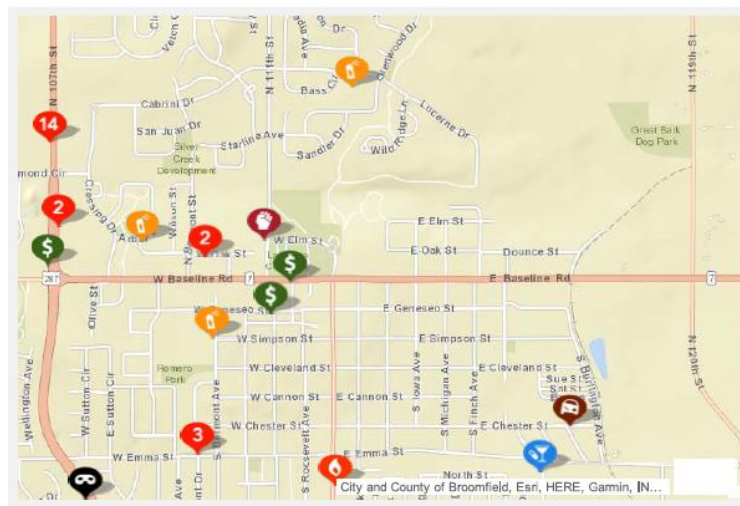
Figure 17. Crime map for Aspinwall area (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Crime Viewer, 1-1-14 to 12-31-16, <http://webpubapps.bouldercounty.org/sheriff/crime/>.

When we checked the City of Lafayette’s online Crime Map, which displays up to four weeks of crime history, the maps frequently showed crimes in areas outside the development, but not in the development (Figure 18).

Figure 18. Lafayette Crime Map within two miles of the development (December 16, 2016 – January 12, 2017)



Source: Lafayette Police Department Crime Map (<https://www.crimemapping.com/map/co/lafayette>)

Property Values

The analysis of property valuation change from 2007 to 2015 showed mixed results in terms of significant differences between the parcels within a quarter-mile of the development and all other residential parcels in Lafayette (Figure 19). On a per square foot bases, both in absolute terms and in percentage change, the median increase was greater in the rest of Lafayette. However, there was no significant difference in the change in the total value of the properties (land plus improvements). The median change in total value for properties near the development was about 12%, compared to 13% for the other properties (Table 17). This indicates the value of improvements may be rising more quickly in other parts of Lafayette, but when both the land and improvements are considered, the properties near Josephine Commons and Aspinwall are rising at the same pace as the rest of the city. The significant difference for the improvements on a per square foot basis may be due to the different housing characteristics in this neighborhood. Many of the residents we interviewed noted the neighborhood was quite “eclectic” with homes ranging from original “miner shacks” more than 100 years old, to much newer million-dollar homes. This difference is reflected in the average year built and square footage of all other homes in Lafayette, which is 1983 and 1,598 square feet, respectively, versus the average year built and size of homes near the development, 1944 and 1,377 square feet.

Figure 19. Residential parcels included in analysis of property values

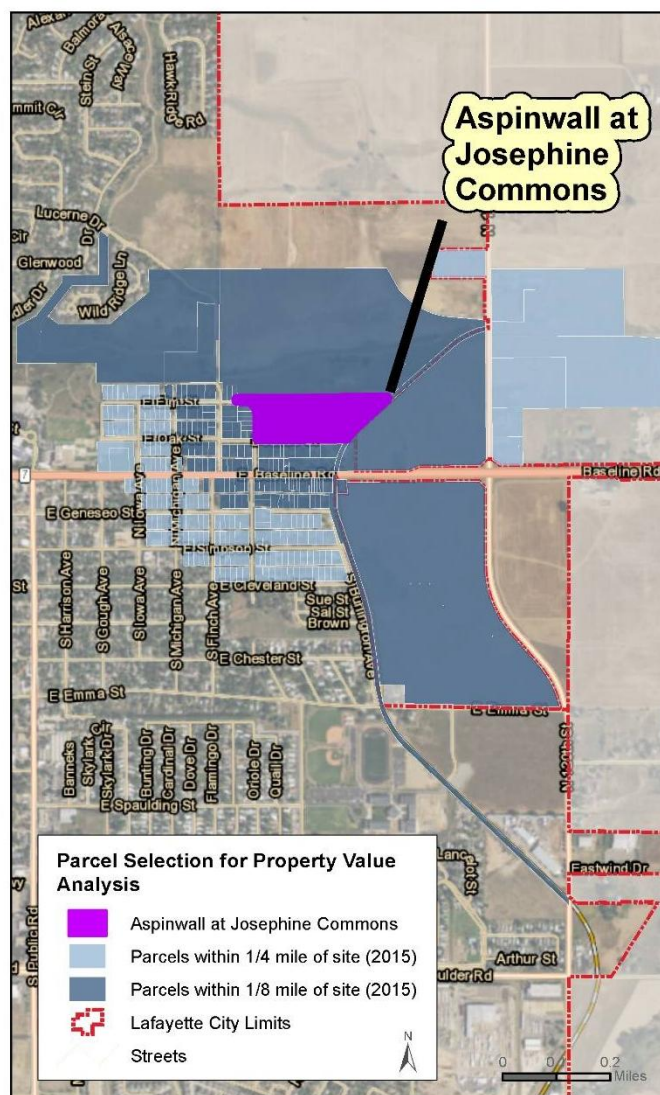


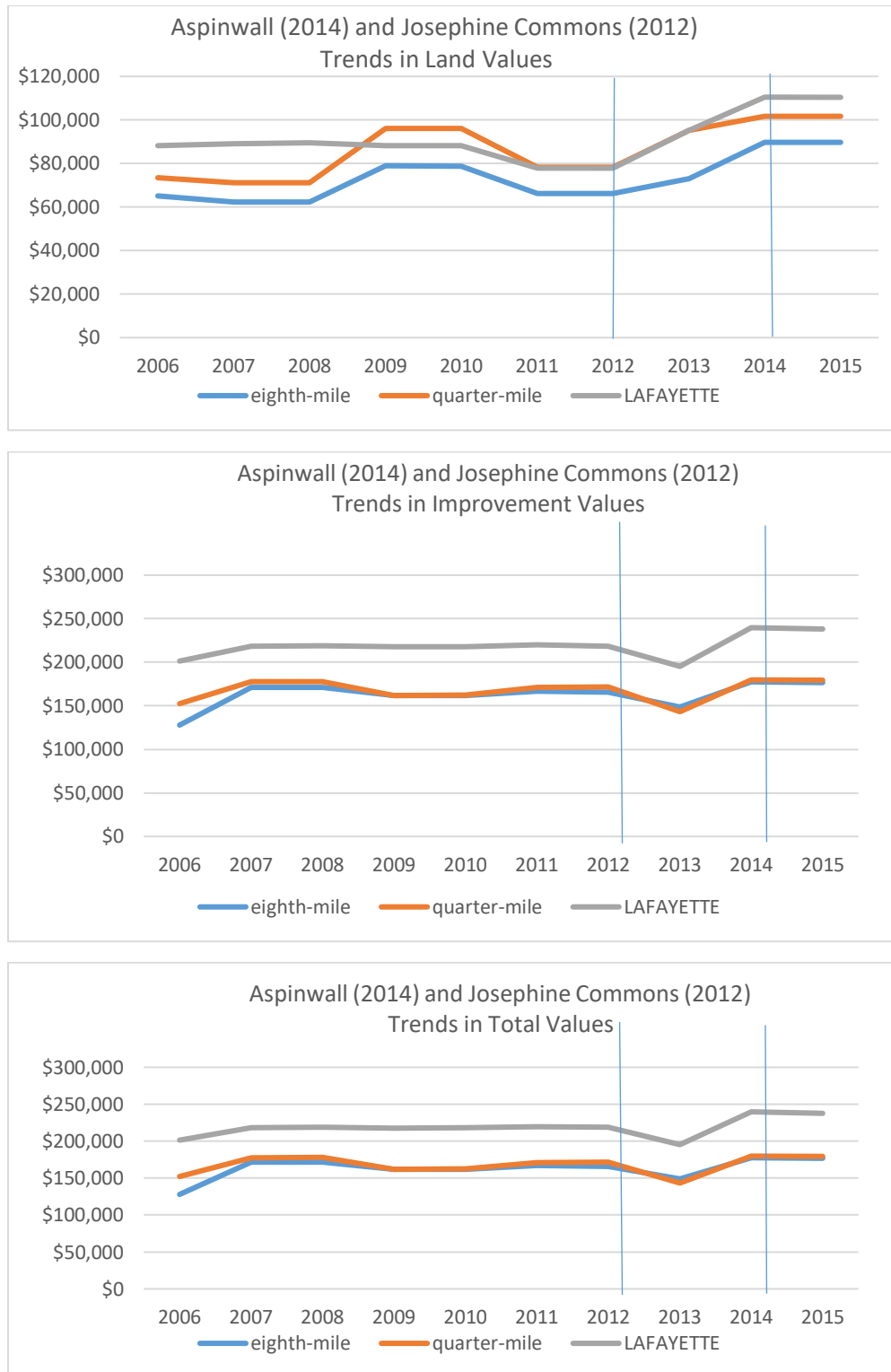
Table 17. Change in Residential Property Values within a Quarter-Mile of Josephine Commons and Aspinwall in Comparison to All Other Properties in Lafayette (2007 – 2015)

Test Statistics	N	Median Value per Square Foot				Total Value (Land + Improvements)	
		2007	2015	Change 2007-2015	Percent Change	Percent Increase	Percent Change in Total Value per Square Foot
Mann-Whitney U (score)				746,853	762,803	878,368	842,501
Median Value: within ¼ mile of Aspinwall & Josephine Commons	239	\$167	\$209	\$27**	16%**	12%	0.01%
Median Value: all other residential properties in Lafayette	7,522	\$163	\$218	\$43**	24%**	13%	0.01%

Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed): * Significance $p < .05$, ** significance $p < .01$.

The following series of charts (Figure 20) show the lower value of this area over time but that the rate of increase has generally tracked at the same rate as the city.

Figure 20. Changes in land, improvement, and total values within an eighth-mile and quarter-mile of Aspinwall in comparison to the rest of Lafayette



Neighbor Feedback

We conducted nine interviews regarding the Aspinwall site; seven were current or former residents of the neighboring area, one was a landlord, and one had been involved in the process. The sentiments were mixed on certain aspects of the design and relatively minor changes in the neighborhood, but none were entirely opposed to the idea of affordable housing in their neighborhood. A few, however, would have preferred 100% *senior* affordable housing.

For others, the income of the residents wasn't the issue; their concerns were more about the missed opportunity to integrate the development with the neighborhood. Specifically, some residents would have preferred more continuity between the streets within the development and the streets of the existing neighborhood; more variation in the housing unit designs to better reflect the neighborhood's eclectic housing types; and a gradual transition between the density of Aspinwall and the lower density of the neighborhood.

But even the residents who had negative comments on the planning process and certain impacts to the neighborhood, made favorable comments on the development's quality, maintenance, and appearance. Several spoke positively about the residents they had met from the development through casual encounters or more regular interactions because of their kids' friendships, proximity, etc. As one interview respondent noted, *"I should say that every person that I've met that lives in the neighborhood is awesome and they're cool people, so my gripe is not with the humans, my gripe is with the government on this.* Others were open to a formalized way to meet the residents, such as through a neighborhood meeting or social activity. They felt these types of interactions would build mutual respect and trust between the old and new parts of the neighborhood. *"yes, [I would participate] if that was an option. I think if you know your neighbors, they're less likely to wish harm on you, so that would be good.*

Neighborhood Change

The opinions on neighborhood change were mostly that the neighborhood had not substantially changed with the development. A couple felt the development had improved the neighborhood by encouraging neighboring residents to improve their property, while others felt there was very little material change, neither positive or negative. Others noted specific changes in traffic, possible crimes, and noise, but acknowledged development was imminent and any type of development would have caused these types of changes.

For instance, those who noted positive changes from the development mentioned the development was an improvement, particularly in the appearance of the area. They also favored the addition of affordable units in contrast to the higher priced developments and redevelopments in the area.

"I've noticed that the people that live [near the development] have taken some time to clean up their own properties...And I guess now, I'm probably more comfortable walking in that area, um, more so now than I was maybe before because, in fact, when you went down that alley you felt like you even trespassed a little bit and then we'd get nervous and turn around. But now it certainly feels more like a neighborhood and now behind Aspinwall feels like a neighborhood. Yeah, so I think it's really done wonders for that area, more so than not...We spend a lot of quality time in town. I haven't noticed a lot of people out or roaming around. No negative effects [on Lafayette]. All positive. A lot of the homes that are being redeveloped in older parts--knocked down and redeveloped--if we didn't have this affordable housing maybe people would be moving into the dilapidated homes; it seems like a great concept to me." (Male resident, >5 years in neighborhood)

"The neighborhood hasn't changed significantly but in the last two years the neighborhood has certainly changed in their socioeconomics, certainly the rental prices of the housing in that area, a lot of those are being redeveloped, brand new construction and the prices of the houses have gone up quite a bit, as well as the rents. [A woman who lived there] told me that the neighbors that were around there were paying close to \$2500 [in rent]. I don't see any particular change in the community or anything that has happened in the community that could be directly traced to anything that happened with the development." (Female property owner, > 2 years in neighborhood)

"Absolutely nothing. Nothing of that sort. Very peaceful community. A lot of kids running around the street. Well not a lot of kids, 4 or 5 kids running around. No crime, no graffiti, no trash, no noise. It's a very nice community. Enough said." (Male resident, > 20 years in neighborhood)

Other residents, often those who lived the closest, or had friends nearest to the development had more mixed views of the neighborhood change, with favorable views of certain aspects of the development and its residents, but negative views or regrets about other aspects.

"yes, the street goes through now so of course there's going to be more traffic...[We know people who live there] so I'm not going to say that the people aren't fabulous. There are some very nice people, some very respectful people, but at the same time there are going to be some disrespectful people. Yes [the neighborhood has changed]. A lot more people. A lot more density. It was a very quiet neighborhood before and we have definitely had more police officers. Yeah. It's just been, yeah. I don't necessarily feel unsafe although I do find myself paying attention more to people around us but I haven't felt personally unsafe. But, it definitely has changed it. The density is too great for the neighborhood...[yet] I haven't noticed any graffiti or any trash really, something accumulating more than I have in my front yard. For the most part, I don't really feel there's that much stress. We have trails behind us; I don't really feel like they're that much busier; maybe it's impacting the police services a little more; traffic is a little bit of an issue." (Female resident, >10 years in neighborhood)

"It's a really appealing development, visually. It has a community feeling. People are super friendly. There are lots of families. It feels like people are pretty happy there... wish that the sidewalks from there...were accessible to walk down or ride bikes easily to the grocery store, or the library, or the rec center. That's not the case...but that's a drawback before...that development was put in; but they did a lovely job with it...There are maybe more police visits there than there are in other parts of the neighborhood, but not many more and I think that kind of gets people unsettled...but if you're not directly contacting it, most people feel pretty positive about it." (Female resident, >5 years in neighborhood)

[Besides possible crimes you've heard about from neighbors, can you think of changes to the neighborhood from the development?] *"No, I can't, nothing material, uh uh...I wouldn't say positive, but I don't think it's been negative. [What could have made it positive?] "What they originally pitched to those of us in the neighborhood. They said: 'we're going to build senior housing down here and it was going to be*

100% senior housing’...Then, after a number of meetings and the baiting and the switching, it ended up being a majority being low income housing with just a small apartment building for seniors²... Seniors are pretty chill people, regardless of if they have a lot of money or not and there was support from that perspective, from that demographic versus what ended up going in.” (Male resident, >10 years in neighborhood)

“Hmmm, not any more than any new development would have. I really don’t feel; there are probably a few more police visits than there are in other parts, but we’ve got plenty of variation in peoples’ resources throughout the near-in neighborhoods.” (Female resident, >5 years in neighborhood)

Design Quality / Fit within Existing Neighborhood

Like their varying perspectives on neighborhood change, residents’ perspectives and opinions on the design and fit with the neighborhood also varied. Generally, they were in favor of the design and quality of the buildings, if not the density. But many considered the overall site design less positive, namely because the streets going through the development feel separate from the existing neighborhood, rather than an extension of the neighborhood grid. Although the neighborhood streets do extend through the development, the street design changes, one street changes names, and the internal grid is disrupted by the central parking lot for the senior building. This make the development look to some like a large apartment complex on private property. Those who walk through the development the most, e.g. to get to the trail, seem to appreciate the design more than those who are less familiar with it because they walk around it.

They did a lovely job with it... I walk my dog through there at least once a day and there’s a nice little path there and it swings around and there’s a trail on the north side and then it swings back to the open space ... It’s super nice; it’s super nice.” (Female resident, >5 years in the neighborhood)

“Just a missed Opportunity...Could have been platted like old town Lafayette. We gave examples of what it could have looked like.” (Female resident, >10 years in the neighborhood)

*Why don’t you do it like a normal neighborhood, so it’s on the grid. you’re claiming it is going to help people transition into the real world, why isolate them around a parking lot?...I feel like they could have done a better job planning it so, to allow people to not feel like oooh I’m walking into the neighborhood and I live over here and if I go walk my dog I have to cross over some weird invisible boundary into the existing neighborhood. I just think it’s badly planned, and very old school when you think about...it does have that feeling of separateness, and I think that’s unfortunate...I mean, I think it’s connected [but] I walk out my door and walk [toward the development] and through the [old] neighborhood, but I don’t ever go **through** the [development], I go **around** it. They seemed to have done a reasonable job in*

² This statement is not accurate; the split between senior housing and the housing without age-restrictions is equal.

terms of flood control because we're in the floodplain down there." (Female resident, >15 years in the neighborhood)

you know, there are a lot of kids in the neighborhood and I know there's kind of a park in the middle of it but it's not even a flat surface and you know you have the kids, there's a very small front yard in front of the houses...and the kids end up playing football on it, which is fine, [kids from this neighborhood] are over there too, but it's just not, it's not as conducive to kids playing as it could be and...they have the electrical boxes in the front yard...I just think that's kind of ugly, design wise. I don't know how safe that is for the kids to play on. Despite the smoking, which we don't like, I think it's great [the kids are playing together]." (Female resident, >10 years in the neighborhood)

"I made numerous recommendations; ways to connect development to the surrounding neighborhood; ways to incorporate the development...made it look like our neighborhood, but [they] made no effort. There's no alignment with our grid so it's not very welcoming to the rest of the neighborhood...The City recommended that the architecture be mixed up, eclectic to look like the area...[it's] not a disaster but a missed opportunity...[it] just doesn't fit within our neighborhood...Goal should be to bring community together." (Female resident, >15 years in the neighborhood)

I've never been in any of the units, but they look really nice. It's a really appealing development, visually. It has a community feeling. [There are also] 7 or 8 lots that were meant to be market rate homes that were going to be developed by the county and that kind of fell through and so that's unfortunate. Someone has put one house in there, but there's nothing playful about it...[But] It's really it's beautiful and the people who live there are super friend, and so they're the best ambassadors for what's happening back there." (Female resident, >5 years in the neighborhood)

"I thought aesthetically it looks fine. The buildings themselves seem to be of satisfactory construction. I don't see any heaving going on, which is a problem in that area." (Male resident, >10 years in the neighborhood)

Management

The neighbors' perceptions of the on-site management were favorable. All felt that the buildings and grounds were maintained, from "pretty well" to "beautifully". For issues beyond the landscaping and building maintenance, such as Aspinwall residents smoking on or near the neighboring properties—since tenants are not allowed to smoke in their units—the neighboring residents regretted the problems in the short term, but realized the problems could be fixed or managed. If they contacted the property managers, most seemed very pleased with the responses, though a couple noted the Aspinwall residents are still smoking on or near their properties.

It seems like a nice development. For the most part they seem to take care of it. Occasionally there are a lot of weeds and the grass gets pretty high but for the most part they seem to take care of it pretty well... We have some current issues with the Boulder County law with no smoking on Boulder County property. They tell them not to smoke on the property. We actually have people walk across the street to smoke on our property...It seems like a nice development. For the most part they seem to take care of it." (Female resident for more than 10 years)

I see fairly well-kept yards; I don't see a lot of clutter. The grass seems trimmed; bushes seem alive. No strange smells. No craziness that I can remember. Yeah, fairly normal." (Male resident for more than 10 years)

[No] vandalism, garbage, graffiti: I think people do a great job there. It's beautiful! I guess my one complaint is [about the] bin that has the dog poop in it, you know they have several of those stations out, and whoever is supposed to be responsible for that doesn't do a very good job. But the Aspinwall neighbors all put their poop in there... (Female resident for more than 5 years)

One of the neighbors has observed shopping carts left at the entrance since they can't be on Boulder property. She believes that reflects the poor access to public transit for the grocery store. She also noted there was an issue with trash and recycling blowing down the street when the development first opened, but the management switched to a different system of community dumpsters and it's no longer a problem. Overall, such issues are or have been addressed and she did not perceive longer term impacts. (Female resident for more than 10 years)

"I sent a note to the management over there [about people smoking cigarettes and pot in or near neighbors' yards] and...they were super helpful. They were really nice. I think the people who work there are really great. But, I just say, sometimes these ideals [of the housing authority] resulted in impacts to the neighborhood that are not considered and I get it." (Female resident for more than 15 years)

"They tell them not to smoke on the property. We actually have people walk across the street to smoke on our property. I've called them repeatedly and they've said they put up notices but that doesn't seem to have changed things. That's an infringement on our rights because we don't have air conditioning so we smell it if they're going to smoke in our front yard... The smoking one is our biggest issue, that probably outweighs everything. I know there are smoking benches, but they don't use them." (Female resident for more than 10 years)

Crime

Some of the residents mentioned possible crimes associated with the development, but they noted that the crimes had not been confirmed, and none of the interviewees had been victims of the crime. The possible crimes included one or more incidents of mail theft; possible drug activities in one of the townhouses during the first year—which has since ceased; and frequent police visits for what police officers referred to as "Section 8 issues."

The mail theft incident was noted by four of the interviewees, but the stories were different since none of them had had their mail stolen. They had heard that mail was being stolen from their central rural-route mailboxes, and that the open letters were strewn about the open space behind the development. Three noted the thefts happened at Christmas time, while the fourth noted it had occurred in the summer. All but one said this type of activity had not occurred before the development, but noted that she reminded her neighbors there had been a similar mail theft incident years ago, as well as other periodic spikes in low-level crimes. No one has been caught, so this leaves some residents feeling uneasy about the security of their mailboxes. At the same time, crime does not seem to be an overwhelming concern for most residents, even with these issues.

"There's not a lot of talk [among the neighbors about the development]. There's been some, our perception is there's more lawlessness going on down there. We know of police calls that have been going down there for um I guess the police officers call 'typical section 8 activities that they have to deal with' ...but that's unusual because we don't typically have a lot of crime in our area... last summer, some time, we had a spat of mail being stolen out of the mail boxes and sometimes we'd find the mail out in the open space behind our houses. That never used to happen before. Do we know it's from the development? No. Nobody ever caught who it was, but just all of a sudden we noticed that there were more shenanigans happening than before. So yes, we have a perception it's coming from that area." (Male resident for more than 10 years)

"We had this rash of mailbox thefts, last Christmas time, and that's continued a little bit where you can't really leave your mail in your box. You can't leave out a letter. And people blame the Aspinwall neighborhood, but I have to say: I had those problems before Aspinwall was ever built. You'd get a little outbreak, then it would resolve, it seems a lot like teenagers coming into the neighborhood at night, but I don't attribute it to Aspinwall residents." (Female resident for more than 5 years)

"I think we've had two neighborhood impacts that we can trace back to the opening of the Aspinwall. And that was around Christmas the first year they were open, mail was stolen out of peoples' mailboxes...and so like Christmas money was taken out or whatever. That's kind of weird, you can't help but correlate that...The second is packs of young girls going door to door asking for money [not for the band or other school activities] it was just random kids." (Female resident for more than 15 years)

"We've had bad neighbors and we think one of the houses across the street was probably a meth house, they were very loud. Their cars were loud, and their cars were always in the street and they were always working on them in the street. But those people have left and it has calmed down. I know my neighbor has said she doesn't feel safe walking anymore, since it's gone in... and I don't know why. Maybe it's because she doesn't know them?" (Female resident for more than 10 years)

Traffic

Residents were mostly accepting of the increased traffic as a factor of new development in their neighborhood, as well as in the city and county. Whether traffic was one of the issues of the new development was connected to where they lived in the neighborhood. In most cases, the concern was not about excessive volume on the neighborhood streets, but about speeding or disobeying stop signs. Respondents also varied in their perceptions of how many cars were added by the new development. Some noted everyone in the development had at least one car, while others noted that many did not own a car.

"Sidewalks in Lafayette are really inadequate. We talked about that during the planning process, but I don't think that anyone that was really responsible every walked from Aspinwall to the library, grocery store, or the rec center, because if they had, it would have been pretty clear that we need some support around that...We were told 'oh, most of the people wouldn't have cars' but that's ridiculous all the people there have cars. I don't anyone there who doesn't have a car, maybe in the senior center there are people without vehicles, but there are a lot of cars back there

[they said] there wouldn't be that many cars impacting the neighborhood and that's been just crazy not true. But before when the discussion was that people wouldn't be having cars, it was that they clearly needed better ways to get to groceries, schools, etc. but that never happened and that could be just the city's fault...Traffic was predictable and city or county were not helpful...anything would have made an impact. The whole county is not thinking about the impact of all of the new developments going in... is not planning for it...The other thing that was promised... we were supposed to have a roundabout there so it would slow traffic coming into our neighborhood and that didn't happen and so people just scream around that corner...[and] I see [the stop sign] get blown everyday." (Female resident for more than 5 years)

"You know at the time it was being considered in planning, a lot of people were concerned about traffic impacts. I haven't been aware of any traffic impacts, so that's one impact that I haven't noticed is traffic and that's the only impact that anyone cares about." (Male resident, >20 years)

"Traffic is [terrible] on Baseline...There have been some, there are...teenagers driving too fast sometimes, but that could have been the [other neighbors] too, so I feel like, nobody's complaining about it, except for those impacting things. I don't hear people saying things [about the traffic from] "over there". I don't think the people are the problem...if you lived in the townhouses, you would probably exit out of Dounce, so there is a lot of traffic down Dounce...that had to do with the way...[they designed it with just] two points of entry for the neighborhood." (Female resident for more than 15 years in the neighborhood)

"The road going through is fine, but I do have small kids and we do get some people driving through here very quickly...Definitely more traffic; definitely more noise; occasionally we get the big truck that is very loud like at 3 in the morning." (Female resident for more than 10 years).

"The rule of thumb is that a senior housing project has 4 times the number of ambulance calls that a typical condo complex would have [so that will generate more traffic]" (Male resident of Lafayette).

Residents of the Development (Tenants)

In 2013, the Daily Camera reported all 74 of the units in the senior building, Josephine Commons, were “leased within five days of the county receiving its certificate of occupancy last August”. Further, the development was serving residents in the area, with almost half from Lafayette and nearly 72% from Boulder County or Erie (Aguilar 2013).

The development also provides housing for very low income households, with most earning less than 30% of the Area Median Income, which is \$20,888 for 1 person.

We received just two responses on our survey of the residents. The responses were opposite of each other. One was very disappointed in several aspects of the development, including the location, behaviors some of the neighbors, the quality of the construction, slow response from property management, and speeding traffic. This family noted they were close with their nearby neighbors and neighbors that did not live in the development, but they stated other neighbors were “disrespectful” and the kids and adults “scream” and “argue” at night and in the early morning. They have stopped using the park because they do not feel safe interacting with some of the other residents. The only thing they were satisfied with was the affordable rent. This resident hoped to move. In contrast, the other respondent was very satisfied with the development, including the location, the quality of the unit, the grounds, and the affordability.

Both respondents were two-parent families with bachelor’s degrees. The parent that was dissatisfied earned 15% of the AMI and noted both parents had disabilities, so neither parent worked. The household income of the more satisfied respondent was 70% of the AMI and both parents worked. This family reported very little interaction with any of the neighbors.

There was some agreement between the two surveys. Both noted that there was a lot of police activity at the development and that at least one of the townhomes had been a “meth” house. Neither was completely satisfied with property management, noting they were responsive “sometimes.” They both had some positive interactions with a couple neighbors, but, as noted above, the dissatisfied tenant also had several negative direct and indirect interactions with neighbors.

Table 18. Population and Housing Changes near Aspinwall (2000 – 2015)

	2000		2010 (2009-2013*)		2015		Aspinwall Change (2000-2015)		Lafayette Change (2000 - 2015)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	6,212		5,962		6,583		371	6%	3,233	14%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	3,119		2,999		3,269			5%	172	7%
Age										
Under 5 Years	401	6%	450	8%	496	8%	95	24%	-111	-1%
5 to 17 Years	1,270	20%	960	16%	1,113	17%	-157	-12%	-56	-3%
18-64	4,063	65%	4,075	68%	4,410	67%	347	9%	2,161	0%
65+	478	8%	477	8%	564	9%	86	18%	1,239	4%
Race										
White	4,579	74%	4,426	74%	4,923	75%	344	8%	3,341	2%
Black	60	1%	40	1%	33	1%	-27	-45%	-115	-1%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	37	1%	50	1%	6	0%	-31	-84%	-58	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	183	3%	160	3%	272	4%	89	49%	538	2%
Other or Two or More Races	103	2%	116	2%	284	4%	181	87%	-473	-3%
Hispanic	1,250	20%	1,170	20%	1,065	16%	-185	-15%	543	0%
Households by Household Type										
Households	2,392	100%	2,445	100%	2,698	100%	306	13%	1,885	21%
Family Households	1,569	66%	1,539	63%	1,781	66%	212	14%	1,081	-2%
Married-couple Family	1,171	49%	1,107	45%	1,422	53%	251	21%	833	-1%
Other Family	398	17%	432	18%	359	13%	-39	-10%	248	0%
Nonfamily Households	823	34%	906	37%	917	34%	94	11%	804	2%
Households w/ 1 or more persons <18	913	38%	815	33%	943	35%	30	3%	-77	-8%
Educational Attainment										
Persons 25 Years and Over with Bachelor's or higher*	1,519	38%	2,063	50%	3,118	69%	1,599	105%	3,056	9%
Median HH Income*	47,679		\$54,150		52,829		5,150	11%	14,338	25%
Ratio of Income In 2014 To Poverty Level *										
Population for whom poverty status is determined:	6,011	100%	6,032	100%	6,583	100%	572	10%	3,089	13%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	593	10%	304	5%	672	10%	79	13%	577	35%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	872	15%	1,721	29%	1,218	19%	346	40%	37	1%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	4,546	76%	4,007	66%	4,693	71%	147	3%	2475	13%
Total Housing Units	2,477	100%	2,567	100%	2,716	100%	239	10%	1,889	21%
Occupied Housing Units:	2,392	97%	2,445	95%	2,698	99%	306	13%	1,885	21%
Owner Occupied	1,632	66%	1,579	62%	1,830	67%	198	12%	965	14%
Renter Occupied	760	31%	866	34%	868	32%	108	14%	920	43%
Vacant	77	3%	122	5%	18	1%	-59	-77%	4	1%
Housing Units in Structure*	2,454	100%	2,490	100%	2,716	100%	262	11%		
1 Unit:	1,959	80%	2,237	90%	2,349	86%	390	20%	1,325	19%
1, detached	1,735	71%	1,965	79%	2,070	76%	335	19%	1,229	22%
1, attached	224	9%	272	11%	279	10%	55	25%	96	7%
2-9 Units	316	13%	131	5%	165	6%	-151	-48%	197	21%
10 or More Units	41	2%	34	1%	92	3%	51	124%	428	103%
Mobile Home, trailer, other	128	5%	88	4%	110	4%	-18	-14%	(112)	-13%
Housing Values										
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$158,050		\$240,100		\$260,800		\$102,750	65%	88,000	45%
Median Gross Rent*	\$770		\$1,107		\$1,098		\$328	43%	388	47%

Source: 2000 and 2010 Data are from the US Decennial Census; * items are from the American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates 2009-2011; 2015 data is from the American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates 2011-2015.

Aspinwall Evaluation Summary

Our comparison of the current development to the before conditions did not find major impacts to the neighborhood. The development has not reduced property values; traffic has increased, but not substantially; there hasn't been flooding; and the mentions of a couple potential crimes--the mail theft incidents and "meth" house--have not been recorded as crimes or officially connected to the development. Though some regret the development occurred, and that it was not as originally promised, i.e. "100% senior housing", the same people stated that Aspinwall and Josephine Commons are a well-designed development and that there were no "material impacts" to their neighborhood. Several of the neighbors noted they welcomed the new residents, and many have become friends. Residents also appreciated the improved access to the open space paths behind JC/Aspinwall, especially to walk their dogs. While the development has changed some homeowners' views and the traffic levels on their street, any development would have done this. With the high level of development throughout the area, and the designation of this neighborhood for higher density in the Lafayette 2000 Comprehensive Plan, this area would have been developed at similar densities by another developer, if not by BCHA.

Nonetheless, neighbors did report nuisances that either were addressed early on or need further management responses. These include noise from periodic loud trucks or cars; residents smoking in or near neighboring yards; and speeding drivers disobeying one of the stop signs at a neighborhood intersection. Some neighbors are also concerned or bothered by the increased police activity through their neighborhood in response to the calls for service from the development. We do not find evidence to document whether there was a "meth" house in one of the townhomes or if there was a mail theft incident. One of the interviewees noted mail theft had occurred before the JC/Aspinwall development and a recent conviction of mail theft in nearby Louisville (CBS Local, December 2016) suggests this type of crime is not limited to the study area.

Because of these nuisances and changes to the physical structure of the neighborhood, about half of the nine interviewees agreed their neighborhood had changed since the development. But even those who agreed that it had changed did not necessarily agree it was in a completely negative direction. They did, however, regret the missed opportunities in the final design of the development. Instead of being mixed-income, mixed-use, and mixed-tenure, the development is 100% rental for low and moderate income singles, families and seniors. There are seven lots available for ownership housing, but they were not officially incorporated into the development. BCHA sold the seven single-family residential lots to a private developer; one has been developed, and the other remain vacant. Residents regret these homes have not been built as they were to provide a buffer between the existing single family homes and the higher density development of JC/Aspinwall. Residents had also hoped for a completed sidewalk network, especially along Baseline Road. Although these sidewalk improvements are not connected to the BCHA property, in their conditions for approval of the development, the City suggested the City and BCHA should attempt to improve these sidewalks:

"Staff and the applicant should attempt to address sidewalk/pedestrian connectivity issues from the subject property to downtown Lafayette (South Public Road)." (City of Lafayette, Boulder County Housing Authority Sketch Plan Review, Conditions of Approval, 2008, p. 4).

Overall, most of the identified problems could be addressed through increased property management to address the off-site smoking issues; city planning and capital improvements to address speeding and poor sidewalk conditions on Baseline road; and increased communication between the residents in the

neighborhood and the residents and property managers for BCHA to explain the nature of the police activity, and to more promptly address other nuisance issues.

In hindsight, better communications during the development process also would have been helpful. Comparing the planning documents to the interviews, there appear to be several misunderstandings. For instance, the 2000 vote (measure 2A) to amend the growth controls to allow for the affordable housing on the development did not specify that it was only senior housing, or that it would be low density. The measure and the comprehensive plan both noted it was for senior and affordable housing and that the area was targeted for higher density housing. The layout of the community was in keeping with many of the City zoning ordinances, including parking, setbacks, etc. If residents were suggesting designs that were not compatible with the current zoning, the planning staff for both the City and BCHA should have noted this to the resident stakeholders. The resident advisory committee might have been broader. Comments submitted for the public hearing note that only two residents were added to the neighborhood advisory group, and the residents did not appear to represent the voice of all neighbors, including the owner of the mobile home park.

Table 19. Aspinwall Case Summary

Topic	Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Property Values	Devaluation of their property values from the removal of open space and the addition of affordable housing	- Some residents noted rapid increases in home prices and rents in this area. - Several noted that the neighborhood changes did not include any “material” impacts	- Total assessed property values have increased in the area at the same rate as the rest of the city. The assessed values per square feet increased less in this area than the increase for the city. The slower increase may be due to the older and smaller housing stock in this area.
Crime	Residents were concerned affordable housing would bring crime	- Residents are concerned about the frequent police visits to the development, and more than two interviewees noted two possible crimes: a “meth” house in one of the townhomes the first year; and a mail theft incident	- We were unable to document whether one of the townhomes had been used as a “meth” house - Reports of the mail theft incident were inconsistent, including the time of year, description of what was stolen, and how the incident was discovered. One interviewee also recalled a mail theft incident years before JC/Aspinwall was developed.
Social Impacts	Some residents feared issues they associated with “Section 8” housing, such as “noise, graffiti...trashiness” and concentrated poverty	- The closest neighbors noted increased noise from loud cars, more traffic, and loud trucks. Others noted it was noisier at first, but that the noisy neighbors had moved out and it was quieter. - All interviewees agreed the development is well-maintained and some referred to it as “beautiful”. No one reported increased trash or graffiti.	- On multiple site visits, we did not observe trash, loud noises, excessive traffic, loitering, or damage, such as graffiti, to either the development or neighboring properties - The record of police service calls and police reports indicate there have been disturbances on site, such as domestic disputes - Census data show households below the poverty level increased less (13%) than the increase for the city (35%). The median income has risen in the neighborhood, but at half the rate of the city. However, the education attainment levels have also risen.
Flooding	Because a portion of the site was in a non-regulated flood plain, some residents were concerned about flooding. The adjacent commercial properties to the south were concerned	- When asked, the interviewees confirmed that flooding has not been a problem	- BCHA took several measures to prevent flooding on and around the development. From our observations and interviews we did not find any evidence of misdirected storm water runoff or flooding on the property or to

Topic	Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
	the new access road off Baseline would direct water onto their properties.		nearby properties.
Vehicular Impacts (parking, higher traffic volumes, speeding, safety, noise)	Increased traffic was a concern expressed by residents and the mobile home park owner Residents were concerned that the extension of Burlington Avenue off Baseline into the development would divert traffic from Baseline through the neighborhood. Extending Burlington even further to 119th would greatly increase traffic in the neighborhood.	- Some noted increased traffic in the neighborhood and sometimes at high speeds. But many did not note it as a problem and others noted it was mostly from all the other housing development in the city and county. - Some residents have observed cars disobeying the new stop sign that was installed to slow the traffic from the development. However, they noted the violators could be other residents who live in the area, not the development.	- Reports of increased traffic are mixed. - We did not observe heavy traffic volumes during any of our site visits - BCHA's recent parking study of the development shows there are more parking spaces than cars, which may indicate there are even fewer trips per day from the development than originally expected - The new stop sign at Elm street may not be a sufficient traffic control measure. - The road to 119th has not been extended.
Design & Quality	Residents worried the development would not match the neighborhood in density, street pattern, or architectural design	- Even residents who wished the design had been different said it was a nicely designed development, even "beautiful". - Some are unhappy with the density and the discontinuous street layout, which is disrupted by the parking lot for the senior housing	- The development does standout from the rest of the neighborhood because of the height and uniform design. - Neighborhood streets extend through the development, but the parking lot and service drives disrupt the grid. This makes the development feel like a separate complex rather than an extension of the neighborhood

Broadway East and Broadway West

Introduction

The Broadway developments (East and West) are two affordable housing developments managed by Boulder Housing Partners located in North Boulder next to the North Boulder Recreation Center at 4400 N. Broadway. Broadway East was built in 1983 and Broadway West was completed in 2010. The Broadway West building is three stories with a 10-foot setback from Broadway Avenue. Broadway East sits on the same parcel but lies east of the Broadway West development and borders the south side of the North Boulder Recreation Center. Although they were built almost 30 years apart, the East and West Broadway buildings share similar color and style because the Broadway East buildings were renovated when Broadway West was built. The two developments share parking and community areas.

Project Overview

Broadway East

The Broadway East development was built in 1983 after receiving a planned unit development (PUD) approval in 1981. The complex of two- and three-story buildings has 44 two- and three-bedroom apartments. Families must apply and qualify for a unit based on income-eligible restrictions. They may use Housing Choice Vouchers toward their rent.

The Broadway East buildings were the first buildings on site until a PUD amendment was approved that allowed the construction of the BHP offices on the site. These offices were demolished to build Broadway West in 2010.

Broadway West

Broadway West is a three-story, 26-unit apartment building completed in 2010. BHP subdivided the lot from the larger parcel that contains Broadway East and the authority's former offices. The parcel was divided into two lots to meet density requirements. Both lots are zoned high-density residential, which was established before the planning for the project began.

According to their records, BHP held several meetings to involve the community and other stakeholders in the development of Broadway West. The first meeting, on February 12, 2004, was to inform and gather feedback and concerns from the Broadway East residents. In the second meeting, on May 26, 2004, BHP presented schematic designs for feedback and comments. In the third meeting, on June 9, 2004, BHP presented the schematic designs to the neighborhood and general public at the North Boulder Recreation Center. Invitations to the meeting were distributed in the form of postcards. BHP also created a website to continuously inform the public on project updates. The fourth meeting was more than two years later, on January 4, 2007. The neighborhood was invited to review revised building designs.

In the spring that year, on May 17, 2007, the City of Boulder's Planning Board reviewed the site plans and heard public comments. Notice of the hearing was sent to all surrounding addresses, per the city ordinance. The community's main concerns related to building height, residential density, and parking. In response, BHP commissioned a parking study, and a parking management plan was developed in 2008 to accompany the development agreement. The parking plan addressed the parking concerns voiced by both nearby residents and users of the North Boulder Recreation Center, which shares the parking lot with the Broadway developments. Specifically, parking was clustered on site to maintain open space. Additionally, BHP committed to transportation demand management strategies, including issuance of discounted Eco Passes to the residents for bus transit, enhancement of the nearby bus stop, and the

addition of more secure and covered bike racks. Parking for Broadway East residents is in marked resident parking spaces in a surface lot, and Broadway West residents park in the underground parking garage below the building. Soon after this hearing and the revised development agreement, the City approved the site plan.

Neighborhood Context

The surrounding neighborhood contains a mix of uses, mostly residential and business, and includes a range of housing types, including apartments, condominiums, and variously-sized single family homes. The parcel that contains Broadway East and Broadway West is zoned high-density residential (HZ-E).

Figure 21. Broadway East before the 2010 construction of Broadway West and renovation of Broadway East (left). Both buildings after 2010, including new solar panels, mature landscaping, and shared parking with the Boulder Recreation Center (right).

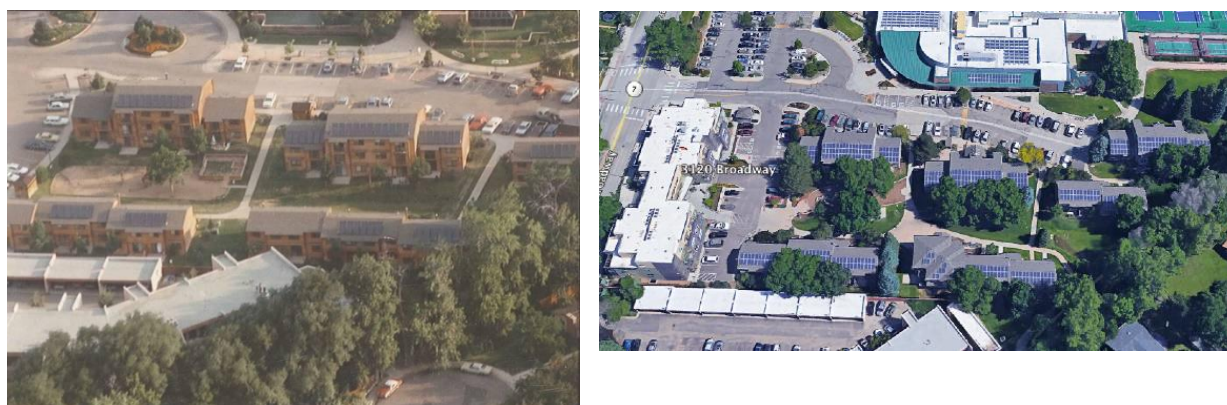


Table 20. Residential Property Types within a Quarter-Mile of Broadway East and West (2015)

2015 Property Type	No. Parcels	Avg. Square Feet	Avg. Year Built	Avg. Land Value	Avg. Improvement Value	Avg. Total Value
Condominiums	64	733	1970	\$0	\$257,891	\$257,891
Duplex/Triplex	8	1,857	1934	\$416,688	\$268,088	\$684,775
Multi-Unit (4-8)	3	3,682	1935	\$347,333	\$1,160,167	\$1,507,500
Multi-Unit (9+)	2	10,994	1958	\$618,500	\$1,499,000	\$2,117,500
Single Family	477	1,786	1954	\$480,084	\$328,422	\$808,505
Weighted Average Values	554	1,709	1956	\$423,488	\$328,132	\$751,621

Source: Boulder County Assessor parcel database, 2015 assessment year.

Post-Development Evaluation

The following evaluation of the Broadway East and West development draws from the data we collected from six sources: the U.S. Census, neighboring resident feedback from phone interviews, an interview with the property manager, on-site observations and evaluation, police dispatch call data from 2014-2016, and property assessor's data for 2006-2015.

Change in Population & Housing Characteristics

Since 2000, prior to the development of Broadway West, the population characteristics of the neighborhood have changed (Table 21). From 2000 to 2015, population increased by 5%, but population density decreased by 21%. The age distribution is also shifting. The number of persons 65 years and over increased by 86% and now comprise 17% of the neighborhood's population. Working-age residents (ages 17-64), while still the majority, have decreased from 68% to 60% of the neighborhood's population. The proportion of non-family households decreased by more than 5% and the number of married households without children increased by 9%. The white population increased by 3%, to 96%. Asian/Pacific Islander residents have grown to about 3% of the population, but the percent of Hispanic residents dropped from 6% to 1%. The number of residents over 25 years old with a Bachelor's degrees or higher increased to 83% of that population group. Median household income rose 37%. At the same time, the percent of the neighborhood's population in poverty increased by 5%, to 9%. This may be due in part to the 8% increase in the 65 and over age group, and possibly from families with children from 5 to 17 years.

Table 21. Population Change in the Broadway Neighborhood (2000 – 2015)

Broadway Neighborhood	2000		2010		2015*		Change (2000 – 2015)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	3,975		4,474		4,185		210	5%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	5,199		4,401		4,117		-1,082	-21%
Age								
Under 5 Years	270	7%	293	7%	234	6%	-36	-13%
5 to 17 Years	608	15%	826	18%	740	18%	132	22%
17-64	2,722	68%	2,930	65%	2,512	60%	-210	-8%
65+	375	9%	425	9%	699	17%	324	86%
Race and Ethnicity								
White Alone	3,688	93%	4,126	92%	4,034	96.4%	346	4%
Black or African American Alone	27	1%	19	0%	0	0.0%	-27	-1%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	17	0%	11	0%	0	0.0%	-17	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	56	2%	92	2%	136	3.3%	80	2%
Other Race Alone	104	3%	137	3%	4	0.1%	-100	-3%
Two or More Races	83	2%	89	2%	11	0.3%	-72	-2%
Hispanic	220	6%	376	8%	51	1.2%	-169	-5%
Households by Household Type								
Households	1,673		1,789		1,768		95	6%
Family Households:	979	59%	1,125	63%	1,119	63.3%	140	5%
Married-couple Family	797	48%	959	54%	993	56.2%	196	9%
Other Family	182	11%	166	9%	126	7.1%	-56	-4%
With persons < 18 years	510	30%	603	34%	574	32.5%	64	3%
Nonfamily Households	694	42%	664	37%	649	36.7%	-45	-5%
Education Attainment: persons 25 years & over								
Bachelor's Degree or Higher**	2,024	73%	2,218	72%	2,410	83.0%	386	10%
Household Income								
Median Household Income*	\$66,250		\$70,739		\$91,091		\$24,841	37%
Ratio of Income in to Poverty Level*								
Persons for whom poverty is determined:	3,839		4,084		4,169		330	9%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	154	4%	350	9%	377	9.0%	223	5%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	271	7%	429	11%	338	8.1%	67	1%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	3,414	89%	3,305	81%	3,454	83%	40	-6%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE). 2015 data ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Housing in the surrounding neighborhood has changed very little since 2000, especially compared to change in other Boulder neighborhoods (Table 22). The total number of housing units increased by 9%. The majority remain owner-occupied, increasing from 70% to 74%, and 84% are single-family detached units. There are 3% fewer units in mid-size multi-family structures (2-9 units), and 3% more in large (10+ unit) multi-family buildings.

Like much of Boulder, home values in the surrounding neighborhood increased dramatically, gaining 61% over the past 15 years. However, median gross rents increased less than 4%.

Table 22. Housing Stock Changes in the Broadway East and West Neighborhood (2000 – 2015)

	2000		2010 (2011-2013*)		2015		Broadway Change (2000-2015)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	1,705		1,862		1,863		158	9%
Occupied Housing Units	1,673	98.1%	1,789	96.1%	1,768	94.9%	95	-3%
Owner Occupied	1,174	70.2%	1,268	70.9%	1,312	74.2%	138	4%
Renter Occupied	499	29.8%	521	29.1%	456	25.8%	-43	-4%
Vacant	32	1.9%	67	3.6%	95	5.1%	63	3%
Housing Units in Structure*								
1 Unit	1,409	84.2%	1,601	86.6%	1,577	84.7%	168	1%
1, detached	1,370	81.8%	1,514	81.3%	1,516	81.4%	146	0%
1, attached	39	2.3%	87	4.7%	61	3.3%	22	1%
2-9 Units	84	5.0%	92	4.9%	45	3%	-39	-3%
10 or More Units	163	9.8%	169	9.1%	241	13%	78	3%
Mobile home, trailer, other	18	1.1%	0	0.0%	0	0%	-18	-1%
Home Values								
Median Value for Owned-Units*	\$455,655		\$673,832		\$732,336		\$276,681	61%
Median Gross Rent*	\$1,300		\$1,175		\$1,349		\$49	4%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE). 2015 data ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Site Evaluations

Table 23 summarizes the site observations for the individual categories from five visits. The total percentages for the Broadway development from 3.3 to 3.6. These can be considered generally good scores, but there are four specific categories that received scores below 3 where there may be room for improvement: Noise, Trash (litter), Trash (dumpster), Landscaping, Fencing, & Trees, and Playground, Condition & Use.

Table 23. Summary of Site Observations for Broadway East and West

	West	East/West	East/West	East/West	East/West	
	11-Jul 1:30- 1:50pm	16-Jul 12:30- 12:50pm	22-Jul 3:15- 3:45pm	30-Jul 8:00- 8:20pm	21-Aug 1:55-2:15	Total
	Monday	Sunday	Wednesday	Saturday	Sunday	Average
Impact on Neighborhood						
Noise	3	4	3	3	2	3
Trash: Litter	3	2	3	3	2	2.6
Trash: Dumpster	2	3	3	3	4	3
Graffiti	4	4	4	3	4	3.8
Number of People on Property	[3]	[7]	[9]	[21]	[12]	
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4	4
Parking	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pets	4	4	4	4	4	4
Traffic in/out of Development	3	4	4	3	3	3.4
Storm Water Runoff	4	3	4	4	4	3.8
Environmental Encroachment	4	4	4	4	3	3.8
Open Space Access & Views	3	3	3	3	3	3
Design Fit with existing neighborhood	4	4	4	4	4	4
Context Fit with existing neighborhood	4	4	4	4	4	4
Development Quality & Location						
Building Condition: Aesthetics	4	2	3	3	3	3
Building Condition: Safety	4	3	3	3	4	3.4
Landscaping, Fencing, & Trees	3	2	3	2	2	2.4
Playground Condition & Use	2	2	3	2	3	2.4
Access & Mobility	4	4	4	4	4	4
Total Score (points)	3.5	3.3	3.6	3.3	3.4	3.4

Trash- Litter and Dumpster Area

On the first three site visits to Broadway East and Broadway West, there was a moderate trash problem, both as litter scattered throughout sites and around the dumpster area (Figure 22). On the first visit to Broadway West, there was a large amount of litter in the playground area, and there was some trash around the sides of Broadway West near the bus stop and dumpster area. During the July 22 site visit to Broadway, it was observed that much of the trash near the dumpsters had been cleaned up. On the last visit to Broadway East, the development scored 4 in this category.

Figure 22. Litter on the grounds and trash outside the receptacles



Landscaping, Fencing and Trees

An area of inconsistency was landscaping. The front of the Broadway West development was very well landscaped as shown in Figure 23, however, on the north side of the building there were some dead plants and areas that needed new mulch. The shared common area also needs additional upkeep (Figure 24).

Figure 23. Front entrance to Broadway West



Figure 24. Overflowing trash receptacle, minor litter, and worn landscaping



Building Condition and Appearance

The buildings of both developments are generally in good condition. They fit with the existing neighborhood context, and they appear to be safe. However, some metal elements such as railings and staircases need paint to prevent further rusting and peeling (Figure 25). The property manager noted that they are working on repairing the stairs, which had gotten “rundown and rusted.”

Figure 25. Metal elements in need of repair



Storage

The City staff received a complaint from a biker that nearly injured himself due to toys being left in the bike path that runs behind the Broadway East development. During the site observations, there were unattended toys around various parts of the property. Storage space for outdoor items may be an issue for some of the units (Figure 26).

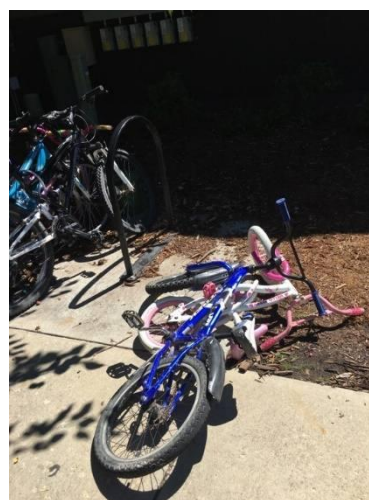
Figure 26. View of outside storage from bike path



Bicycles

While the presence of bicycles at a housing development is a positive sign of an active population, the improper storage or lack of adequate storage facilities for bikes at Broadway East and West may create a sense of disorder. There are a number of bike racks located on the Broadway East and West premises and most of them are very full. Bikes were also chained to other structures and some were laying on the ground (Figure 27).

Figure 27. Bikes locked and unlocked in designated and undesignated areas



Parking

Parking problems at Broadway East and West were not apparent during our site observations, however the property manager explained that the parking there is “actually a mess.” First, although there is underground parking at Broadway West, it is underused, with only five or six of the 20 available spaces

regularly filled. Instead, residents are parking in the surface spaces, which are intended for visitors. Additionally, the site shares parking with the Boulder Rec Center, which puts additional pressure on the spaces intended for Broadway residents. A further complication is that Broadway East and West used to be separately managed, with separate parking. Although they have been jointly managed for several years, Broadway East residents still have a perception that Broadway West tenants are taking “their” spaces. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that although each unit is allowed one car, because these are family properties, as the children become teenagers, often the household gets another car that goes unreported to the management.

While the property manager has not yet received complaints from neighborhood residents, he is aware that these parking issues are spilling over into the surrounding neighborhood with tenants parking on the street. Additionally, when rec center users and tenants have difficulty finding parking spaces, it leads to slow movement of traffic into the parking lots, which has contributed to traffic congestion on Broadway. The property management is continuing to work on finding solutions to the parking issues.

Crime Data

Police and Fire Department Activity at the Broadway East and West Developments

The following table is raw data from the Boulder Police Department’s record of calls to the 911 center from the addresses at Broadway East and West. They are not from neighboring properties. They also are not records of crime. While the calls generally necessitate the dispatch of a police officer to the address, they do not equate to a recorded crime.

Table 24. Number of Dispatch Calls by Type and Incident for Broadway East and West (2014 – 2016)

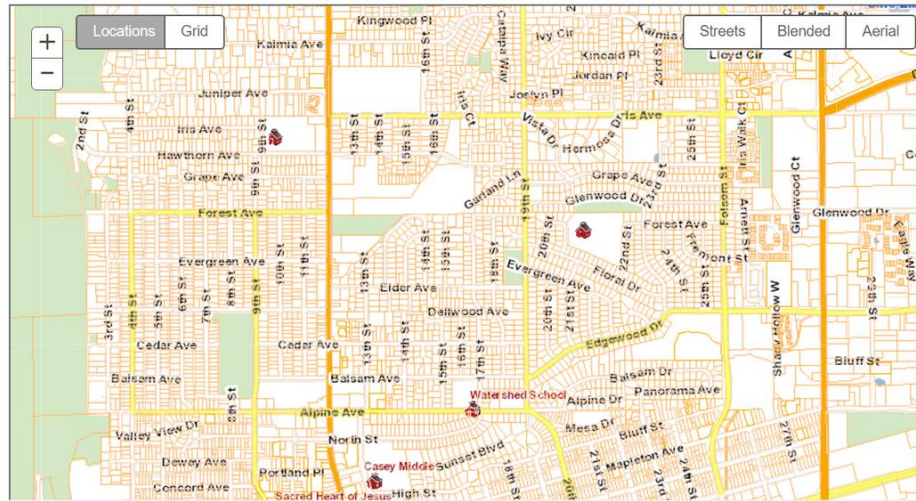
Broadway East and West	2014	2015	2016	Total
Admin/ other	11	3	3	17
Assist calls	0	6	6	12
Crime- person	4	8	7	19
Crime- property	9	10	6	25
Drunk person	0	0	0	0
FIRE-RELATED (non-medical)	4	2	0	6
Medical	10	6	6	22
Missing person/ runaway	3	2	1	6
Nuisance- animal	4	5	0	9
Nuisance- disturbance	4	3	3	10
Nuisance- loitering	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- noise	5	5	4	14
Nuisance- vehicle	1	1	2	4
Welfare check	0	0	1	1
TOTAL EVENTS	55	51	39	145

The largest category of calls, crime-property, were reports of burglary or theft. The property manager noted that bicycle theft is indeed common at the Broadway developments, but that there have been no actual incidents of units being broken into. Several of the calls relating to disturbance or noise came from same unit. This observation was echoed by the Property Manager, who reported that three residents account for nearly all complaint calls at the property.

Recorded Crimes within a mile of Broadway East and West

The map below (Figure 28) indicates there were no documented crimes in the area around the Broadway developments between 2014 and 2016. As noted above, neighboring residents report that their neighborhood feels safe.

Figure 28. Crime map of the Broadway area (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Sheriff Crime Viewer, <http://webpubapps.bouldercounty.org/sheriff/crime/>

Property Values

The property values in this area increased significantly more than the rest of Boulder, in terms of both assessed value per square foot and total assessed value of the land and property (Table 25). The median increase in the value per square foot was 53% for this neighborhood and 48% for the rest of Boulder. The median increase in total property value was 48%, compared to 36% in the rest of the city.

Figure 29. Residential parcels included in analysis of property values

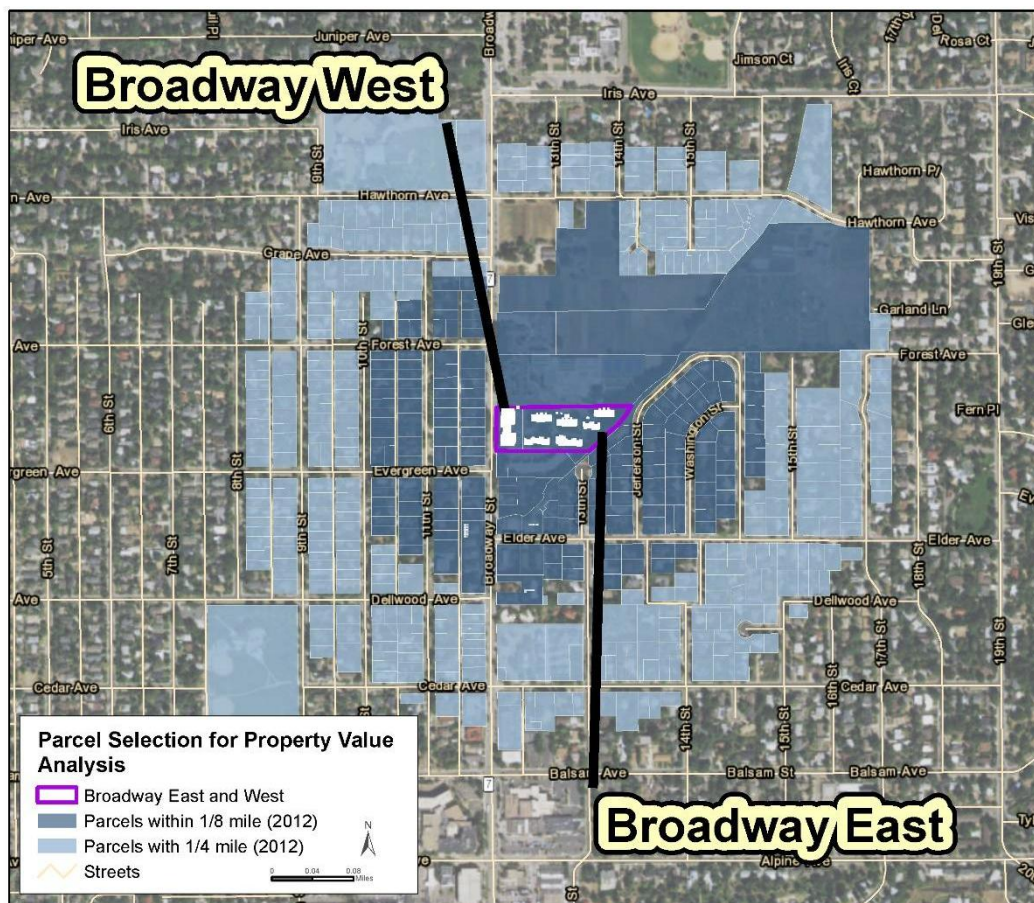


Table 25. Change in Property Values within a Quarter-Mile of Broadway East and West in Comparison to All Other Properties in Boulder (Excluding the Five Case Study Sites) (2006 – 2015)

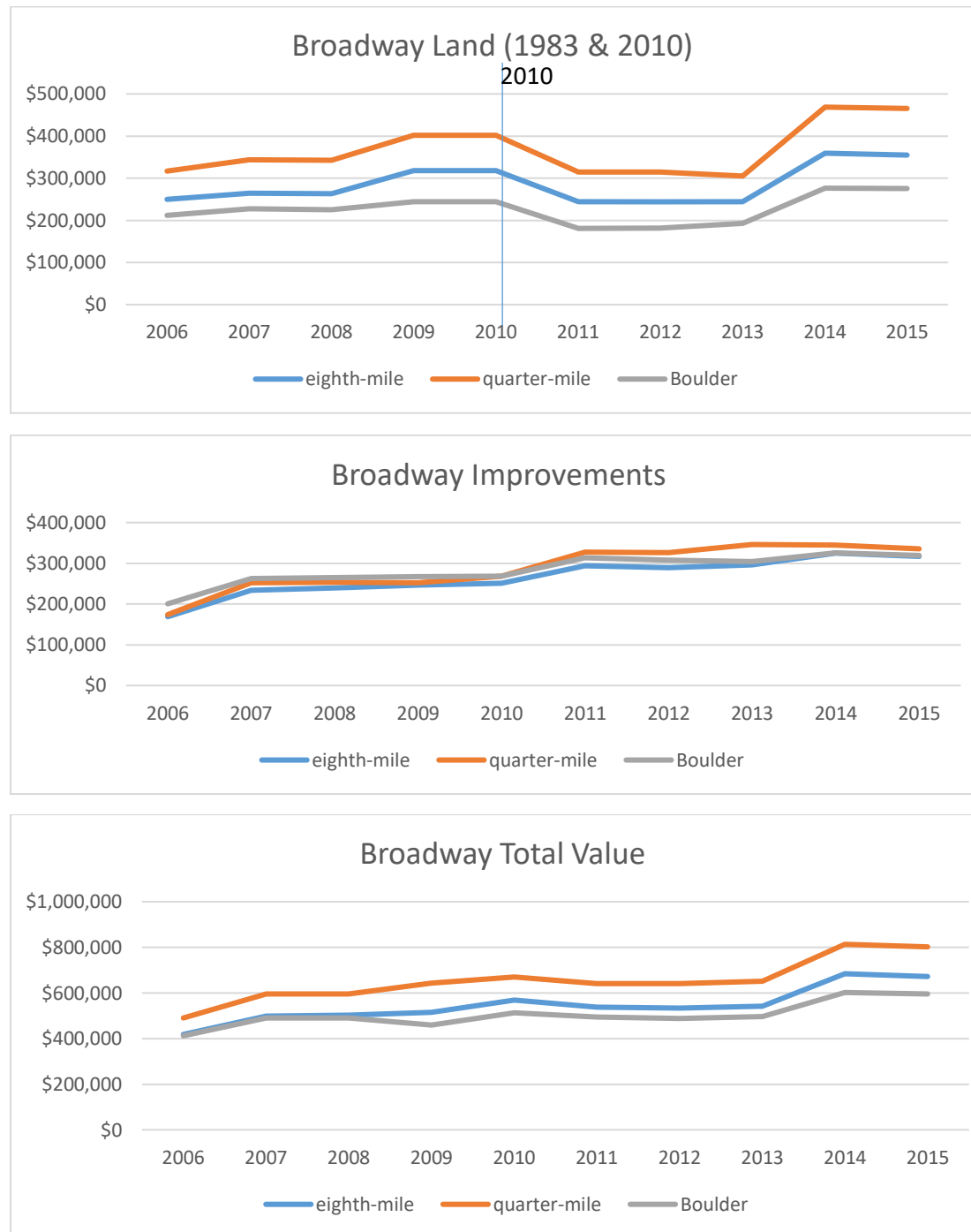
Test Statistics	N	Median Value per Square Foot				Total Value (Land + Improvements)	
		2006	2015	Change 2007-2015	Percent Change	Percent Increase	Percent Change in Total Value per Square Foot
Mann-Whitney U (score)				26,160,042	25,479,136	24,064,173	23,837,459
Median Value: within ¼ mile of Aspinwall & Josephine Commons	553	\$270	\$444	\$157**	53%**	48%**	0.03%**
Median Value: all other residential properties in Lafayette	25,135	\$220	\$356	\$117**	48%**	36%**	0.02%**

Asymp. Significance (2-tailed): *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

The following series of charts (Figure 30) show that the average land values and land plus improvements values for the properties around Broadway East and West have been higher than the average for all residential values in Boulder. The improvement values for the properties closest to Broadway East and West have been closer to the average value of all residential properties in Boulder; they were just below

the Boulder values from 2006 to 2010 until the improvement values of the properties within the quarter-mile ring rose above the average Boulder values. By 2014, the properties within an eighth-mile were about the same as the average for Boulder. Anecdotally, this trend matches the development activity we heard about from one of the interviewees; several homes have been torn down and replaced with much larger and higher value homes.

Figure 30. Trends in land, improvement, and total residential parcel values with an eighth-mile and quarter-mile of Broadway East and West compared to the rest of Boulder (2006-2015)



Neighbor Feedback

Four interviews were conducted with neighbors of the Broadway developments.

Planning, process, communication

All of the interviewees felt that the Broadway development had “just always been there,” and had not been involved in or aware of the development process of the Broadway buildings.

Design quality & management

Neighbors appreciated the updating of the Broadway property, noting that “it has changed for the better since they redid it,” “they are actually pretty nice inside,” and that previously “it was quite a bit dumpier.”

However, two of the interviewed neighbors asserted that there was a lot of trash around the Broadway complex, noting “That’s one thing I dislike for sure—that everyone in there just throws their trash all over the place. Chicken bones and corn cobs and Doritos bags and soda bottles and that sort of stuff.” Yet, one respondent specifically reported, “The place seems to be very neat and clean, I don’t see to be a lot of garbage lying around it seems to be pretty well cared for.”

Crime

Neighbors reported differing views on the issue of crime in relation to the Broadway developments. One noted that although he does not share it, he has heard the sentiment that “‘oh those are the Mexicans on the other side of the bridge’.... I’ve heard some neighbors say ‘Oh, those are the guys that steal your car.’ I would say that’s the minority but I’ve definitely heard that.”

Another neighbor related that the residents of the complex have actually actively contributed to ensuring that the neighborhood is secure, reportedly because “they were accused of some break-ins about 20 years ago—they didn’t do it but they said ‘alright we’re going to take care of this problem and they did.’ Specifically, “they have taken on the management of security around here—no one locks their house, no one locks their cars—these kids take care of it.”

Neighborhood change

Neighbors interviewed reported that Boulder and their neighborhood have changed significantly over the past several years, but none point to the Broadway complex as being a driver of that change. Traffic congestion, intensive development, and general overcrowding were the key issues. One respondent stated, “My opinion is that Boulder as a city is growing too fast in the wrong direction.”

Impact/experience: units & people

Although a couple of interviewees commented on the presence of trash in the complex, commenting “there’s generally a lot of litter outside in the common area,” the neighbors also reported that it hasn’t “spilled over into the neighborhood at large.”

The neighbors interviewed shared the view that the residents of the Broadway apartments are predominantly Latino. While one asserted that “There’s not a lot of socializing between the two sides of the bridge,” All of the neighbors reported positive interactions with the residents:

My experience is that the kids coming out of there are generally really nice and helpful. I’ve used them as baby-sitters and for jobs around the house. My experience has been all positive—really nice folks.

My experience with the people that live in the East development has been very positive. I don’t speak Spanish very well at all and many of the adults do not speak

English, but the kids do, so the kids do a lot of translating between us.... I've had no problems with them. I find the people who live in there for the most part to be respectful.

We do have a low-income, mostly Hispanic I think, development a block from us and they're great.

I've dealt with the people there when I walk my dog. They're mostly Hispanic mothers who are walking to meet their kids at school. They're very nice and very respectful and I've enjoyed being able to talk to them and learn Spanish from them.

Support for affordable housing

The neighbors interviewed are generally supportive of affordable housing, and having it in their neighborhood. In the words of one respondent, "I think probably most people are proud to have a low-income population in the midst of yuppie North Boulder. It makes people feel a little less snooty." The same respondent noted, "I imagine that it's a really great place to live if you're a low-income family. It can do a lot of good things for kids—puts them in a nice part of town, good schools...."

However, one respondent, who had waited several years until she could afford to move to Boulder seemed to feel some resentment about subsidizing housing costs for others: "I didn't say, 'O gosh I'm going to go live in Boulder, I'm going to apply for low-income housing, or I'm going to expect the city of Boulder to subsidize my living there.' Maybe that's the way I was brought up or whatever but I would never expect someone to subsidize me living in place that I couldn't afford to live."

That respondent was especially challenged by the significant presence of homeless individuals who camp out in nearby open space. "They're here because it's a nice place to be, and somehow, everybody looks the other way. Nobody says hey this isn't ok, you can't camp out here, you can't drag a sofa along the side of the ditch and sleep here and leave all of your shit."

Another respondent was unhappy with the "Soviet-style houses" at 30th and Pearl.

Broadway East and Broadway West Evaluation Summary

Table 26. Broadway Case Summary

Typical Topics of Concern	Stated Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Property Values			- Property values in this area increased significantly more than the rest of Boulder
Crime		- No concerns of crime from interviews. One even noted that tenants have actively contributed to making the neighborhood safer.	- Bicycle thefts are relatively frequent. - The Sheriff's crime map does not show any recorded crimes in the area for the last two years.
Physical Impacts (noise, trash, graffiti, water-related)		- Trash and litter observed on the site by researchers and neighbors, but no spillover into neighborhood	- Presence of trash and litter has been reduced with new property management
Vehicular Impacts (parking, traffic)	Parking	- No complaints have been made to the property management	- There is unused parking on site - On-site parking problems will impact neighbors unless issues resolved

Typical Topics of Concern	Stated Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Design and Quality	Height, density, building massing	- 2010 updates are attractive	- High-density low-rise units appropriate for arterial street; fit with mixed character of neighborhood - Complex is attractive and good quality - Some landscaping and exterior repairs needed - Bicycles and toys scattered around site
Neighborhood Character / Change		- Broadway East and West residents are predominantly Hispanic - Neighborhood and Boulder overall are growing and changing quickly	- Hispanic population in neighborhood has declined significantly. Data is not available for the residents - More non-family and senior households in neighborhood - More neighborhood residents with bachelor's degrees - Population density has increased

Foothills Community

Introduction

The Foothills Community is located in northwest Boulder, just west of Broadway and north of Wonderland Lake Road. The development borders the Foothills Community Garden and Foothills Community Park. The 65-acre park offers a variety of recreational opportunities to all nearby residents, including a dog park, playing fields, several playgrounds, and park facilities. The development is surrounded by several established residential neighborhoods, including a mobile home park to the east. A Waldorf private elementary school borders the southern boundary. The neighborhood also has access to walking, biking and hiking paths. A bus stop providing connections to Denver and downtown Boulder is a few blocks away.

The total development cost of the Foothills Community was \$12,000,000 and includes 74 units, of which 52 are permanently affordable and 22 are rented at market rate. The design is neo-traditional/new urbanist with front porches, rear parking, and a variety of unit types, including duplexes, fourplexes, townhouses, and carriage houses. The 13.3-acre site was purchased in 1985 and land-banked until 1999 when Boulder Housing Partners received several affordable housing financing sources, including Low Income Housing Tax Credits, CHAP, CDBG, HOME, and City funds. Since the property is not located in a Qualified Census Tract or a Difficult Development Area, it did not qualify for additional tax credit funding. The development also includes an eight-person group home for people with developmental disabilities.

Figure 31. Aerial view of the Foothills Community



Figure 32. Townhomes in the Foothills Community Development



Project Overview

The Foothills Community underwent a rigorous development review process. The two major concerns were the floodplain and infringement upon the adjacent open space park buffer. BHP addressed these concerns through an extensive engineering analysis and a multi-year public engagement process. The overall concepts for the project were developed as part of a community-wide dialogue and were incorporated into the North Boulder Subcommunity Plan adopted in 1995 and amended in 1996 and 1997. Diversity, inclusiveness, and affordable housing were key themes in the Plan. By the time the project reached the development phase, there were fewer complaints about the project. The complaints that were recorded included feeling “misled” about the breadth of the project and the amount of construction noise, dust, landscaping and erosion the existing neighborhood would have to endure during the construction period. According to memos, BHP addressed these complaints directly through phone contact and conversations with the complainants.

Figure 33. Aerial image showing the area prior to development in 1999



Neighborhood Context

The Foothills Community was built upon one half of a 13.3-acre empty parcel immediately adjacent to Boulder Open Space. Only half of the site is developed in order to accommodate any future overflows from the contiguous Fourmile Canyon Creek. The parcel is zoned Residential-Medium 1 (RM-1).

Table 27. Residential Property Types within a Quarter-Mile of the Foothills Development (2015)

2015 Property Type	No. Parcels	Avg. Square Feet	Avg. Year Built	Avg. Land Value	Avg. Improvement Value	Avg. Total Value
Condominiums	45	1,281	2001	\$0	\$406,124	\$406,124
Duplex/Triplex						
Multi-Unit (4-8)						
Multi-Unit (9+)	1	15,420	2003	\$2,604,800	\$2,744,600	\$5,349,400
Single Family	96	2,220	1985	\$507,344	\$352,339	\$859,682
Weighted Average Values	142	2,015	1990	\$361,337	\$386,230	\$747,567

Source: Boulder County Assessor parcel database, 2015 assessment year.

Post-Development Evaluation

The following evaluation of the Foothills Community development draws from the data we collected from seven sources: the U.S. Census, neighboring resident feedback from phone interviews, an interview with the property manager, the 10 tenant surveys we received, on-site observations and evaluation, police dispatch call data from 2014-2016, and property assessor's data for 2006-2015.

Neighborhood Context: Change in Population & Housing Characteristics

Census data indicates that the total number of households in the area has increased by 20% since 2000, which is substantially greater than Boulder's overall increase of 6.5%. The total population of the neighborhood, however, has only increased by 8% during this time, which reflects a shift in household composition. Seniors are the only age group that has expanded; the proportion of family households of all types has fallen by 14%, and households with children under 18 have decreased by 9% (Table 28).

The race and ethnicity shifts in the Foothills Community neighborhood have been significant in the past 15 years. In 2000, the area was 88% white and 12% Hispanic. By 2015, both of these percentages had grown, to 95% and 21%, respectively. The overall Hispanic population in Boulder is only 8.6%, and the city is 88.5% white.

Another notable trend is that the number of neighborhood residents with a Bachelor's degree increased by 28% since 2000, significantly more than the 5.5% increase in Boulder overall. With 68.7% of its residents with Bachelor's degrees or greater, the Foothills Community neighborhood now lags only slightly behind in this well-educated city where 72.3% of the population has at least a college degree. The median household income in the area has increased by 34% since 2000, up to \$93,438, which is much higher than Boulder's overall median of \$58,484 in 2015. Additionally, the proportion of neighborhood residents living in poverty is less than one in ten, which is a fraction of the city's overall rate of poverty (23.1% in 2015).

The overall number of housing units in the area has increased by 45% since 2000, which is approximately the time that Foothills Community opened (see Table 29). During the same time, housing units in Boulder increased by 20%. There are 11% more renters in the neighborhood today than in 2000. Similarly, there are 9% fewer single-family detached homes while the number of apartment buildings with 2-9 units has grown by 11%, and the number of buildings with 10 or more units has increased by 6%. The number of mobile homes has fallen by 14% during this period.

The median home values of the neighborhood's owner-occupied units have increased by 90% since 2000, and rents have increased by 38%. However, these increases are substantially smaller than in Boulder overall, where median values increased 163% between 2000 and 2010, and rents increased by 135%.

Table 28. Change in Demographics near Foothills Community (2000 – 2015)

Population Statistics	2000		2010		2015		Change 2000-2015	
	N	%	N	%			N	%
Total Population	6,340		6,725		6,832		492	8%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	3,268		4,724		3,822		554	17%
Age								
Under 5 Years	382	6.0%	473	7%	418	6.1%	36	0%
5 to 17 Years	1,394	22.0%	1,323	20%	1,437	21%	43	-1%
17-64	4,253	67.1%	4,488	67%	4,190	61%	-63	-6%
65+	316	5.0%	445	7%	787	12%	471	7%
Race								
White	5,580	88.0%	5,481	82%	6,467	94.7%	887	7%
Black or African American Alone	49	0.8%	56	1%	16	0.2%	-33	-1%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	30	0.5%	28	0%	11	0.2%	-19	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	139	2.2%	302	4%	224	3.5%	85	1%
Other Race Alone	377	6.0%	674	10%	8	0.1%	-369	-6%
Two or More Races	170	2.7%	188	3%	106	1.6%	-64	-1%
Hispanic	788	12.4%	1,353	20%	1,444	21.1%	656	9%
Households by Household Type								
Households	2,371		2,606		2,849		478	20%
Family Households:	1,603	67.6%	1,651	63%	1,534	53.8%	-69	-14%
Married-couple Family	1,256	53.0%	1,279	49%	1,281	45.0%	25	-8%
Other Family	347	14.6%	373	14%	253	8.9%	-94	-6%
with persons < 18 years	982	41.4%	985	38%	937	32.9%	-45	-9%
Nonfamily Households	774	32.6%	960	37%	1,315	46.2%	541	14%
Educational Attainment								
Persons 25 Years & Over with Bachelor's or Higher*	2,581	41%	2,866	43%	3,193	68.7%	612	28%
Household Income & Poverty Status								
Median Household Income	\$69,750		\$70,500		\$93,438		23,688	34%
Ratio of Income in to Poverty Level*								
Population for whom poverty status is determined:	6,376		6,677		6,822		446	
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	510	8.0%	704	11%	607	8.9%	97	1%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	853	13.4%	1,441	22%	1,253	18.4%	400	5%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	5,020	78.7%	4,538	68%	4,962	72.7%	-58	-6%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000); * data for 2010 (ACS 2013 (5-Year Estimates) (SE); 2015 data (ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 29. Housing Stock Changes in the Foothills Neighborhood (2000 – 2015)

	2000		2010		2015		Foothills Change (2000-2015)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	2,041		2,834		2,960		919	45%
Occupied Housing Units	1,979	97%	2,606	92%	2,849	96.3%	870	-1%
Owner Occupied	1,714	84%	1,990	70%	2,158	75.8%	444	-8%
Renter Occupied	270	13%	621	22%	691	24.3%	421	11%
Vacant	62	3%	228	8%	111	3.8%	49	1%
Housing Units in Structure								
1 Unit	1,189	58.2%	1,671	60%	1,705	57.6%	516	-1%
1, detached	1,116	54.7%	1,372	49%	1,360	46.0%	244	-9%
1, attached	72	3.5%	300	11%	345	11.7%	273	8%
2-9 Units	87	4.3%	422	15%	459	15.5%	372	11%
10 or More Units	-	0.0%	108	4%	178	6.0%	178	6%
Mobile home, trailer, other	716	35.1%	580	21%	618	20.9%	(98)	-14%
Home Values								
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$352,600		\$646,000		\$670,500		\$317,900	90%
Median Gross Rent*	\$1,222		\$1,322		\$1,682		\$460	38%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE). 2015 data ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Site Evaluations & Comments

Table 30 is a summary of the site observations made at the Foothills Community in North Boulder. The development is in excellent condition and is well managed, receiving 100% scores in most categories. areas with room for improvement were in neighborhood fit, and access and mobility, which each received a score of 3.

Table 30. Foothills Community Site Observations

	7-Jul 12noon-12:30pm Thursday	27-Jul 10:30am-11:00am Wednesday	2-Aug 6:15pm-6:45pm Tuesday	13-Sep 8:00am-8:30am Tuesday	Total Average
Noise	4	4	4	4	4.0
Trash: Litter	4	4	4	4	4.0
Trash: Dumpster	4	4	4	4	4.0
Graffiti	4	4	4	4	4.0
Number of People on Property	[10]	[1]	[6]	[3]	n/a
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4.0
Parking	4	4	4	4	4.0
Pets	4	4	4	4	4.0
Traffic in/out of the Development	4	4	4	4	4.0
Storm Water Runoff	4	4	4	4	4.0
Environmental Encroachment	4	4	4	4	4.0
Open Space Access & Views	4	4	4	4	4.0
Fit with Existing Neighborhood	3	3	3	3	3.0
Context and Fit with Neighborhood	3	3	3	3	3.0
Development Quality & Location					
Building Condition: Aesthetics	4	4	4	4	4.0
Building Condition: Safety	4	4	4	4	4.0
Landscaping, Fencing, & Trees	4	4	4	4	4.0
Playground Condition & Use	4	4	4	4	4.0
Access & Mobility	3	3	3	3	3.0
Total Score (points)	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8

Context and Fit within the Neighborhood

The Foothills Community has a large open space park to the west and large single-family developments to the south and north. Immediately to the east is a relatively large mobile home park. The Foothills Community mostly consists of townhomes with front porches, rear parking and a loop access drive surrounding the units. The architecture and placement of the units offers a good compromise for incorporating the development into the existing neighborhood.

Figure 34. Foothills Community Park immediately adjacent to the Foothills Community Development



Figure 35. Homes in the Foothills Community Development



Access and Parking

The development is located approximately a quarter-mile from a major arterial roadway that provides direct public transportation into Boulder and metro Denver locations. However, there are no consistent sidewalks with which to access Broadway and the public transportation stops. The development has sidewalks allowing safe travel to adjacent parks, and there is exceptional access to bike trails and paths leading into the city of Boulder and to nearby open space. Several of the respondents to the tenant survey reported that the location of the development is excellent, and that the site is particularly beautiful.

Crime Data

Police and Fire Department Activity at the Foothills Community

The following table is raw data from the Boulder Police Department's record of calls to the 911 center from the addresses at the Foothills Community development. They are not from neighboring properties. They also are not records of crime. While the calls generally necessitate the dispatch of a police officer to the address, they do not equate to a recorded crime.

Table 31. Dispatch Calls by Type from the Foothills Community Development (2014 – 2016)

Foothills	2014	2015	2016	TOTAL #
Admin/ other	2	4	3	9
Assist calls	3	10	4	17
Crime- person	11	11	7	29
Crime- property	9	10	3	22
Drunk person	0	0	1	1
Fire Related (non-medical)	0	1	4	5
Medical	7	9	6	22
Missing person/ runaway	2	4	3	9
Nuisance- animal	4	4	11	19
Nuisance- disturbance	1	2	1	4
Nuisance-loitering	0	1	0	1
Nuisance- noise	3	4	2	9
Nuisance- vehicle	3	2	3	8
Welfare check	7	1	3	11
TOTAL EVENTS	52	63	51	166

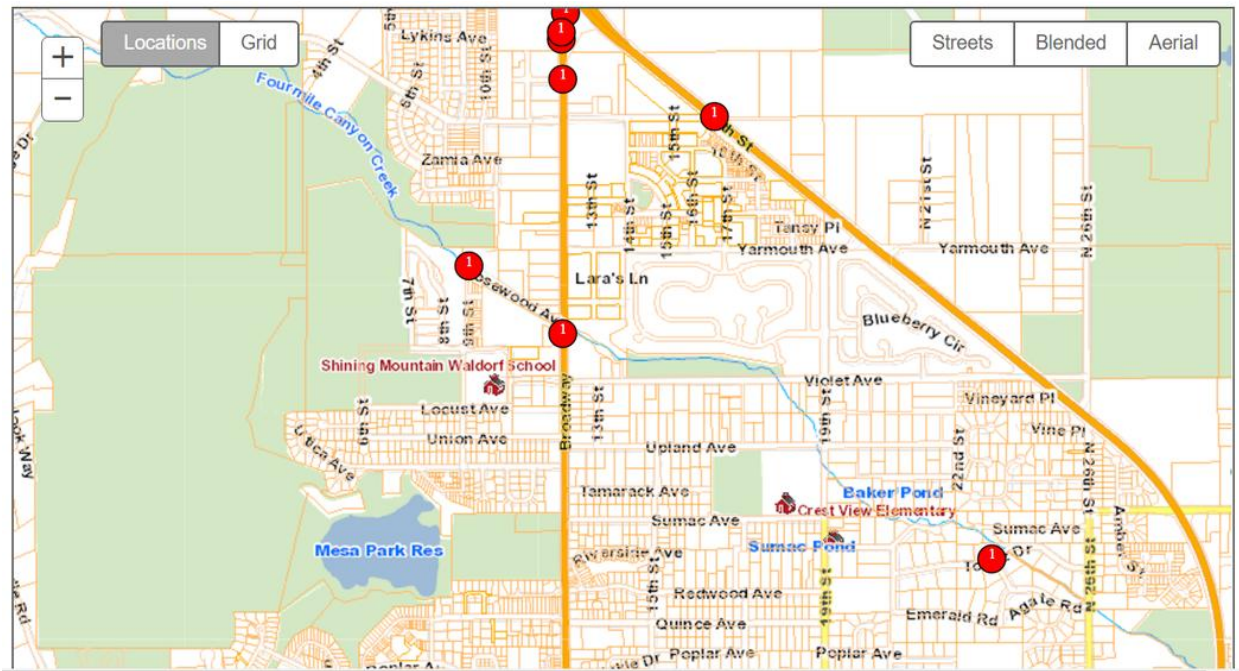
Several of the calls we categorized as “crime-person” were simply labeled “suspicious person.” The property-related calls were primarily related to suspicion of theft. There was a notable uptick in animal-related complaints in 2016, which are commonly in reference to a barking dog. Crime was not an issue reported by residents of the Foothills Community.

Recorded Crimes within a mile of Foothills Community

The map below (Figure 36) indicates that there were two documented crimes in the one-mile area around the Foothills Community between 2014 and 2016. The two crimes in the immediate area included a commercial burglary in the 900 block of Rosewood on July 5, 2014 and a residential burglary,

in the 4400 block of Broadway on April 14, 2015. These two crimes are both within a half mile of Foothills. There is no evidence they are associated with the Foothills Community.

Figure 36. Crime map of the one-mile area surrounding the Foothills Community (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Sherriff Crime Viewer, <http://webpubapps.bouldercounty.org/sheriff/crime/>

Property Values

We combined the property values analysis for the Lee Hill and Foothills Community properties due to the overlap in the quarter-mile radius surrounding the sites and the small number at each site within the eighth-mile ring. Based on the difference-in-difference statistical analysis comparing parcels within a quarter mile of the Lee Hill and Foothills developments to all other residential properties in Boulder (excluding the five BHP case sites), the median assessed value per square foot for residential properties near these two developments increased significantly more than the median value per square foot in the rest of the city (Table 32). Specifically, median per-square-foot property values increased \$157 for the properties surrounding Foothills, and \$117 for the rest of Boulder. Similarly, median total property value has increased more in this area than in the rest of Boulder—53% versus 48%. However, the difference was not statistically significant. There is no difference when the median total values are adjusted by the square footage of the property. This analysis shows the properties near Foothills have not been negatively affected, and may even have been positively affected by the development.

Figure 37. Residential parcels included in analysis of property values

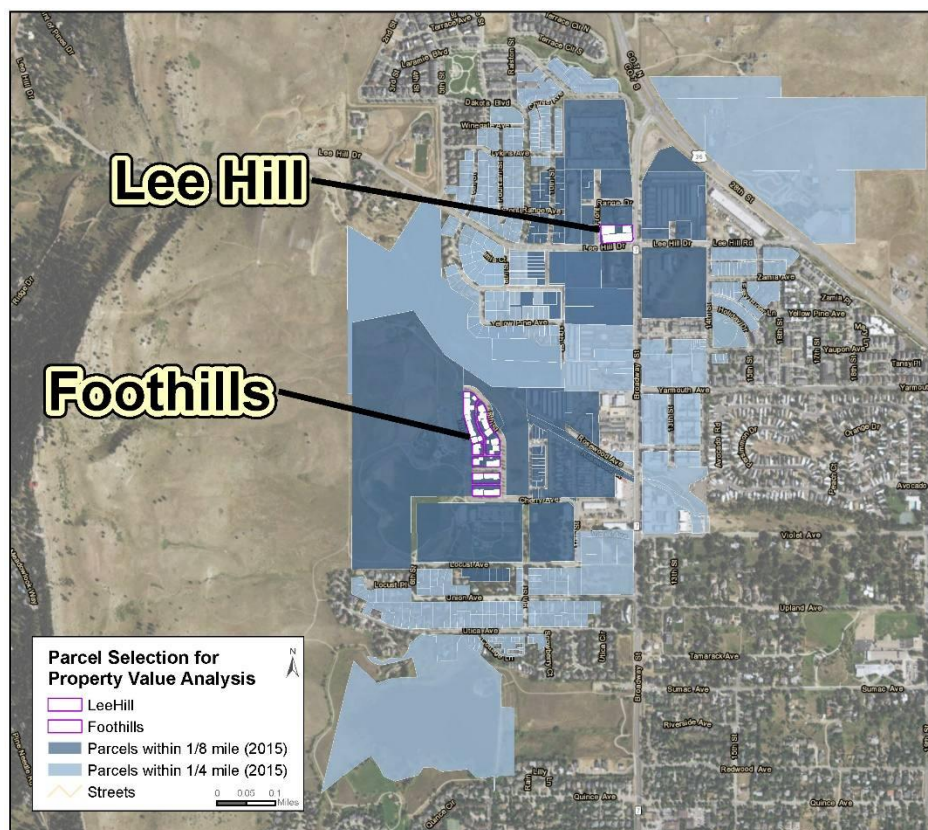


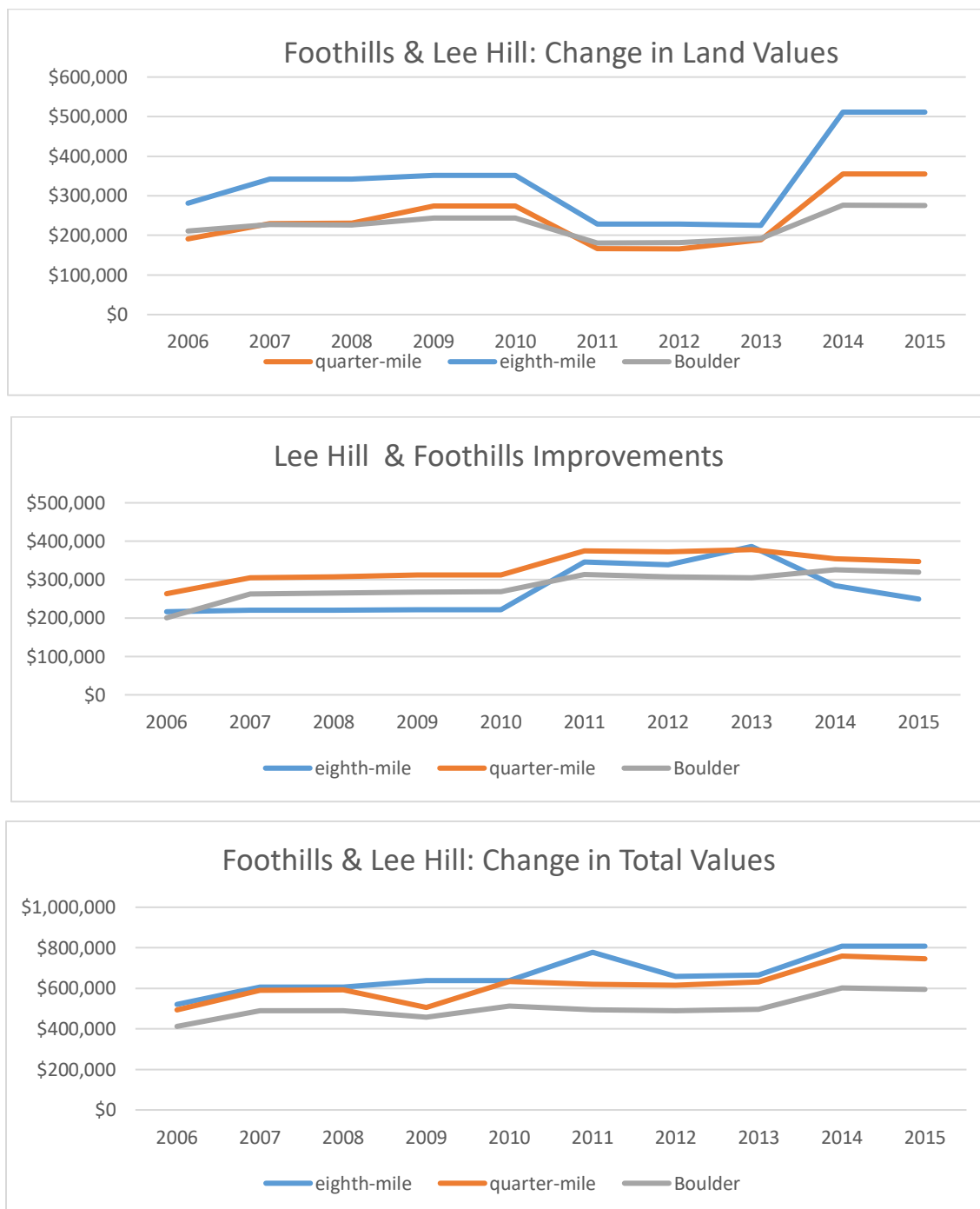
Table 32. Change in Property Values within a Quarter-Mile of Foothills and Lee Hill in Comparison to All Other Properties in Boulder (Excluding the Five Case Study Sites) (2006 – 2015)

Test Statistics	N	Median Value per Square Foot				Total Value (Land + Improvements)	
		2006	2015	Change 2007-2015	Percent Change	Percent Increase	Percent Change in Total Value per Square Foot
Mann-Whitney U (score)				5,400,916	5,625,732	5,862,246	6,057,799
Median Value: within ¼ mile of Aspinwall & Josephine Commons	488	\$250	\$373	\$157**	53%**	48%	0.0%
Median Value: all other residential properties in Lafayette	25,135	\$220	\$356	\$117**	48%**	36%	0.0%

Asymp. Significance (2-tailed): *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

Comparing the change in property values year to year, the following series of charts (Figure 38) show this area has had higher land and total values than the rest of the city since Foothills was developed. While the improvement values recently dipped below the average citywide value the land values remain higher than the average land values in the city. The lower improvement values may be due to a recent increase in the area of smaller units, as well as a systematic adjustment in the assessments of land and improved values between 2013 and 2014 for over 5,000 parcels (20%) in our citywide sample.

Figure 38. Trends in average land, improvement, and total residential parcel values within an eighth-mile and quarter-mile of the Foothills Community and Lee Hill (2006 – 2015)



Neighbor Feedback

Nine neighbors of the Foothills Community were interviewed by research team members by phone. Overall, neighboring residents have neutral or positive impressions of Foothills Community. No interviewees mentioned concerns about crime, disorder, or management issues. The development has not been discussed among neighbors and was not considered to be the cause of any negative changes the neighborhood has experienced over time. This assertion was also shared by the property manager.

Neighborhood Change

Most interviewees report that the biggest change to their neighborhood has been a significant increase in traffic due in part to the addition of a large school and the formalization of a parcel of open space into a park. Several interviewees commented on the now-common presence of homeless people in their area and in Boulder more generally. No interviewees attribute the neighborhood changes they have witnessed to the addition of the Foothills Community.

Design Quality / Fit within Existing Neighborhood

The majority of respondents volunteered positive impressions of the design and appearance of Foothills Community, such as:

It's well thought out and well done. The quality of the units and just the way they look—you could probably guess it's affordable, but it's not obviously low-income housing. It's well maintained, and I think that makes a huge difference.

Moreover, several respondents noted that the landscaping, siting, and layout of the development is not only attractive, but has effectively mitigated any concerns about it being “low-income housing”:

[Foothills Community] does not have that kind of negative impact. It may be different because of the architecture... I'm just saying that it depends on how it is developed. So far that whole area has been developed beautifully. You can still see the mountain range—you're not looking at high rises. It's just because of that open space, it makes it really congenial. Not stressful. It's pretty.

I think those units are nice, it's well maintained, you feel safe walking through there. A lot of the perceptions of affordable housing are addressed really positively in that development.

Impact of/Experience with Foothills Community Property and People

No interviewees reported any negative experiences with the Foothills Community property or its residents. Some neighbors walk through often on their way to the park, and report that Foothills Community is quiet, seems “very respectable,” and that it appears to have a mix of people living there. This perception is echoed by the property manager, who reports that the community is full of families, yet is very quiet and appears to have little community activity. This may be due to any of several factors, including the layout of the development, the fact that residents cannot use the community center due to some liability issues, and the fact that there is no resident services coordinator at the development. Research has shown that active engagement is necessary to form a sense of community in mixed-income communities (Steffel Johnson, 2006).

Development Process and Planning, and Communication with the Housing Authority

No neighbors who participated in our study expressed any connection to Foothills Community or to the housing authority. No interviewees participated in the Foothills Community development process, even though several were long-term residents who lived in the neighborhood before and after its construction.

Support for Affordable Housing

The Foothills Community neighbors we interviewed offered a range of thoughtful opinions about affordable housing in general. For example,

I'm 70; my children have grown up. If you had asked me at age 35, I would say that developments impact traffic and schools. I know people say they don't want it because they fear crime and that sort of thing, but that hasn't been the case in Boulder.

However, the same respondent pointed out that building housing alone is insufficient and that services, including grocery stores and libraries, need to be developed and expanded along with housing.

Other respondents identified that homelessness has had a major impact on Boulder, and this may impact residents' perspectives on affordable housing. There is "more concern about Boulder's policy regarding homelessness than low-income housing," and "if there was a NIMBY attitude, nine out of ten NIMBYs would be about the sheltering rather than the affordable housing." Another respondent asserted that Foothills Community, while relatively high density, has not impacted the neighborhood, but

the thing that has an effect is the bums on Broadway. They walk down from some bum hostel to downtown to ply their trade. That concerns me a whole lot more than affordable housing.

Residents of the Development

Ten tenants completed our survey, and their responses were almost consistently positive, expressing appreciation for the quality of life that Foothills Community affords:

As a single parent, the affordability has been key, but also the environment and the community. My child has grown up here over the past ten years and it's been great—diversity of economic backgrounds, interesting people, great location.

My life has definitely changed for the better living here. The location, affordability, and stability of the housing has definitely provided me with expansive opportunities to establish myself in my community by growing a successful small business and widening my positive impact in local social circles as well. I enjoy life here at Foothills. Thank you for making it so welcoming and supportive.

One respondent reported that “some of the neighbors are not respectful of the rules—loud music, curbing their dogs, etc.” Another reported that they live next door to an abusive and disruptive person who has made their life difficult. At the same time, another resident reported that it’s a quiet community and that neighbors generally get along.

Foothills Community Evaluation Summary

Table 33. Foothills Community Case Summary

Typical Topics of Concern	Stated Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Property Values			- Change in median home values (per square foot and total value) have increased significantly more than the same for all other residential properties in Boulder - Median home value remains much higher than Boulder overall
Crime		- “Feels safe” to walk through	- Two burglaries reported in surrounding area within three years. Interviewed neighbors confirmed that crime was not a problem.
Physical Impacts (noise, graffiti, trash, Water, Sewer, City services)	Intrusion into floodplain; adjacent to open space	- No negative impacts on the neighborhood	- No observed or reported problems
Vehicular Impacts (parking, traffic)		- Traffic is due to Waldorf school and park activity, not the Foothills Community - Tenants noted car ownership and traffic is actually higher in the neighboring streets with wealthier households	- On-site parking, no observed or reported parking-related problems
Design and Quality		- Neighbors feel it was well-designed and is well-maintained	- Well-maintained and attractive
Neighborhood Character/Change		- Addition of a large school to the neighborhood has brought significantly more change than affordable housing did	- Significant increase (11%) in proportion of renters in neighborhood - Higher proportion of residents have bachelor’s degrees - Much higher median income than city overall - Much lower percentage of neighborhood residents in poverty than city overall

1175 Lee Hill

Introduction

1175 Lee Hill is 31-unit transitional housing development for individuals who were chronically homeless, based on the “Housing First” model. The premise is that individuals who are homeless first need housing before they can utilize and benefit from supportive services. The development is in north Boulder at the corner of North Broadway and Lee Hill Drive. It opened in October 2014 after years of public meetings and negotiations between BHP, the City, residents, and resident associations in north Boulder.

Figure 39. Project site aerial for 1175 Lee Hill Road prior to development



Project Site Aerial
H HUMPHRIES | POLI
ARCHITECTS

Figure 40. Photo of 1175 Lee Hill Road after development looking west from Broadway



Source: Google Street View, September 2015

Project Overview

The one-acre development is just south of the Boulder Shelter for the Homeless and across the street from Boulder Housing Partners' office. Humphries Poli Architects designed the two-story, 31-unit building. The development was a "use-by-right" since it is in a Business Transitional (B-T2) zone. It also supports the goals in the North Boulder Subcommunity Plan for affordable and inclusive housing, and the County's 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness. However, because of several concerns from the neighboring residents, there was an extensive, multi-year public and community outreach process. The concerns that fueled opposition to the affordable housing project included trash, traffic and outdoor storage, parking, and a perception that the project would contribute to an unbalanced concentration of social services and affordable housing in North Boulder. The extreme opposition to the project brought by the neighboring residential community was expressed through numerous public hearings, meetings, and a variety of written correspondence between BHP and the various neighborhood groups and associations.

In 2012, Boulder City Council granted final approval, contingent upon an accompanying "strong management plan" to address any neighborhood issues that might arise as the result of the development (Bounds, 2012). The two-story building opened in 2014.

The 31 units are one-bedroom and fully furnished. The building and grounds include private indoor and outdoor gathering spaces for residents, laundry facilities, and four offices and meeting spaces for case managers who provide on-site supportive services. Eligible residents are people who have been homeless in Boulder for more than one year (i.e., considered chronically homeless), or more than three times in four years. Typical residents have experienced homelessness for numerous years—even decades. On-site case management is contracted between BHP and the Boulder Shelter for the Homeless. Services include numerous social service resources and direct services to the residents. Through A Good Neighbor Statement of Operations there are quarterly opportunities for neighboring Home Owner Associations to meet with BHP. The BHP Advisory Committee addresses any concerns regarding the activity of the Lee Hill project and its residents.

Neighborhood Context

The surrounding area includes commercial uses, industrial sites, and large residential developments. To the immediate north is a County homeless shelter. The BHP headquarters building is directly across the street to the east, and a major chain hotel is directly across the street to the south. The adjacent parcel to the west is vacant. Further west are a few small, locally-owned small businesses. Residential units are further away but within a quarter-mile, and include condominiums and custom-built single-family homes with a median value of \$836,000 in the 2015 census (see Figure 41 and Table 34).

Figure 41. Neighborhood context near Lee Hill site

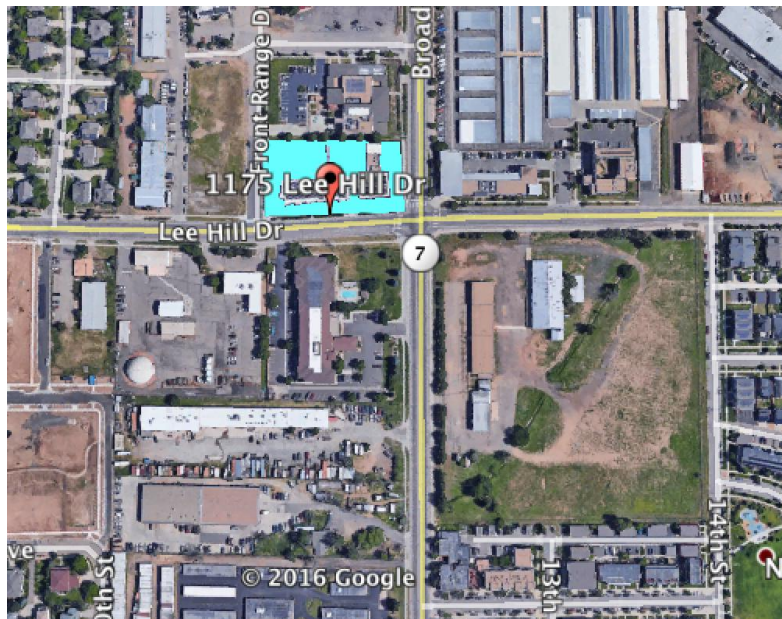


Table 34. Property Types near 1175 Lee Hill (2015)

2015 Property Type	No. Parcels	Avg. Square Feet	Avg. Year Built	Avg. Land Value	Avg. Improvement Value	Avg. Total Value
Condominiums	193	1,000	2003	\$0	\$261,591	\$261,591
Duplex/Triplex						
Multi-Unit (4-8)						
Multi-Unit (9+)						
Single Family	166	2,228	1997	\$446,273	\$390,275	\$836,548
Weighted Average Values	359	1,568	2000	\$206,355	\$321,094	\$527,449

Post-Development Evaluation

Neighborhood Change: Housing and Population Characteristics

In the last 15 years, population in the surrounding block groups increased by 492 persons (8%) to a total of 6,832 persons (Table 35). This increase can be attributed almost entirely to an increase in persons 65 years and over (471 of 492). Children 17 years and under account for the remaining balance (79 children), while those 17 to 64 declined by 6%. The population is nearly all white, at 95%, but 21% are of Hispanic ethnicity. The population that is Asian or Pacific Islander is the next largest group at just 3.5%. There were declines in other race categories, including Black or African American, American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut, two or more races, and other.

Persons with a Bachelor's degree or higher increased by 28% and median household income increased 34% to \$93,483, which is \$35,000 over the Boulder Median Household Income. At the same time, there was a 1% increase in the number of persons at or below 100% of the poverty level to 607 persons, or 8.9% of the population.

Table 35. Population change near Lee Hill (2000 – 2015)

Population Statistics	2000		2010		2015		Change 2000-2015	
	N	%	N	%			N	%
Total Population	6,340		6,725		6,832		492	8%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	3,268		4,724		3,822		554	17%
Age								
Under 5 Years	382	6.0%	473	7%	418	6.1%	36	0%
5 to 17 Years	1,394	22.0%	1,323	20%	1,437	21%	43	-1%
17-64	4,253	67.1%	4,488	67%	4,190	61%	-63	-6%
65+	316	5.0%	445	7%	787	12%	471	7%
Race								
White	5,580	88.0%	5,481	82%	6,467	94.7%	887	7%
Black or African American Alone	49	0.8%	56	1%	16	0.2%	-33	-1%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	30	0.5%	28	0%	11	0.2%	-19	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	139	2.2%	302	4%	224	3.5%	85	1%
Other Race Alone	377	6.0%	674	10%	8	0.1%	-369	-6%
Two or More Races	170	2.7%	188	3%	106	1.6%	-64	-1%
Hispanic	788	12.4%	1,353	20%	1,444	21.1%	656	9%
Households by Household Type								
Households	2,371		2,606		2,849		478	
Family Households:	1,603	67.6%	1,651	63%	1,534	53.8%	-69	14%
Married-couple Family	1,256	53.0%	1,279	49%	1,281	45.0%	25	-8%
Other Family	347	14.6%	373	14%	253	8.9%	-94	-6%
with persons < 18 years	982	41.4%	985	38%	937	32.9%	-45	-9%
Nonfamily Households	774	32.6%	960	37%	1,315	46.2%	541	14%
Educational Attainment								
Persons 25 Years & Over with Bachelor's Degree or Higher*	2,581	41%	2,866	43%	3,193	68.7%	612	28%
Household Income & Poverty Status								
Median Household Income	\$69,750		\$70,500		\$93,438		23,688	34%
Ratio of Income in to Poverty Level*								
Population for whom poverty status is determined:	6,376		6,677		6,822		446	
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	510	8.0%	704	11%	607	8.9%	97	1%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	853	13.4%	1,441	22%	1,253	18.4%	400	5%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	5,020	78.7%	4,538	68%	4,962	72.7%	-58	-6%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000); * data for 2010 (ACS 2013 (5-Year Estimates) (SE); 2015 data (ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Subsequently, there were also changes in the housing stock (Table 36). A total of 919 units were added between 2000 and 2015, almost equally divided between owner and renter units. The addition of 421 rental units brought the percent of rentals to 24% of the total, reducing the share of owned units to 76% from 84%. There was also a reduction in the share total units that are single family detached homes, from 55% to 46%. The median home value increased by 90%, from \$352,600 in 2000 to \$670,500 in 2015. Median Gross Monthly Rent also increased by 38% to \$1,682 from \$1,222.

Table 36. Change in the Housing Stock near Lee Hill (2000 – 2015)

	2000		2010		2015		Change 2000-2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	2,041		2,834		2,960		919	45%
Occupied Housing Units:	1,979	97%	2,606	92%	2,849	96.3%	870	-1%
Owner Occupied	1,714	84%	1,990	70%	2,158	75.8%	444	-8%
Renter Occupied	270	13%	621	22%	691	24.3%	421	11%
Vacant	62	3%	228	8%	111	3.8%	49	1%
Housing Units in Structure								
1 Unit	1,189	58.2%	1,671	60%	1,705	57.6%	516	-1%
1, detached	1,116	54.7%	1,372	49%	1,360	46.0%	244	-9%
1, attached	72	3.5%	300	11%	345	11.7%	273	8%
2-9 Units	87	4.3%	422	15%	459	15.5%	372	11%
10 or More Units	-	0.0%	108	4%	178	6.0%	178	6%
Mobile home, trailer, other	716	35.1%	580	21%	618	20.9%	(98)	-14%
Home Values								
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$352,600		\$646,000		\$670,500		\$317,900	90%
Median Gross Rent*	\$1,222		\$1,322		\$1,682		\$460	38%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000); * data for 2010 (ACS 2013 (5-Year Estimates) (SE); 2015 data (ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Site Evaluations & Comments

Table 37 summarizes the site observations of 1175 Lee Hill. The development received high scores (4 of 4) in all but one category, “Context fit with neighborhood” because of its unique use.

Table 37. Lee Hill Development-Site Observations

	7-Jul 10:00-10:30am Thursday	27-Jul 9:45-10:15am Wednesday	2-Aug 5:45-6:15pm Tuesday	13-Sep 8:30-9:00am Tuesday	Total Average
Lee Hill Observations					
Impact on Neighborhood					
Noise	4	4	4	4	4
Trash: litter	4	4	4	4	4
Trash: dumpster	4	4	4	4	4
Graffiti	4	4	4	4	4
Number of People on Property	[6]	[1]	[3]	[1]	
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4
Pets	4	4	4	4	4
Parking	4	4	4	4	4
Traffic: in and out of the development	4	4	4	4	4
Storm water	4	4	4	4	4
Environmental encroachment	4	4	4	4	4
Open space access and views	4	4	4	4	4
Design fit with existing neighborhoods	4	4	4	4	4
Context fit with neighborhood	3	3	3	3	2
Development Quality & Location					
Building Condition: Aesthetics	4	4	4	4	4
Building Condition: Safety	4	4	4	4	4
Playground Condition & Use	4	4	4	4	4
Landscaping, fencing, and trees	4	4	4	4	4
Access & Mobility	4	4	4	4	4
Total	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9

Noise and other activity (Loitering, persons on property, pets)

We did not find evidence of issues related to trash, noise, pets, or loitering.

Traffic & Parking

During the times of the site observations there did not appear to be any parking issues. There were 1-4 cars, trucks, and RV's parked along the road to the west of the development, but not associated with the development. These vehicles seemed to be serving as shelter for their owners. Signs banning overnight parking are posted on this road and evening observations indicated this parking restriction is enforced.



Environmental Encroachment, Storm Water, Open Space Access and Views

The building is not in an environmentally sensitive area or directly adjacent to open space. The height and mass do not block the views of the mountains from any direction.

Design Fit with Neighborhood

Although this is the only multi-unit residential structure in the immediate area, the height and design are compatible with the surrounding area. Low lying commercial structures are to the immediate west as well as a hotel directly across the street from Lee Hill are both one to two stories with similar roof construction.

While the newness stands out in comparison to some of the industrial and commercial structures, the architectural design is of high quality, reflecting some of the newer modern designs in North Boulder, including the BHP headquarters to the east and some of the commercial and residential developments within the mixed-use Holiday development to the south on Broadway.

Context fit with neighborhood

This is the only transitional “housing first community” in the area. However, there are other non-traditional residential or related developments in the area, including a homeless shelter on the adjacent property to the north, the BHP headquarters across Broadway Street—which manages the development, and the mixed-income Foothills Community and Holiday development within walking distance to the southwest and southeast. There is also a low-rise motel immediately across Lee Hill Drive, which technically houses a similar density of people each night. While this unique transitional housing model does not match the nearby industrial uses in use, or the other types of traditional housing in the area, from our site visits, it does not directly conflict with the mix of other commercial uses in the area or the residential developments. It does not create excessive traffic or noise, it is not open to the public, and the tenants are not loitering on or around the property. In this way, it may be an ideal use for this large intersection since it completes the corner with an attractive development without generating excessive traffic in and out of the development, and the management organization is on the other corner.



Building & Landscape Condition and Appearance

The landscaping at Lee Hill on each visit was well-kept as shown. The lawn areas and shrubs were neatly manicured with no weeds or trash evident. The landscaping (trees and bushes) will mature over time in keeping with some of the landscaping in the neighboring subdivisions.

The Lee Hill apartment building shows no signs of wear and tear. Siding, paint and windows continue to look new. The site visits revealed a consistently well cared for building. Outdoor trash dumpsters are camouflaged and well serviced.



Access and Mobility

The development has direct access to bus public transportation and Boulder’s extensive bike lane system. There is also access to open space. There is not a nearby grocery or other convenience store.

Crime Data

Police and Fire Department Activity at Lee Hill

The following table is raw data from the Boulder Police Department’s record of calls to the 911 center from 1175 Lee Hill. They are not from neighboring properties. They also are not records of crime. While the calls generally necessitate the dispatch of a police officer to the address, they do not equate to a recorded crime.

Table 38. Dispatch calls to 1175 Lee Hill (2014 – 2016)

Lee Hill 2014	2014	2015	2016	TOTAL
Admin/ other	2	2	6	10
Assist calls	4	1	4	9
Crime- person	1	4	3	8
Crime- property	3	9	5	17
Drunk person	1	4	2	7
Fire-related (non-medical)	1	2	1	4
Medical	9	28	25	62
Missing person/ runaway	1	1	0	2
Nuisance- animal	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- disturbance	0	4	1	5
Nuisance-loitering	0	1	0	1
Nuisance- noise	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- vehicle	0	0	0	0
Welfare check	0	11	1	12
TOTAL EVENTS	22	67	48	137

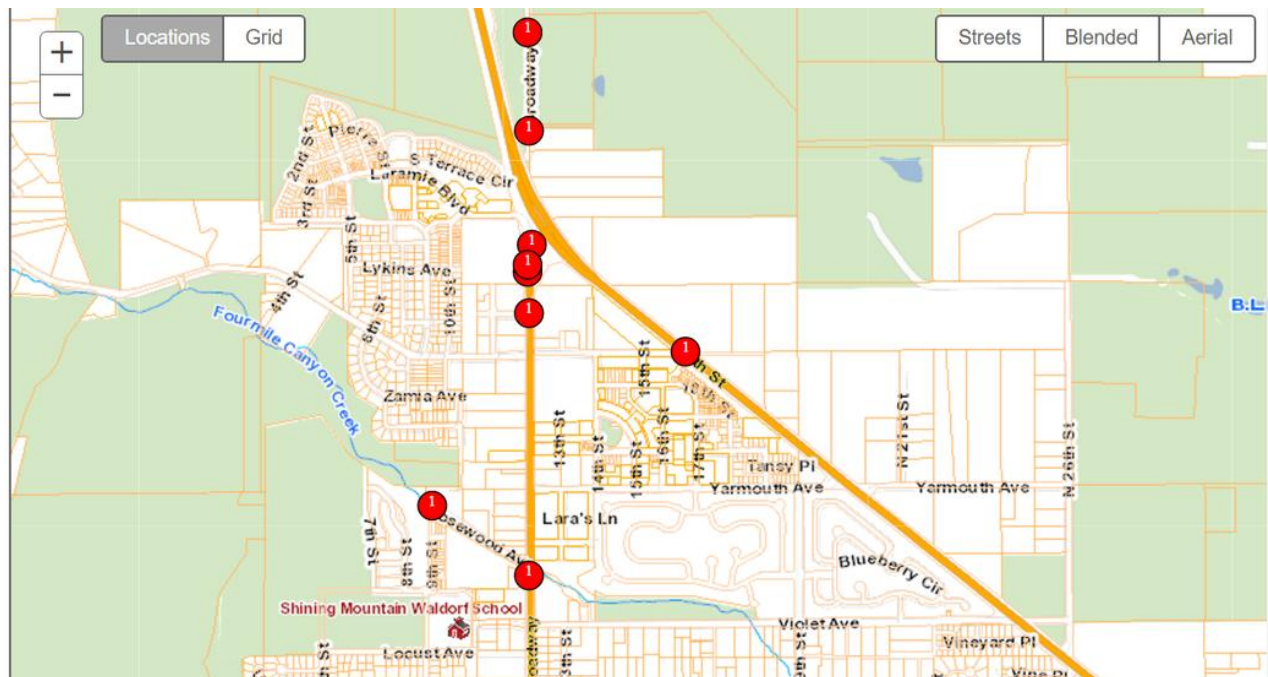
Overwhelmingly, the dispatch calls for Lee Hill are medical in nature. Combined, the Medical and Welfare check calls constitute more than 50% of the calls from 2014 to 2016. The majority of the property-related crime calls are labeled “trespassing.” Notably, this site is the only one with a significant number of calls reporting a “drunk person.” Residents at Lee Hill are formerly homeless people, and

there are higher-than-average rates of medical and mental health issues among this population, which is reflected in the high number of medical calls. Some of the trespassing and drunk person calls may be related to the homeless shelter next door, but it was not possible to tell from this data.

Recorded crimes within a mile of 1175 Lee Hill

We also pulled the documented crimes in the surrounding area using the Boulder County Sheriff's online crime map (Figure 42). From 2014 to 2016, there were nine crimes; two in 2014, three in 2015, and four in 2016. These included three commercial and one residential burglaries, and five vehicle trespasses. Six of the crimes were on North Broadway; none were in the residential neighborhoods most concerned that the development would increase crime.

Figure 42. Crime map of 1175 Lee Hill area (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Sheriff Crime Viewer, <http://webpubapps.bouldercounty.org/sheriff/crime/>

Property Values

We used a difference in difference method to test whether the change in property values from 2006 to 2015 for nearby properties (within a quarter mile) from all other residential properties in Boulder (Table 39). The difference was significantly higher for the nearby properties on a per square basis, with a \$157 increase in the median assessed value compared to a \$117 increase for the rest of Boulder. The difference in the total value was not significant, but the increase was greater for the immediate area at 48%, compared to 36% for the rest of Boulder.

Figure 43. Residential parcels included in analysis of property values

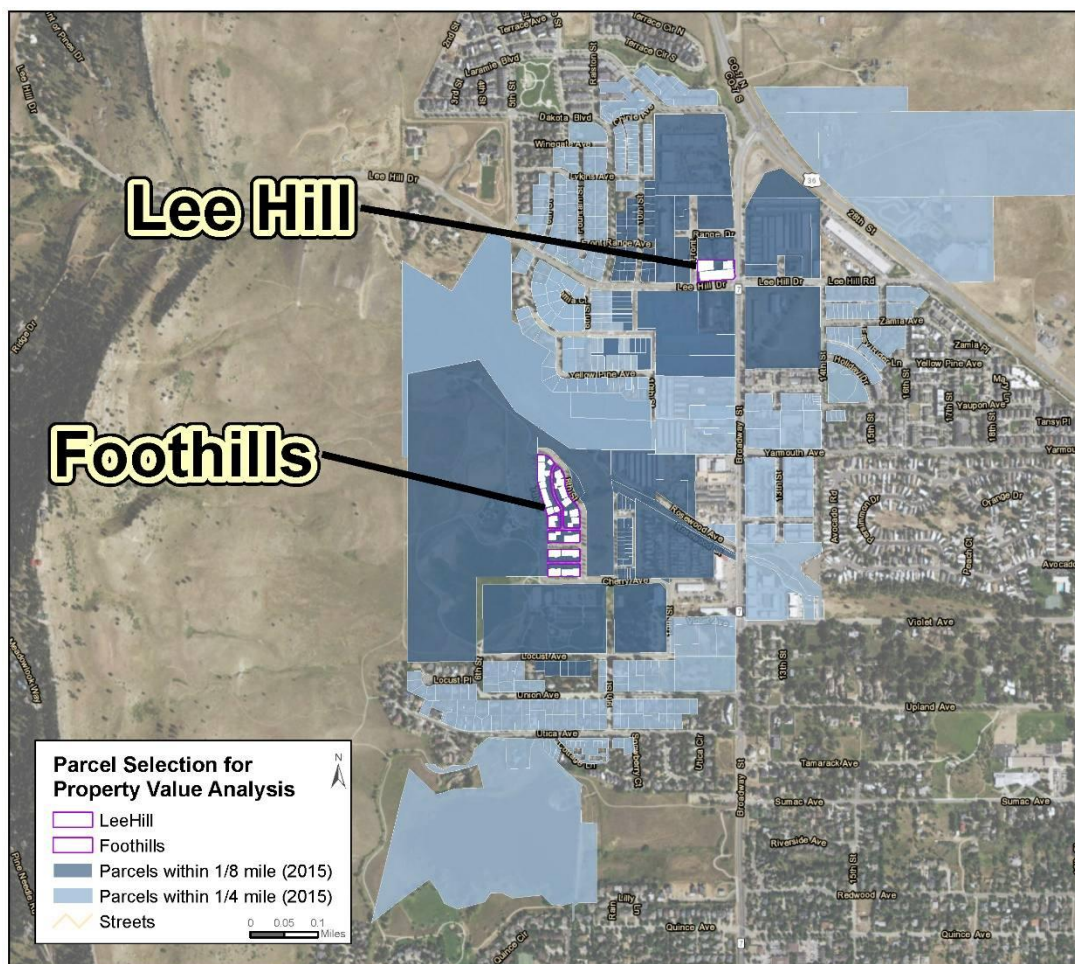


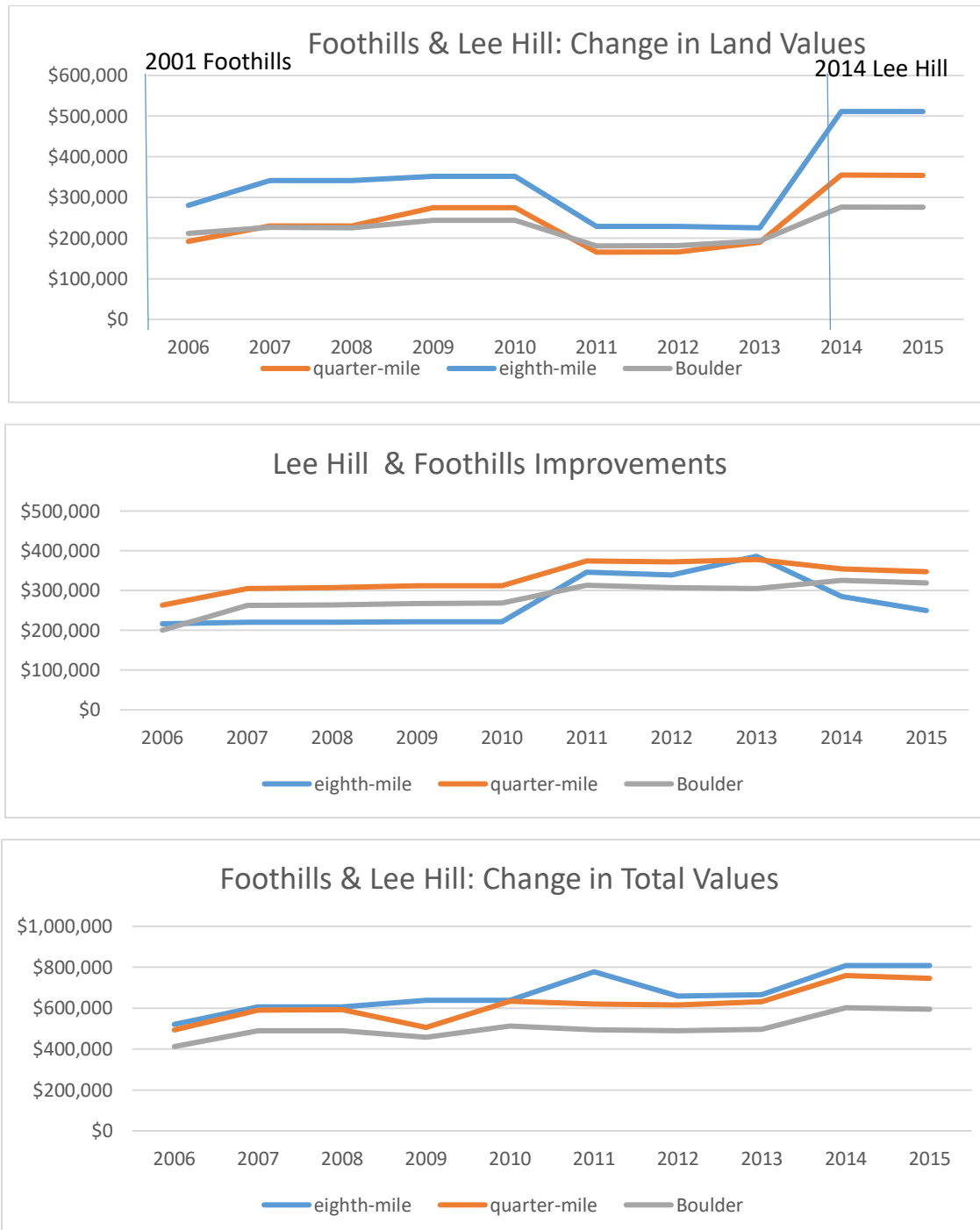
Table 39. Change in Property Values within a Quarter-Mile of Lee Hill and Foothills in Comparison to All Other Properties in Boulder (Excluding the Five Case Study Sites (2006 – 2015))

Test Statistics	N	Median Value per Square Foot				Total Value (Land + Improvements)	
		2006	2015	Change 2007-2015	Percent Change	Percent Increase	Percent Change in Total Value per Square Foot
Mann-Whitney U (score)				5,400,916	5,625,732	5,862,246	6,057,799
Median Value: within ¼ mile of Aspenwall & Josephine Commons	488	\$250	\$373	\$157**	53%**	48%	0.0%
Median Value: all other residential properties in Boulder	25,135	\$220	\$356	\$117**	48%**	36%	0.0%

Asymp. Significance (2-tailed): *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

The following series of charts compare the change in land, improvement, and total property values year to year from 2006 to 2015 (Figure 44). The chart of land values and total values show this area has had higher values than the rest of the city before Lee Hill was developed, and both have remained substantially higher than the rest of the city since the development. The average total improvement values peaked around 2011 and have declined, but this is due to the increase in smaller units, e.g. condos, which have a lower absolute value.

Figure 44. Trends in average land, improvement, and total residential parcel values within an eighth-mile and quarter-mile of Lee Hill and Foothills Community (2006 – 2015)



Neighbor Feedback

We interviewed six neighboring residents and the property manager from the Lee Hill. As mentioned above, the Lee Hill development was a particularly contentious project garnering extreme opposition from north Boulder neighborhoods and its residents. Interview responses ranged from significant concerns about “rising crime” and the increasing homeless population generally, to the number of people (homeless) walking through and camping in their neighborhood. Several interviewees spoke of the “overwhelming amount of social service oriented programs in their area” and “people hanging out in the parks and on the sidewalks.” However, a clear majority of those interviewed found nothing flawed post-development in terms of the Lee Hill building and its services. People consistently wanted to discuss the ever-present homeless population but had little to no negative commentary regarding the Lee Hill building and its residents.

A selection of these comments include:

I tracked the project little bit while it was going up. It seemed like a really nice idea. I'm happy [with] the development because it creates more stability to the area. The Shelter is more of a challenge and its clientele is more transient. The homeless shelter definitely has an impact on the neighborhood. (Male resident, <5 years)

Big changes [in last 15+ years living here]; new neighborhoods, commercial development. More homeless people. But even back in the 1990's, there were people camping in open space. There is still camping along the creek...Turns out I was wrong about the facility. It is well-managed, people don't hang out and they don't cause problems or trouble. People love living there and BHP is a good property manager; the space is clean and well maintained... Not doing any harm, managing problems; staffing levels are high because the neighborhood demanded it. Residents appreciate the 24/7 awake staffing model. Neighborhood has changed because of the aggregate of the scattered site housing. This development has affected the neighborhood the least in comparison to the multitude of other developments. (Male resident, >15 years)

Biggest change is shelter. Built shelter then had worst of the homeless. Had breakins. Think the 1175 is a good idea but we have all of these families with children. People sleeping in the bushes and in the neighborhood. People show up at the shelter and can't get in; Where are they supposed to go? I have sympathy for the young families and the kids catching the city bus. I would not take the bus at night because of the shelter. Not because of 1175. (Female resident, >10 years)

Boulder is not sharing the burden of homeless equitably. Lots of low income housing in north boulder. Holiday neighborhood and our neighborhood (Dakota Ridge) has crammed low income housing in. Every time you go out, there are panhandlers on the corners. Changes the feel of the neighborhood. Homeless people are always hanging out. Panhandlers live at the facility at Lee Hill. Most visible from the street... I don't know if the neighborhood has changed because of 1175, but we have the shelter; panhandler's are from the shelter... No increase in traffic, trash or noise. Facility is well kept and well maintained...Keep building up very nicely, but they do not keep up other properties. They should do a similar job in other neighborhoods. You can call them and they're not responsive. They don't expect neighbors to keep up their property. (Resident, >15 years)

These folks [at 1175] aren't homeless anymore. Getting on off RTD. North Boulder, you see plenty of folks that may be having a rough time or asking for money. Let's be honest it's all over Boulder and all over Denver. People will see this kind of activity and think it's because of the Lee Hill development. But people are all over Boulder. No negative impacts. (Male resident, >5 years)

[this area had a] homeless population in the 1980's. [The City] ;et them camp in the open fields. Police started 2 years ago getting people out of camping. New development doesn't enhance property values....See people on the bus...Been pretty quiet. [the effects are a] "Big Shrug" [no big deal]. [I have] daily interaction with homeless people downtown on the Mall, Pan Handlers, [when I'm] getting off and on public transit. (Male business owner, >30 years)

Lee Hill Evaluation Summary

Overall, the 1175 Lee Hill development has not had a negative impact on the neighborhood. Property values continue to rise; the number of documented crimes remains low, and they are mostly concentrated on the major arterials; BHP has provided proactive property and case management; and there were no observed or reported traffic and parking problems. The neighborhood population and housing stock has changed but most indicators show the area is becoming wealthier and it still has a lower percent of the population at or below the poverty level than the rest of the city. This could be that the rest of the city's poverty level is raised by the college-student population. But, the percent at or below the poverty level in North Boulder increased by just 0.9% in the last 15 years, whereas it increased by 4.1% in the city.

However, neighbors are concerned about other issues that appear to be related to the Boulder County homeless shelter, including panhandlers, interactions on the bus with people who are homeless, queuing outside the shelter at night near the bus stop, which makes the stop feel unsafe, and homeless persons sleeping or camping near the river and in the parks. Not all residents interviewed were able to distinguish whether the panhandlers and bus passengers were from the shelter or 1175 Lee Hill. These issues make some feel the neighborhood is unsafe for children and may cause some parents to prohibit their children from riding the bus. But others noted that this area has been a place for homeless persons since at least the 1980s when the area was less residential.

Table 40. Summary of the Lee Hill Case

Typical Concern	Stated Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Property Values	Additional concentration of social services affordable housing would lower property values	- Most residents did not think it was lowering their property values. Several noted that home prices have increased significantly, even when next to affordable housing.	- Property values have not declined; they have consistently stayed above the average value of all residential units in Denver. The increase in the median price on a per-square-foot basis was statistically significantly greater than for all other residential units in Boulder.
Crime	Chronically homeless moving into the neighborhood would increase crime and safety issues. Concerned there would be sex offenders.	- Some felt crime had increased in north boulder since 1175 and the Shelter went in. - Others only attributed the crime to the shelter - Others did not think there as a crime problem	- Service calls from 1175 Lee Hill are mostly for medical related calls. Calls related to potential crimes against persons or properties are contained to the site. - There have been less than five crimes per year (9 in last 2.5 years) in the area with half of being vehicle trespasses, and more than half occurring on Broadway or other major streets, not in the residential neighborhoods.

Typical Concern	Stated Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Noise		- No complaints of noise	- We did not observe excessive noise on or near the site.
Neighborhood Aesthetic	Homeless moving into the neighborhood Already have other social services, scattered site affordable housing, and the county homeless shelter.	- Residents feel the homeless son the RTD busses are from the shelter and 1175 Lee Hill. Some also believe both sites contribute to panhandlers in their neighborhood near the commercial shops. Some perceive the panhandlers are only from the shelter and that panhandlers are all over Boulder - Some noted this area has been a place for homeless camps since at least 1980s, long before this area became more residential	- At certain times of day, the shelter has a line as people wait to receive shelter for the night - We did not see panhandlers in the area during our four site observations or other visits to the area - We did not study whether passengers on the RTD bus routes in this area are homeless or where stay or live permanently
Neighborhood Change		- Affordable housing and social services need to be more equitably distributed throughout Boulder. Residents perceive they have a higher share than elsewhere in Boulder	- The percent of the population in Boulder that is at or below poverty is 23%, but it is 8.9% in this area, up from 8% in 2000. - The median household income in North Boulder is \$35,000 higher than the median for the city and it increased by \$12,000 since 2000 - The percent with a bachelor's degree or higher increased by 28% in this area since 2000, to 68.7%, though it is still slightly lower than the percent in Boulder, 72.3% - The white population as a percent of the total in North Boulder increased since 2000 - The single family detached housing type as a share of total units decreased by 0.6% since 2000 to 57.6%, which is still above the share in the city, 49.2%.

Poplar

Introduction

The Poplar Project is a 14-unit development of single-family detached homes located on a 1.4 acre parcel adjacent to the upscale Forest Glen Community in Boulder. The infill project occupies the last developable parcel of a Planned Unit Development agreement. Construction began in 1995 and was completed in 1996. The development was a product of a sweat equity program which allowed families to help construct their own homes. It was the first publicly assisted homeownership program in the City of Boulder (ULI Case Study, 1998).

Figure 45. Poplar Project



Source: Wolff-Lyon Architects

Project Overview

The Poplar project is located on Poplar Avenue near Broadway Avenue in north Boulder. The developers of the Poplar Project were the Affordable Housing Alliance and the City of Boulder's Housing Authority, Boulder Housing Partners. The architect was Wolff-Lyon Architects. The site design is intended to promote community by allowing each home to overlook a central common area (Figure 43, above). Each home is equipped with a front porch and a private parking space along with additional street parking in the alley that runs behind the units. Single car garages were affixed to the units that front Poplar Ave.

The parcel was acquired by the housing authority in 1985 for \$300,000 and stood vacant for nearly ten years until financing became available. The City provided a public grant of \$614,000, comprised of two community development block grants (CDBGs) totaling \$449,000, and a \$165,000 contribution from the Community Housing Assistance Program (CHAP) (ULI 1998).

Donations of construction materials and the contribution of families and volunteers to the construction effort helped make the project financially feasible. The project ended with a \$250,000 fund surplus that went towards continuous maintenance. Each family purchasing a home was required to donate 300

hours of labor. Over 6,300 hours of labor were also donated by volunteers recruited from various civic organizations (ULI, 1998). Over 130 applications were reviewed for approval to purchase a home. The final 14 buyers were selected based on three factors; family size, ability to qualify, and compatibility with the project's home sizes. All buyers were families; three were single-parent families, three were couples without children, and the remaining eight were two-parent families. Occupations of the buyers were varied, including teachers, nurses, counselors, and small business managers (ULI, 1998).

The City of Boulder leases the land underneath the 14 low-income households for the purposes of permanently affordable homeownership. The City's Division of Housing administers the home sales and purchases. When a home is for sale, the HOA selects a buyer from the applications from the general public. The City of Boulder Housing Division receives one-half of the Poplar HOA land lease fees as payment for their administration of Poplar home resales and BHP keeps the other **half for maintenance**. The land lease prices are calculated every three years based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics consumer price index for all Urban Consumers.

According to BHP, based on the sales history as of 2010, the units are owned by households making between 55-70% of the AMI. If an owner's income rises to 140% of the median area income for two years, land-lease payments increase to a market value rate. This encourages owners to move into market rate housing, thereby making the Poplar home available to another low-income family (ULI, 1998).

Neighborhood Context

The density of the Poplar development is 9.7 units per acre. The neighborhood where the Poplar Project is located consists of a mix of custom-built single-family homes, townhomes, apartments, condominiums, a Montessori school, and a few small businesses. Many residents of the neighborhood were originally opposed to the project--their concerns included trash, traffic, and outdoor storage. The opponents outnumbered the supporters of the project two to one (ULI, 1997). The City development team responded to these concerns by conducting a traffic study, and adding garages and basements to the units.

Before the project was built in 1994 the neighborhood around the parcel was home to 9,333 people, 94.9% identified as white, 0.8% as Black, 2.5% as some other race, and 1.5% Asian or Pacific Islander. The majority (69.60%) of the population fell within the 17-64 age range. The household composition was primarily married couples at 51.3%. Another 36.7% of households were non-family households. The population density of the neighborhood in 1990 was 3,187.3 people per square mile, about 5 persons per acre. Owner occupied housing units comprised 74.7% of the housing stock; 25.3% were renter occupied, and 3.8% were vacant. The majority of units were single family, 53.5%, and 19.1% were structures with 10 or more units. The median home value was \$146,391.

As of 2015, 88% of the housing units within a quarter-mile of the development are single family and have an average assessed value of \$720,906 (Table 41).

Table 41. Residential Property Types near the Poplar Homes

2015 Property Type	No. Parcels	Avg. Square Feet	Avg. Year Built	Avg. Land Value	Avg. Improvement Value	Avg. Total Value
Condominiums	61	1,152	1975	\$0	\$319,015	\$319,015
Duplex/Triplex						
Multi-Unit (4-8)						
Multi-Unit (9+)						
Single Family	457	1,777	1981	\$398,432	\$322,474	\$720,906
Weighted Average Values	518	1,703	1980	\$351,512	\$322,067	\$673,579

Source: Boulder County Assessor, 2015

Post-Development Evaluation

Neighborhood Changes: Housing and Population Characteristics

In the 20-year time-span before and after the development, the population increased by 2,218 persons (Table 42). Most of the increase is in the 18 to 64-year old category; there was a decline in children under five years. Other children (5 to 17 years), and seniors 65 and older increased by 339 and 442, respectively. This coincides with a slight increase in non-family households. The white population as a percentage of the total declined to 85% as the area has become more racially and ethnically diverse. Persons with a bachelor's degree or higher increased by 1000 people but declined slightly as a percent of the population. Still, the median household income increased by 50% to \$70,753, which is \$12,000 higher than Boulder's median household income. The percent of persons at or below the poverty level remained steady at 10%.

Table 42. Poplar Population Characteristics (1990 – 2010)

	1990		2000		2010		Change 1990 - 2010	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	7,175		8,304		9,393		2,218	
Population Density (per sq. mile)	2,718		4,637		5,359		2,641	
Age								
Under 5 Years	569	8%	492	6%	550	6%	-19	-2%
5 to 17 Years	1,227	17%	1,493	18%	1,566	17%	339	0%
18-64	4,971	69%	5,869	71%	6,434	68%	1,463	-1%
65+	408	6%	453	5%	850	9%	442	3%
Race								
White Alone	6,794	95%	7,307	88%	7,943	85%	1,149	-10%
Black or African American Alone	53	1%	63	1%	62	1%	9	0%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	30	0%	36	0%	37	0%	7	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	109	2%	179	2%	369	4%	260	2%
Other Race Alone	189	3%	500	6%	731	8%	542	5%
Two or More Races	N/AV	N/AV	222	3%	257	3%		
Hispanic	432	6%	1,086	13%	1,556	17%	1,124	11%
Households by Household Type								
Households	3,004		3,349		3,937		933	
Family Households:	1,820	61%	2,009	60%	2,241	57%	421	-4%
Married-couple Family	1,445	48%	1,558	47%	1,786	45%	341	-3%
Other Family	375	13%	451	13%	455	12%	80	-1%
With persons < 18 years	1,044	35%	1,129	34%	1,184	30%	140	-5%
Nonfamily Households	1,184	39%	1,343	40%	1,703	43%	519	4%
Educational Attainment								
Persons 25 Years & Over with Bachelor's Degree or Higher*	3,409	48%	3,674	44%	4,346	46%	937	-1%
Household Income & Poverty Status								
Median Household Income* (Inflation)	\$47,308		\$100,000		\$70,735		23,427	50%
Ratio of Income to Poverty Level*								
Population for whom poverty status is determined:	7,052		8,271		9,304	100%	2,252	
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	670	10%	744	9%	954	10%	283	1%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	1,032	15%	1,067	13%	1,615	17%	583	3%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	5,355	76%	6,463	78%	6,742	72%	1,388	-3%

Along with the increase in median income came a substantial increase in housing values; the median home price rose from \$125,800 in 1990 to \$579,500 in 2010 (Table 43). Rents increased to \$1646, from \$581. The housing structures also changed. The number of mobile homes declined by 148 units, but the

share of rental units increased from 26% to 28%. Still, the share of owner occupied units remains high for Boulder at 65%.

Table 43. Poplar Housing Characteristics (1990–2010)

Housing Statistics	1990		2000		2010		Change 1990 - 2010	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	3,131		3,429		4,214		1,083	
Occupied Housing Units:	2,995	96%	3,349	98%	3,937	93%	942	-2%
Owner Occupied	2,181	70%	2,543	74%	2,755	65%	574	-4%
Renter Occupied	819	26%	809	24%	1,189	28%	370	2%
Vacant	136	4%	80	2%	277	7%	141	2%
Housing Units in Structure								
1 Unit	1,833	59%	2,010	59%	2,456	60%	623	2%
1, detached	1,560	50%	1,838	54%	1,949	48%	389	-2%
1, attached	273	9%	172	5%	507	12%	233	4%
2-9 Units	408	13%	569	17%	756	19%	349	6%
10 or More Units	207	7%	210	6%	333	8%	126	2%
Mobile home, trailer, other	688	22%	642	19%	540	13%	(148)	-9%
Median Value for Owned-Units*	\$125,800		\$339,970		\$579,500		\$453,700	361%
Median Gross Rent *	\$581		\$1,046		\$1,646		\$1,065	183%

Site Evaluations

The following table is a summary of the four site observations of the Poplar development. Each visit lasted approximately 25 minutes and they were conducted on both weekdays and weekends. The development was scored in 20 different categories on a 1-4 scale. The Poplar development received high scores in almost all categories. The average score for the Poplar Project between the four site visits for all categories was 3.9. The buildings seem well cared for and there are no issues with trash or noise. The only area that is a concern is the amount of traffic on Poplar Avenue. There was fast moving traffic on Poplar that seemed to be coming and going from other developments farther west. No cars were seen arriving or leaving the Poplar development.

Table 44. Poplar Summary of Site Observation Scores

	11-Jul 2:15-2:45pm Monday	16-Jul 1:00-1:20pm Sunday	22-Jul 3:45-4:10pm Wednesday	30-Jul 8:15-8:35pm Saturday	Average Score Total
Impact on Neighborhood					
Noise	4	4	4	4	4.0
Trash: litter	4	4	4	4	4.0
Trash: dumpster	4	4	4	4	4.0
Graffiti	4	4	4	4	4.0
Number of People on Property	[4]	[2]	[2]	[0]	n/a
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4.0
Parking	3	3	4	4	3.5
Pets	4	4	4	4	4.0
Traffic: in and out of the development	3	3	3	3	3.0
Storm Water Runoff	4	4	4	4	4.0
Environmental encroachment	4	4	4	4	4.0
Open space access and views	4	4	4	4	4.0
Fit with existing neighborhoods	4	4	3	4	3.8
Context and fit with neighborhood	4	3	4	4	3.8
Development Quality & Location					
Building condition: aesthetics	3	4	4	4	3.8
Building condition: safety	4	4	4	4	4.0
Playground condition and use	4	4	4	4	4.0
Landscaping, fencing, and trees	4	4	4	4	4.0
Access & Mobility of the site	3	4	4	4	3.8
Average Score per Day	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.9

Building & Landscape Condition and Appearance:

The 14 Poplar Units are very well cared for. There were only a few examples where new paint and weeding around the foundation may be needed. The site visits revealed some example of minor untidiness in driveway areas of the houses (see Figure 46).

The landscaping at Poplar was generally very well kept, with only a few patches of weeds in the common area (Figure 47).

Figure 46. Minor wear and weeds along the bottom of home; refrigerator in a driveway



Figure 47. The common area at Poplar in July 2016



Access & Parking

During the site observations there did not appear to be any parking issues (Figure 48).

Figure 48. Alley parking behind Poplar Community



Context and Fit with Neighborhood

The site design and building architecture of the Poplar Project make the development an asset to the neighborhood. The architecture is timeless and the site design is quaint and unassuming. The development fits well with the neighborhood and surrounding homes.

Crime

There were no crimes near the development in the last three years (see Figure 49).

Police and Fire Department Activity at Poplar

The following table is raw data from the Boulder Police Department's record of calls to the 911 center from the addresses at the Poplar development. They are not from neighboring properties. They also are not records of crime. While the calls generally necessitate the dispatch of a police officer to the address, they do not equate to a recorded crime.

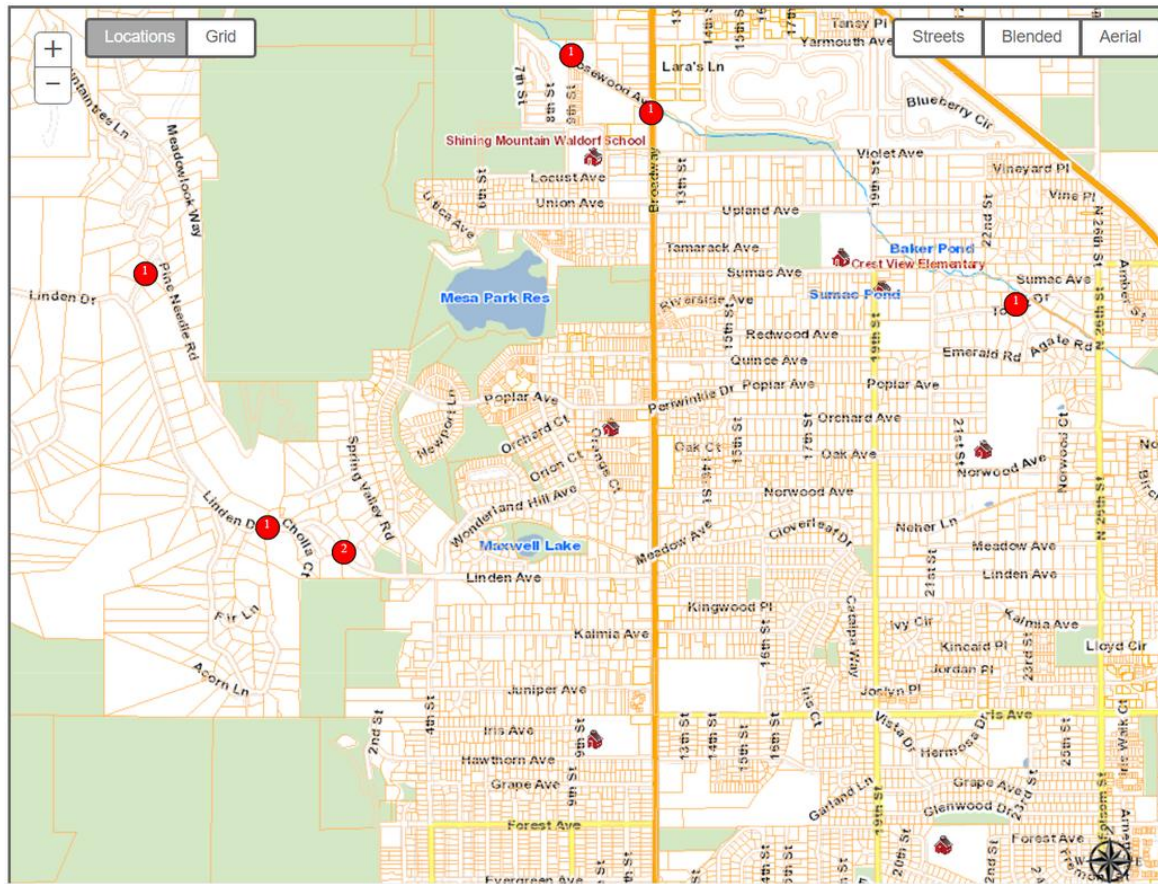
Table 45. Dispatch calls to the Poplar neighborhood (2014 – 2015)

Poplar	2014	2015	2016	TOTAL
Admin/ other	0	0	0	0
Assist calls	0	0	0	0
Crime- person	0	0	0	0
Crime- property	0	0	0	0
Drunk person	0	0	0	0
Fire-related (non-medical)	0	0	0	0
Medical	2	0	0	2
Missing person/ runaway	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- animal	0	1	0	1
Nuisance- disturbance	0	0	0	0
Nuisance-loitering	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- noise	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- vehicle	0	1	1	2
Welfare check	0	0	0	0
Total events	2	2	1	5

Recorded crimes within a mile of Poplar Homes

The map below (Figure 47) indicates there were six crimes in the in the one mile area around Poplar homes from between 2014 and 2016. These included two crimes in 2014 (and a vehicle trespass on Topaz Drive and a commercial burglary on Rosewood), one crime in 2015 (a residential burglary on North Broadway), and three crimes in 2016 (a motor vehicle theft on N. Cedar Brook Road, a residential burglary on Linden drive, and a vehicle trespass on Linden Drive). These crimes were all more than a half mile from Poplar and there is no evidence that they are associated with the development. During the interviews we did not hear any concerns about crime.

Figure 49. Crime map of the Poplar area (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Sherriff Crime Viewer, <http://webpubapps.bouldercounty.org/sheriff/crime/>

Property Values

All four measures of difference between the properties surrounding Poplar (within a quarter mile) and all other residential parcels in Boulder were significantly different from one another (Table 46). The increase of the median value of homes near Poplar, measured by both per-square-foot and total value, was significantly greater than the increase in median value for all other residential properties in Boulder.

Figure 50. Residential parcels included in analysis of property values

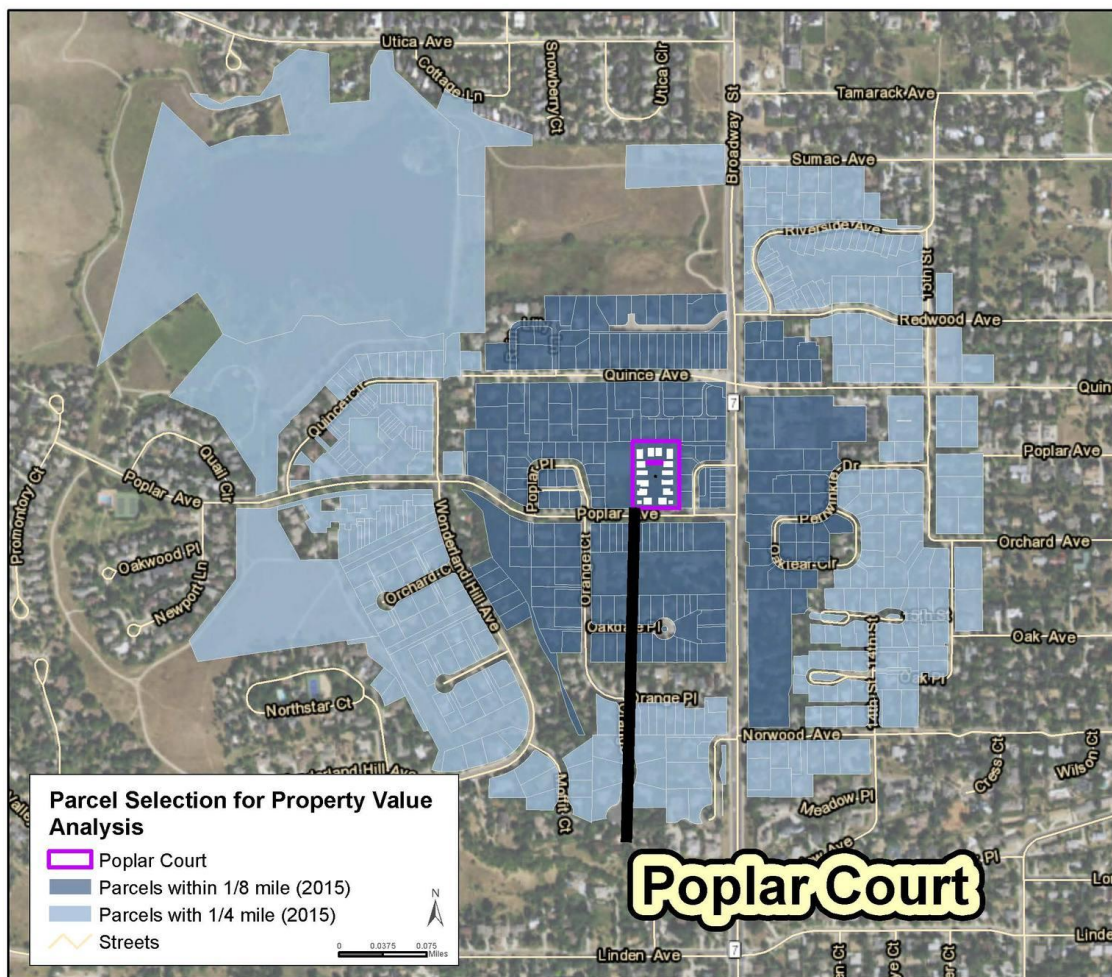


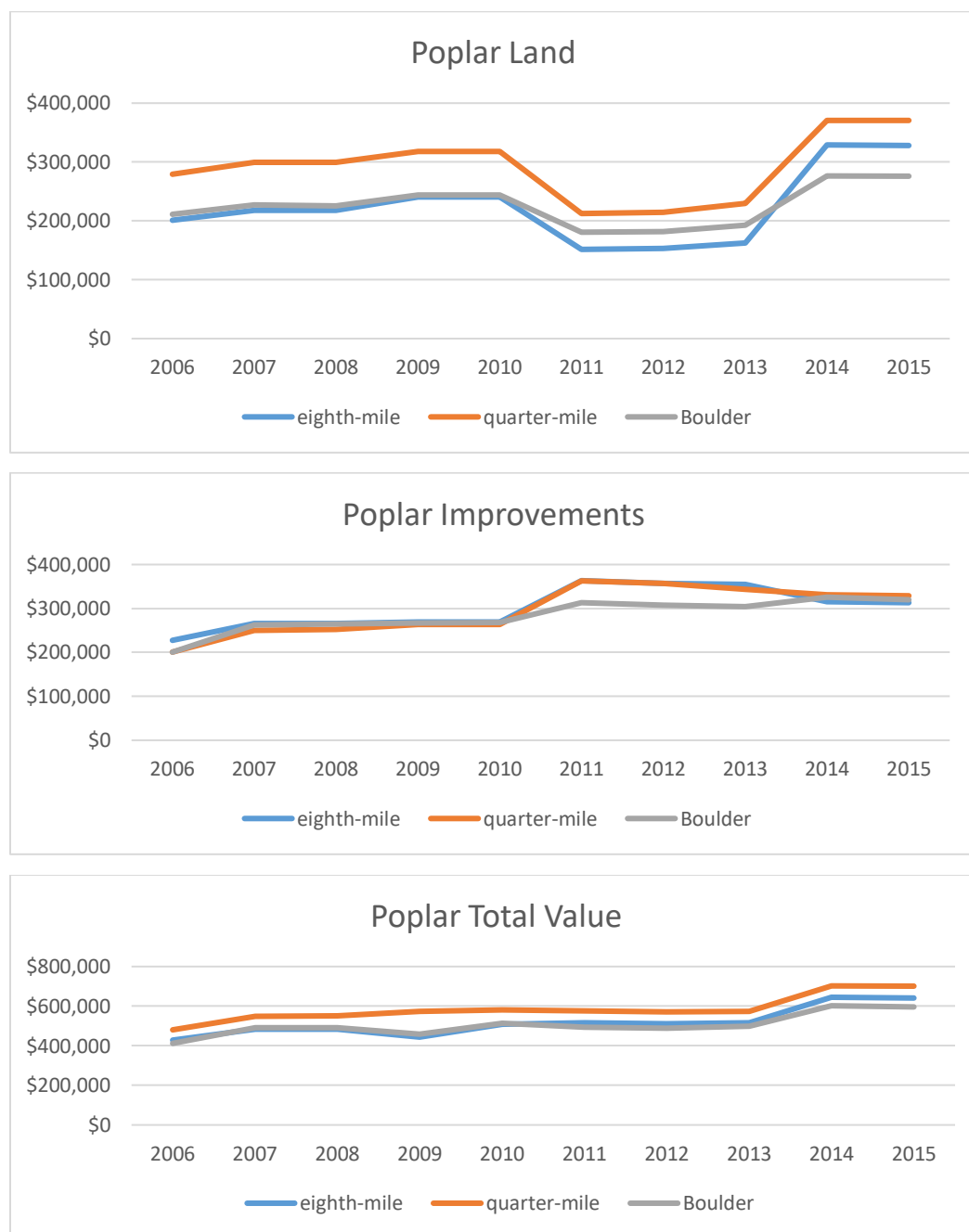
Table 46. Change in Property Values within a Quarter-Mile of Poplar in Comparison to All Other Properties in Boulder (Excluding the Five Case Study Sites) (2006 – 2015)

Test Statistics	N	Median Value per Square Foot				Total Value (Land + Improvements)	
		2006	2015	Change 2007-2015	Percent Change	Percent Increase	Percent Change in Total Value per Square Foot
Mann-Whitney U (score)				4,792,690	4,775,293	4,902,519	5,822,427
Median Value: within ¼ mile of Aspenwall & Josephine Commons	517	\$221	\$403	\$172**	77.5%**	45.3%**	0.03%**
Median Value: all other residential properties in Lafayette	25,135	\$220	\$356	\$117**	47.5%**	36.1%**	0.02%**

Asymp. Significance (2-tailed): *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

The following charts (Figure 48) show that the average residential land, improvement, and total values in the quarter mile ring around Poplar have been at the same level or higher than the rest of Boulder since 2006. The average values for the properties in the eight-mile ring have had more fluctuation relative to the city averages. Until 2013, the land values were below the average. Conversely, improvement values were above the city average until 2014, but the total values (land plus improvements) have been above the city average since 2010.

Figure 51. Land, improvement, and total assessed values of residential properties within an eighth-mile and quarter-mile of Poplar compared to the rest of Boulder (2006-2015)



Neighbor Feedback

We interviewed three residents who live near the poplar development. None of them had anything negative to say about the development. In fact, one noted they preferred the Poplar development to the other newer development in the neighborhood since homes are being torn down and lots subdivided for higher density housing that is very high-priced.

We think the folks in Poplar are our neighbors just like everyone else. It's all positive. They seem like my social and economic peers; were all striving to have a good life. It's no different than anyone else." "Everyone feels the same way as I do. And I think that it's positive to the point that we're not thinking us versus them...The kids in the neighborhood cut through my property and it's all inter mingled...There's a shared green space that the kids go and play in...and the kids trick or treat in the development...The Poplar development has been one of the more stable developments...In this case...we are crowded, because we all want to live in the neighborhood, there is too much traffic and there are too many cars but it's not the Poplar neighborhoods fault. (Female resident, >10 years)

[His wife has lived in the neighborhood her entire life and he grew up in affordable housing]. [He's] aware of the exploding development and how it can ruin the neighborhood....The Poplar development seems really well incorporated into the neighborhood...better than my million-dollar home neighbors...[it is] more dense...no crime, just neighbors. (Male resident <5 years)

[To his recollection, the neighborhood did not initially embrace the Poplar development. Neighbors had significant concern about "Those People"; location, property values, "traditional NIMBY concerns". It was quite controversial with a mixed vote in the subdivision 50-50. In the end, he favored the development.] "There was a time when there was some interaction but it's not a tight knit neighborhood due to development patterns...Now most people in the neighborhood have bought after the development so no one thinks anything of it...No issues of crime, noise, its well taken care of. Even naysayers would say that it's a worthwhile project-no expression of concern in years. No negative effects. Slight positive is that it is a nice development. But people are really not aware as it has been assimilated into the community and there are no lingering issues. No NIMBY concerns at all. (Male resident, >20 years)

Poplar Evaluation Summary

The Poplar project has had no discernable impact on the surrounding neighborhood. It is quiet and stable, the homes are well-cared for, crime has not increased, and property values have sky rocketed. Traffic has increased, but not because of this development.

Table 47. Summary of the Poplar Case

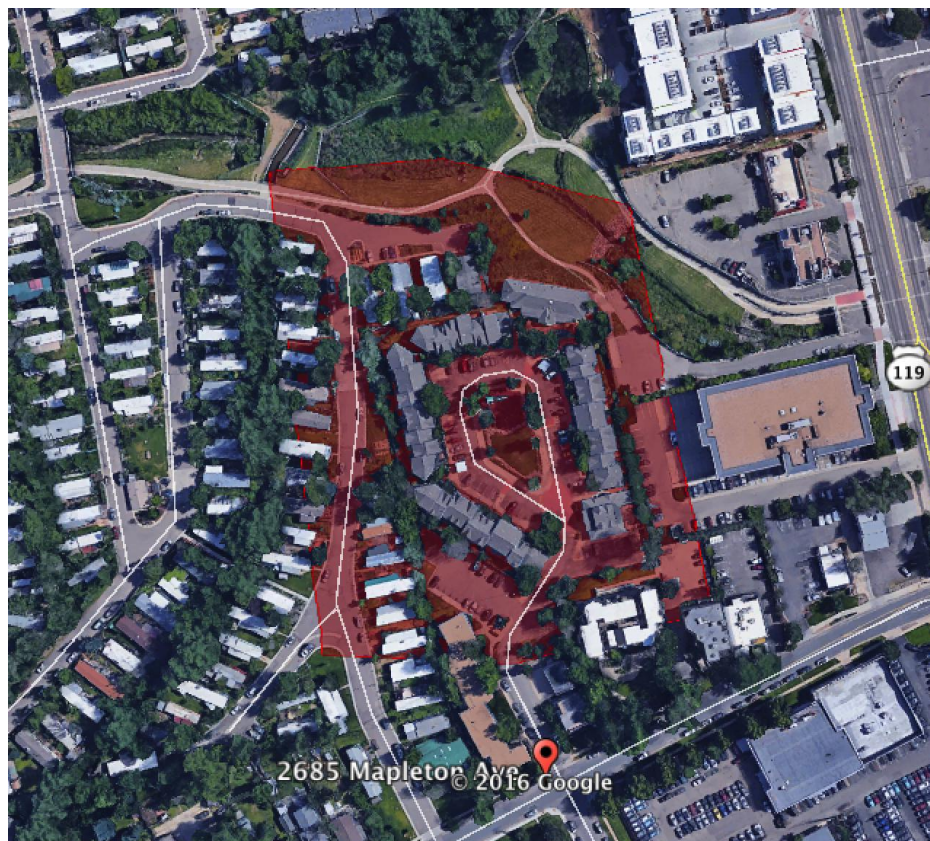
Topic	Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Property Values	Property Values	No impact	
Crime	Crime	Interviewees stated crime was not a problem	- There hasn't been a documented crime in this area in the last three years - There were only five service calls to the site in the last three years and they were for medical and minor nuisances
Impacts: Noise	Cars, dogs	No impact	We did not observe or hear any noise issues
Fit with Neighborhood	Neighborhood Compatibility	It's higher density, but it fits well, maybe even better than the newer homes being built on subdivided lots	The housing appears to be compatible with the surrounding area
Parking		No impact	We did not observe any issues

Woodlands

Introduction

Woodlands is located at 2685 Mapleton in central Boulder, one block from the bustling 28th Street corridor. The 35-unit complex operates in partnership with Boulder County's Family Self-Sufficiency program. The community has a central playground for children, a small community building and a Head Start child-care center. All residents earn 50% AMI or less and participate in the Family Self-Sufficiency program. The program, which maintains offices on site, assists residents to complete advanced job training, graduate from college and to become homeowners.

Figure 52. Aerial photo of Woodlands in 2016



Project Overview

Woodlands is located in a mixed-use neighborhood in central Boulder. In 1991, the architectural firm of Barker, Rinker, Seacat and Partners was selected to design Woodlands. The development includes six buildings, consisting of 32 attached two-story townhouses and three one-story wheelchair-accessible flats, a childcare center, and a community building. The buildings surround a central green space and playground defined by a loop drive with parking spaces for each of the units. Each unit has a private rear patio off the kitchen, and a front porch facing the central play area and surrounding parking. The development's design features are intended to enhance residents' security and sense of community. Development of Woodlands was funded through a 9% LIHTC competitive loan. Woodlands opened for occupancy in December 1993.

Figure 53. Woodlands



Neighborhood Context

The Woodlands community is located within a dense, urban residential neighborhood situated near single-family homes, multi-unit apartment buildings, a major bike/walking path and a significant commercial district (Table 48). It is zoned RH-4 (Residential High 4 stories) allowing for the 32 attached two-story townhomes.

Table 48. Residential Property Types near Woodlands (2015)

2015 Property Type	No. Parcels	Avg. Square Feet	Avg. Year Built	Avg. Land Value	Avg. Improvement Value	Avg. Total Value
Condominiums	327	698	1978	\$0	\$179,390	\$179,390
Duplex/Triplex	23	1,976	1945	\$398,130	\$352,987	\$751,117
Multi-Unit (4-8)	5	3,198	1973	\$394,400	\$566,680	\$961,080
Multi-Unit (9+)	3	9,726	1977	\$664,333	\$1,990,400	\$2,654,733
Single Family	174	1,376	1960	\$306,052	\$269,918	\$577,413
Weighted Average Values		1,049	1971	\$124,765	\$230,356	\$355,593
Total	532					

Post-Development Evaluation

The following evaluation of the Foothills development draws from the data we collected from seven sources: the U.S. Census, neighboring resident feedback from phone interviews, an interview with the property manager, the two tenant surveys we received, on-site observations and evaluation, police dispatch call data from 2014-2016, and property assessor's data for 2006-2015.

Neighborhood Context: Change in Population & Housing Characteristics

Construction of Woodlands began in 1991. According to the 1990 Census, 37% of the neighborhood residents were in family households, 56% of the population over age 25 had a bachelor's degree or higher, and the median household income was \$22,742. At the time Woodlands was built, there were 2,227 housing units in the neighborhood, of which 41% were owner-occupied and 51% were renter-occupied. Twenty-nine percent of the neighborhood's homes were single-family detached units, and 30% were multi-family structures with 10 or more units. Additionally, there were 272 mobile homes in the neighborhood.

In the 20 years that have followed the construction of Woodlands, the neighborhood character has changed in relatively small ways (see Table 49). According to the 2010 Census, 29% of the residents are in family households, a decrease of 6%. A significantly greater proportion of the neighborhood has a bachelor's degree—70%—and the median income has increased to \$51,568. However, the rate of residents in poverty has increased by 9%, up to 24%. The racial diversity of the neighborhood has not changed significantly, remaining approximately 90% white.

The overall number of housing units in the neighborhood has increased significantly—up 28%; however, the composition of those units has remained virtually unchanged, with the same proportion of owner- and renter-occupied units, and approximately the same percentage of single-family detached units (see Table 50). The number of large (10 or more units) multi-family properties has increased by 11%, and the number of mobile homes has fallen to 160, a decrease of 6%. As typical of Boulder, rents and home values have increased significantly in the neighborhood since 1990. The median home values of owner-occupied units near Woodlands increased by 370% from \$116,700 in 1990 to \$432,100 in 2010. The median unit value in Boulder increased by 317% during this same period, to \$257,700 in 2010. Median rents doubled during this period, from \$515 to \$1,030, which was just slightly less than the overall rate of increase in rents in Boulder.

Table 49. Population Change in the Woodlands Neighborhood (1990 – 2010)

Population Statistics	1990		2000		2010		Woodlands Change (1990 – 2010)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	4,246		5,553		5,342		1,096	26%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	6,098		5,914.1		6,997		899	15%
Age								
Under 5 Years	191	4%	250	5%	202	4%	11	-1%
5 to 17 Years	373	9%	468	8%	338	6%	-35	-2%
18-64	3,148	74%	4,278	77%	4,353	81%	1,205	7%
65+	534	13%	557	10%	449	8%	-85	-4%
Race/ Ethnicity								
White	3,942	93%	4,852	87%	4,799	90%	857	-3%
Black	67	2%	55	1%	42	1%	-25	-1%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	27	1%	18	0%	28	1%	1	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	109	3%	132	2%	155	3%	46	0%
Other race, or Two or more races	101	2%	496	9%	318	6%	217	4%
Hispanic	240	6%	867	16%	416	8%	176	2%
Households by Household Type								
Households	2,082		2,697		2,695		613	29%
Family Households:	771	37%	869	32%	794	29%	23	-8%
Married-couple Family	554	27%	626	23%	572	21%	18	-5%
Other Family	217	10%	243	9%	222	8%	5	-2%
With persons <18	359	17%	419	16%	347	13%	-12	-4%
Nonfamily Households	1,311	63%	1,828	68%	1,901	71%	590	8%
Educational Attainment for persons >25								
Bachelor's Degree or Higher*	1,559	56%	2,234	57%	2,313	70%	754	14%
Household Income								
Median Household Income*	\$22,742		\$40,641		\$51,568		\$28,826	127%
Ratio of Income In 2014 To Poverty Level *								
Persons for whom poverty is determined*	4,055		5,503		5,457		1,402	35%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	606	15%	984	18%	1,314	24%	708	9%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	901	22%	1,267	23%	1,222	22%	321	0%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	2,548	63%	3,256	59%	2,921	54%	373	-9%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000); * data for 2010 (ACS 2013 (5-Year Estimates) (SE)

Table 50. Housing Stock Changes in the Woodlands Neighborhood (1990 – 2010)

	1990		2000		2010		Woodlands Change (1990 – 2010)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	2,227		2,801		2,845		618	28%
Occupied Housing Units:	2,064	93%	2,697	96%	2,695	95%	631	2%
Owner Occupied	919	41%	1,191	43%	1,190	42%	271	1%
Renter Occupied	1,145	51%	1,506	54%	1,505	53%	360	1%
Vacant	163	7%	104	4%	150	5%	(13)	-2%
Housing Units in Structure*					2009-2011 Est.			
1 Unit:	848	38%	1,132	40%	960	36%	112	-2%
1, detached	635	29%	785	28%	799	30%	164	1%
1, attached	213	10%	347	12%	161	6%	(52)	-4%
2-9 Units	432	19%	591	21%	462	17%	30	-2%
10 or More Units	675	30%	948	33%	1,093	41%	418	11%
Mobile Home, trailer, other	272	12%	173	6%	160	6%	(112)	-6%
Home Values								
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$116,700		\$272,200		\$432,100		\$315,400	270%
Median Gross Rent*	\$515		\$853		\$1,030		\$515	100%

Source: 2000 and some 2010 Data (Social Explorer Dataset (SE), Census 2000 and 2010); except fields noted by an *. These data are estimates for 2010 based on the ACS 2013 (3-Year Estimates) (SE).

Site Evaluation

Table 51 summarizes the site observations made at Woodlands. In most site quality categories, Woodlands received high marks. However, the four site visits yielded three primary areas of concern: noise, the presence of litter, and the upkeep of the playground, each of which are described below.

Table 51. Woodlands Site Observation Scores

	10-Jul 4-4:20PM Sunday	11-Jul 5:45-6:10PM Monday	15-Jul 5:40-6PM Friday	22-Jul 2-2:15PM Tuesday	Total Average Score
Impact on Neighborhood					
Noise	3	2	2	4	2.75
Trash: litter	2	2	2	3	2.25
Trash: dumpster	2	2	4	4	3
Graffiti	4	4	4	4	4
Number of People on Property	[22]	[20]	[24]	[8]	
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4
Parking	4	4	4	4	4
Pets	4	4	3	4	3.75
Traffic: in and out of the development	4	4	4	3	3.75
Storm Water Runoff	4	4	2	2	3
Environmental encroachment	4	4	4	4	4
Open space access and views	4	4	4	4	4
Design Fit with existing neighborhoods	3	3	3	3	3
Context fit with neighborhood	3	3	3	3	3
Development Quality & Location					
Building Condition: Aesthetics	3	3	3	3	3
Building Condition: Safety	4	4	4	4	4
Playground Condition & Use	2	2	2	2	2
Landscaping, fencing, and trees	3	3	3	3	3
Access & Mobility	4	4	4	4	4
Average Score per Day	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3

Playground Condition

The playground is the physical heart of Woodlands (Figure 54). It is clearly heavily utilized by the community and brings residents of multiple races and ages together. The playground's appearance reflects its heavy use, with signs of wear and tear. There was litter present at the playground during several site visits. One observation visit occurred about two hours after a rainstorm. Poor drainage at the playground caused it to act as a retention pond. Moreover, after the rain, the playground smelled heavily of urine and there was wet trash lying around.

Figure 54. Playground in the center of Woodlands



Noise

The design of the site, in which the units surround the playground, may contribute to the relatively high noise levels generated by children's play that we observed. During one observation period, a child was loudly crying on the playground for about four minutes. The property manager explained that there are 40 to 50 children who participate in the Head Start program on the site and use the playground—however only two of the participants are actually Woodlands residents; the rest live in the surrounding neighborhood.

The property manager noted that noise complaints due to the playground activity are common—despite the fact that the management makes the presence of the play activity and noise clear to potential tenants. There is even an addendum to the lease agreement noting that the management will not attempt to silence normal child activity. There are, however, posted quiet hours (11 pm to 7 am) which are enforced. The relatively insular design of Woodlands has kept noise from being an issue for residents of neighboring properties.

Litter

During site observations, trash was seen strewn around the development, notably in the playground area. There was trash scattered around the dumpster locations during the first two site visits, but this had been addressed during the last two site visits. The condition of the trash collection area was mentioned as a problem in one of the two tenant survey responses we received.

Other site characteristics that were identified as somewhat problematic included landscaping, building aesthetics, the fit of the development's buildings into the surrounding neighborhood, storm water runoff, and trash around the dumpsters.

Storm Water Runoff

As noted above, the playground drained poorly. Following a light rain shower, the potholes in the parking lot were full of standing water. However, the water did not appear to affect the units.

Context and Fit with Neighborhood

Woodlands is surrounded by an eclectic mix of property types including single-story multi-unit dwellings, a trailer park, a four-story apartment building, and single-family detached homes. The neighboring apartment building is in fairly poor condition. Woodlands actually differs from its surrounding context in its architectural coherence. Significantly, it is separated from the street by neighboring properties, so its unique appearance does not cause it to stand out.

Building Condition: Aesthetics

Woodlands is attractive, although dated in style and rather faded. The pavement in the parking area, which is central to the development, needs significant repair and repainting. Many residents at Woodlands store things outdoors, and toys and bicycles are often left out in the public area, which gives an unkempt appearance to the property (Figure 55). The property management has tried to curb this by sending tenants a notice that they must be responsible for their children's toys and bikes, and the management has the right to throw out any that are left lying around.

Figure 55. Appliance and household items on the porch of a Woodlands residence; pavement damage



Landscaping

Overall, the landscaping at Woodlands appeared to be lacking, with large bare or dead patches in the grass, weeds, and trees in need of pruning (Figure 56).

Figure 56. Lacking landscaping at Woodlands



Crime

Police and Fire Department Activity at Woodlands

The following table is raw data from the Boulder Police Department's record of calls to the 911 center from the addresses at the Woodlands development. They are not from neighboring properties. They also are not records of crime. While the calls generally necessitate the dispatch of a police officer to the address, they do not equate to a recorded crime.

Table 52. Dispatch Calls by Type from the Woodlands Site (2014 – 2016)

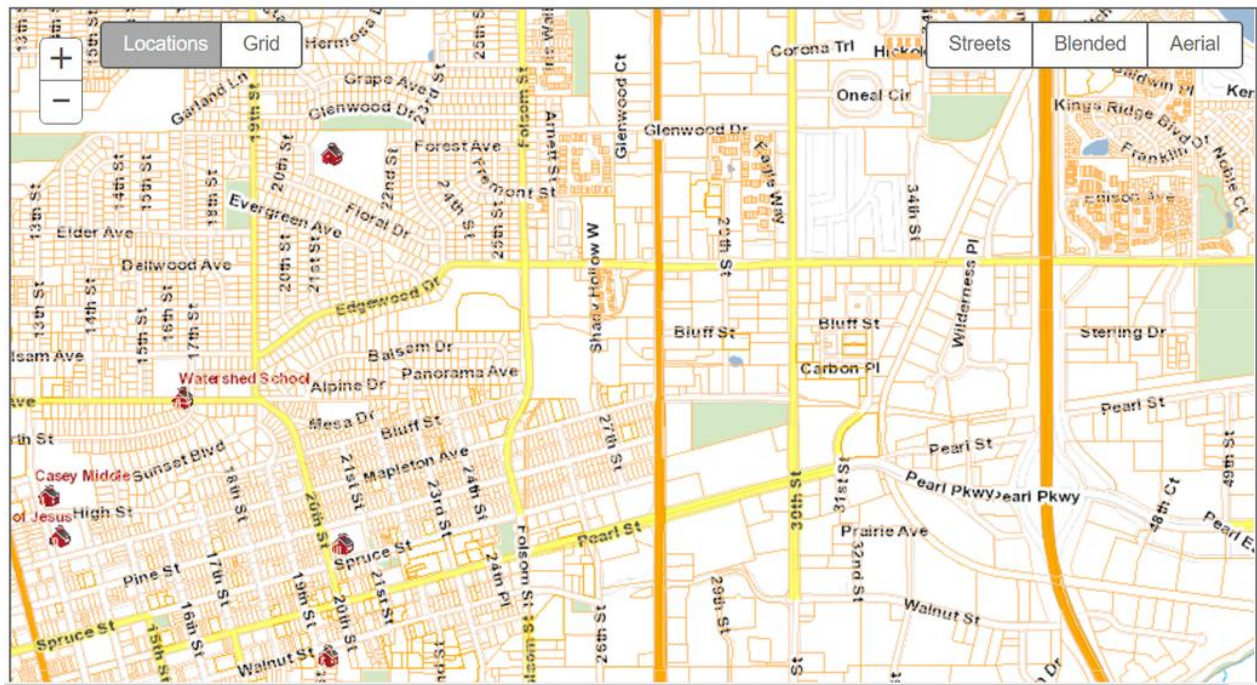
Woodlands	2014	2015	2016	TOTAL
Admin/ other	4	6	5	15
Assist calls	4	0	1	5
Crime- person	8	4	1	13
Crime- property	2	3	3	8
Drunk person	0	0	0	0
Fire-related (non-medical)	2	0	0	2
Medical	4	3	6	13
Missing person/ runaway	1	7	4	12
Nuisance- animal	1	0	6	7
Nuisance- disturbance	0	5	1	6
Nuisance-loitering	0	0	0	0
Nuisance- noise	1	1	0	2
Nuisance- vehicle	0	1	0	1
Welfare check	2	3	2	7
TOTAL EVENTS	29	33	29	91

At least 9 of the 12 “runaway” calls came from the same unit at Woodlands. In fact, at least one-third of the calls of any type in 2015 and 2016 came from that unit. This observation was echoed by the Property Manager, who reported that basically two residents make the majority of complaint calls. One of the two residents who responded to our survey noted that their neighbor had had things stolen from their porch.

Recorded Crimes

The map below (Figure 57) indicates there were no documented crimes in the area around the Woodlands development between 2014 and 2016. As noted above, neighboring residents interviewed did not mention crime being an issue in the neighborhood.

Figure 54. Crime map of the Woodlands area (2014 – 2016)



Source: Boulder County Sherriff online crime map

Property Values

Median per-square-foot property values have increased near the Woodlands development since 2006, although significantly less than the rest of Boulder—18% versus 48% (Table 53). Similarly, median total property value increased less in this area than in the rest of Boulder—18% versus 36%, but the difference was not significant. The lower increase in per-square-foot property values in this area may be due to the somewhat unusual mix of residential units in this area relative to the rest of Boulder. Whereas the city’s housing stock is split between ownership and rental and half are single family detached units, only a third of the housing in this area is single family residential and a slightly lower amount, 42%, is owner-occupied.

Figure 58. Residential parcels included in analysis of property values

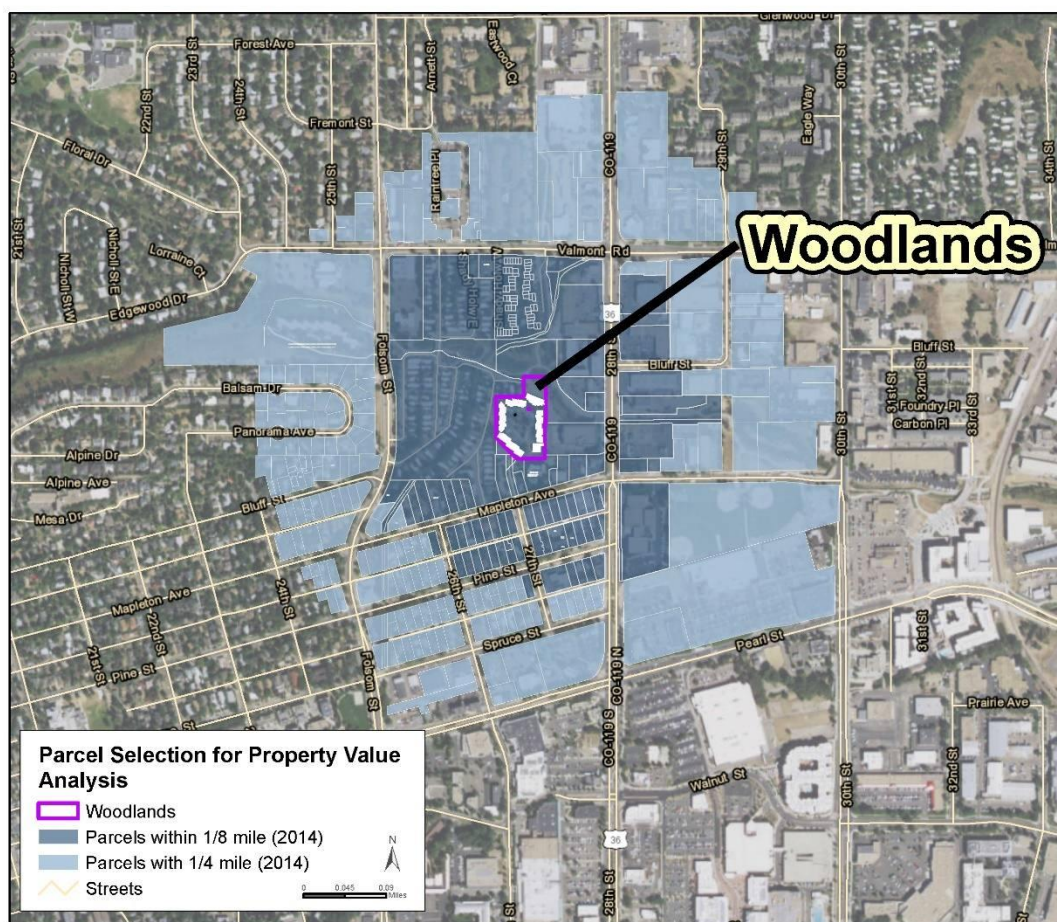


Table 53. Change in Property Values within a Quarter-Mile of Woodlands in Comparison to All Other Properties in Boulder (Excluding the Five Case Study Sites) (2006 – 2015)

Test Statistics	N	Median Value per Square Foot				Total Value (Land + Improvements)	
		2006	2015	Change 2007-2015	Percent Change	Percent Increase	Percent Change in Total Value per Square Foot
Mann-Whitney U (score)				4,156,335	4,140,694	4,710,918	6,527,698
Median Value: within ¼ mile of Woodlands	530	\$206	\$271	\$45**	18%**	18%	.02%
Median Value: all other residential properties in Boulder	25,135	\$220	\$356	\$117**	48%**	36%	0.0%

Asymp. Significance (2-tailed): *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

Figure 59. Trends in average land, improvement, and total residential parcel values within an eighth-mile and quarter-mile of Woodlands compared to the rest of Boulder (2006 – 2015)



Neighbor Feedback

We interviewed three people who live in the Woodlands neighborhood. Overall, neighboring residents have very positive impressions of Woodlands and are glad to have affordable housing in central Boulder. No interviewees mentioned concerns about crime, disorder, or management issues.

Design Quality

All neighbors interviewed had a favorable impression of the design of Woodlands. In fact, two interviewees who live in a nearby mobile home park reported being envious of the property, especially of the presence of solar panels on the units.

I walk through and it's always very clean and very nice. If you didn't know they were affordable housing you wouldn't be able to tell just by looking at them—they look great.

It looks great, seems to be functioning really well, it sits back... with a big parking lot and some sort of community building right in front. It's just a fantastic layout for the people who live there...

Impact of/Experience with Woodlands Property & People

The neighbors interviewed reported neutral or positive impressions of Woodlands and its residents. The development has not been discussed among neighbors and has not resulted in any negative impacts to the neighborhood. With the exception of one interviewee who has met a young resident of Woodlands through her volunteer activities, the neighbors we interviewed did not know any Woodlands residents personally.

Never met anyone who lives there. I see kids out playing all of the time, running around. I've never seen or heard about any problems over there.

It looks and feels like a nice place over there. I've never experienced anything negative.

Neighborhood Change

All interviewees report that indeed, their neighborhood has changed over the past several years, including more traffic, more visibly homeless people, more people in general, and changes to existing homes. However, no interviewees point to Woodlands as a factor in these changes. As a high-density, mixed-use area, there are more significant sources of parking challenges and traffic congestion. In fact, one respondent credits Woodlands with improving the neighborhood:

The neighborhood has improved. I would like to see more of those developments around here.

Development Process and Planning, and Communication with the Housing Authority

Two interviewees were residents of a nearby mobile home park, and both reported that they had heard a rumor that there had been a mobile home park on what is now the Woodlands development. One asserted that the site had been “taken over by the state” and left residents unhappy. The other interviewee believed that many current residents of Woodlands were formerly residents of the bygone mobile home park who were given the chance to move in to Woodlands when it was built. The fact that these impressions—with their attendant anxiety and perhaps jealousy for current mobile home residents—are based on “rumor” indicates a lack of information sharing by the housing authority that could lead to future misunderstandings.

Support for Affordable Housing

The neighbors who volunteered to participate in our interviews are strong supporters of affordable housing in general.

I know a lot of people complain about affordable housing and say, 'Not in my neighborhood.' They think it's going to bring down property values and bring up crime and all of these things, but as far as I understand it, statistically that has been proven to not be the case, over and over again, here in Boulder.

Resident Opinions of the Property and Neighborhood

Only two Woodlands residents responded to our survey. Neither reported any negative interactions with neighbors outside the development. One respondent, who had been on the waiting list for a unit in the development for more than a year, was very positive about living at Woodlands, noting its convenient location, sense of safety, diverse and hard-working fellow residents, and the value of the Family Self-Sufficiency program. The other respondent reported that they appreciate the school district and love the quality and feel of their unit, but has experienced problems with the property management and the condition of the trash collection area.

Woodlands Evaluation Summary

Table 54. Summary of the Woodlands Case

Typical Topics of Concern	Stated Concerns	Outcomes: Perception	Outcomes: Data
Property Values			- Median home values have increased 270% since development opened - There is no significant difference in the difference in total values from 2006 to 2015 when compared to the rest of Boulder, but the increase in value on a per square foot basis was significant and lower, but not negative.
Crime		- Neighbors report the neighborhood feels safe	- No crime reported in area - Anecdotal reports of things being stolen from neighbors' porches by the residents within the development
Physical Impacts (noise, graffiti, trash, water, sewer, City services)			- Sound of children's play is frequent and loud - Noise does not impact surrounding neighbors - Litter on site has not spilled into surrounding neighborhood - Head Start is a valuable amenity for the entire neighborhood
Vehicular Impacts (parking, traffic)			- On-site parking issues have not affected neighborhood
Design and Quality		- Neighboring mobile home residents are envious of solar panels	- Some upkeep needed on playground and parking lot - Toys and bikes scattered around the site
Neighborhood Character/Change		- Neighborhood has changed as city overall has changed - One neighbor says the "neighborhood has improved" as a result of Woodlands - Neighbors say Woodlands looks and feels like a nice place; children out playing is seen as positive	- Higher proportion of bachelor's degrees and higher median income - Higher percentage of neighborhood residents in poverty - Increase in units, but same distribution of unit types - Rents in neighborhood have doubled

SUMMARY OF CASES

Difference in the Change in Property Values

A Mann-Whitney Test indicated that several measures of change in property values were greater for the parcels within a quarter-mile of the five BHP sites than for all other residential parcels in Boulder between 2006 and 2015, including the percentage change in value per square foot, total value, and total value adjusted by the square footage of the home (Table 55). As shown in each case, the differences vary by site. For Broadway and Poplar, all four measures tested were greater near the Broadway site. The greater differences near Broadway, than in the rest of the city, may reflect the recent redevelopment in the area as some of the interviewees noted, with lots containing modest-priced smaller bungalows being “scraped” and replaced with much larger and higher-priced homes. For the Lee Hill and Foothills properties, which we combined for the property values analysis due to the overlap in the quarter-mile radius surrounding the sites, the absolute and percent difference in value per square foot was greater for the parcels near these sites than for the rest of Boulder. However, there was no difference in the increase in total value between Lee Hill and Foothills and the rest of Boulder, although the median percent change in total value was 12 percentage points greater near the two BHP sites. Woodlands was the one exception within the five sites: the differences by square foot (absolute and percent) and in total value were not as great for the Woodlands area as for the rest of Boulder. This may be due to the types of homes in this area since there was no statistical difference in the total value when the comparison was based on a value that was adjusted by the square footage of the properties.

Table 55. Change in Property Values Near Sites in Comparison to All Other Residential Property in Boulder

Median Value within a ¼ Mile of BHP Property	N	Difference in Value per Square Foot	Percent Change in Value per Square Foot	Percent Change in Total Value	Percent Change in Total Value Adjusted by Square Footage
5 Sites combined	2,088	\$124	49%*	40%**	0.03%**
Broadway	553	\$157**	53%**	48%**	0.03%**
Poplar	517	\$172**	78%**	45%**	0.03%**
Lee Hill & Foothills	488	\$157**	53%**	48%	0.00%
Woodlands	530	\$45**	18%**	18%**	0.02%
Boulder	25,135	\$117	48%	36%	0.02%

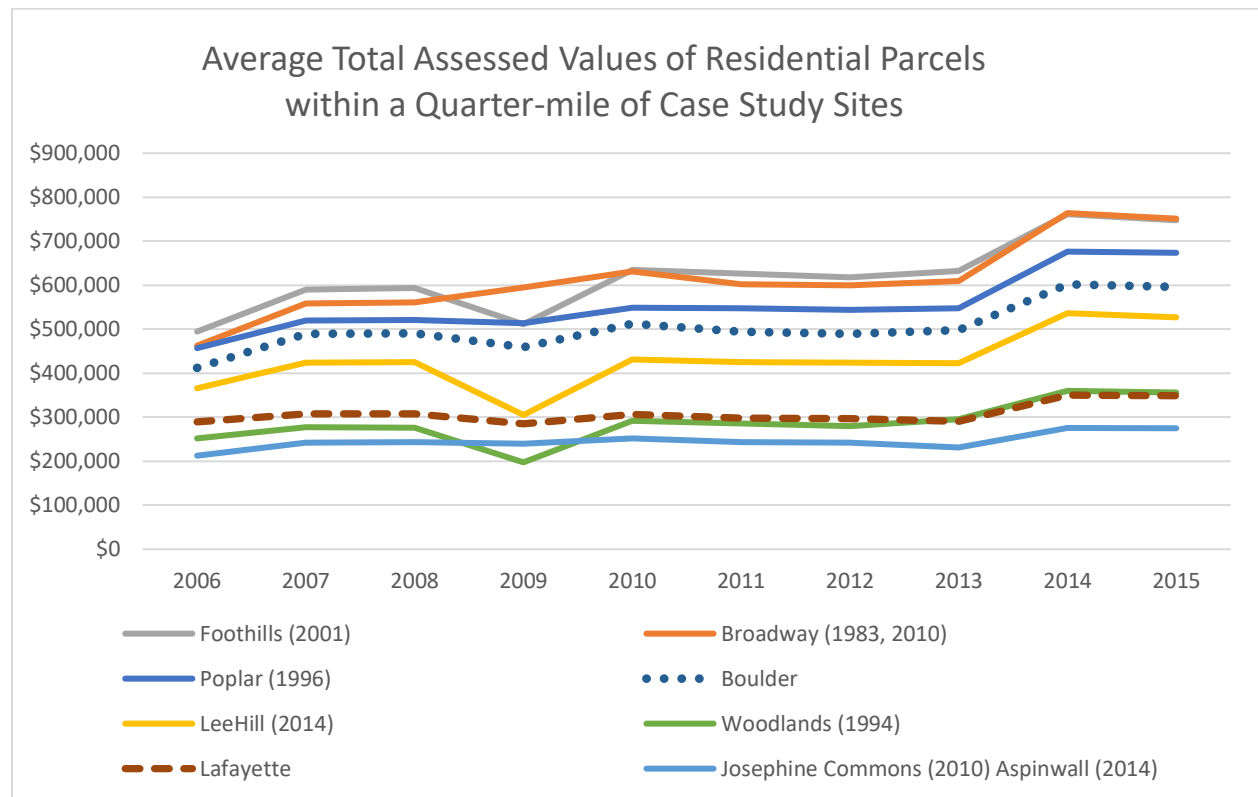
Significance: *p < .05, ** p < .01

The results were somewhat different for the sites near Aspinwall (Table 56). On a square-foot basis, the increases were greater for the all other parcels in Lafayette than for the parcels within a quarter-mile of Aspinwall. However, in terms of increases in total value, there was no difference between the rest of Lafayette and the parcels within a quarter-mile of Aspinwall. This may be due to the heterogeneity of properties near Aspinwall, from small “miner cottages” to “million dollar homes,” as one interviewee described the neighborhood. The improvements may not be increasing at the same rate as the rest of the city, but the land, and thus total value, is keeping up with the rate of increase elsewhere in Lafayette.

Table 56. Change in Property Values near Aspinwall in Comparison to All Other Residential Property in Lafayette

Median Value within a ¼ Mile of BHP Property	N	Difference in Value per Square Foot	Percent Change in Value per Square Foot	Percent Change in Total Value	Percent Change in Total Value Adjusted by Square Footage
Aspinwall	239	\$27**	16%**	12%	0.01%
Lafayette	7,522	\$43**	24%**	13%	0.01%

Figure 60. Average total assessed values of residential parcels within a quarter-mile of case study sites



Summary of Site Observations

Table 57. Summary of Site Observations

Average of site visit scores (four-point scale)							Average Score
	Aspinwall	Broadway	Foothills	Lee Hill	Poplar	Woodlands	
Impact on Neighborhood							
Noise	4	3	4	4	4.0	2.8	3.6
Trash: Litter	3.5	2.6	4	4	4.0	2.3	3.4
Trash: Dumpster	4	3	4	4	4.0	3.0	3.7
Graffiti	4	3.8	4	4	4.0	4.0	4.0
Number of People on Property	[18]	[10]	[5]	[3]	[2]	[19]	[9.5]
Loitering	4	4	4	4	4.0	3.5	3.9
Pets	4	4	4	4	4.0	3.8	4.0
Parking	4	4	4	4	3.5	4.0	3.9
Traffic in/out of Development	4	3.4	4	4	3.0	3.8	3.7
Storm Water Runoff	4	3.8	4	4	4.0	3.0	3.8
Environmental Encroachment	3	3.8	4	4	4.0	4.0	3.8
Open Space Access & Views	3	3	4	4	4.0	4.0	3.7
Design Fit with neighborhood	2	4	3	4	3.8	3.0	3.3
Context fit with neighborhood	3	4	3	3	3.8	3.0	3.3
Development Quality & Location							
Building Condition: Aesthetics	4	3	4	4	3.8	3.0	3.6
Building Condition: Safety	4	3.4	4	4	4.0	4.0	3.9
Landscaping, Fencing, & Trees	4	2.4	4	4	4.0	2.0	3.4
Playground Condition & Use	4	2.4	4	4	4.0	3.0	3.6
Access & Mobility	2	4	3	4	3.8	4.0	3.5
Average of Site Visits	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.3	3.7

Summary of Change in Neighborhood Population & Housing Characteristics

Table 58. Demographic Changes near the Broadway, Foothills, and Lee Hill Sites Compared to Boulder (2000 – 2015)

Population Characteristics	Broadway Change 2000 - 2015		Foothills & Lee Hill Change 2000-2015		Boulder Change 2000- 2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	210	5%	492	8%	9,246	10%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	-1,082	-21%	554	17%	329	8%
Age						
Under 5 Years	-36	-1%	36	0%	-271	-1%
5 to 17 Years	132	2%	43	-1%	205	-1%
17-64	-210	-8%	-63	-6%	6,287	-1%
65+	324	7%	471	7%	3,025	2%
Race						
White Alone	346	4%	887	7%	8,334	0.2%
Black or African American Alone	-27	-1%	-33	-1%	-118	-0.2%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	-17	0%	-19	0%	-188	-0.2%
Asian or Pacific Islander	80	2%	85	1%	1,461	1.0%
Other Race Alone, or Two or More Races	-172	-5	-433	-7	-243	-0.8%
Hispanic	-169	-5%	656	9%	1,149	0.4%
Households by Household Type						
Households	95	6%	478	20%	2,569	6.5%
Family Households:	140	5%	-69	-14%	799	-0.7%
Married-couple Family	196	9%	25	-8%	1,148	0.7%
Other Family	-56	-4%	-94	-6%	-349	-1.4%
With persons < 18 years	64	3%	-45	-9%	1,770	0.7%
Nonfamily Households	-45	-5%	541	14%	-121	-1.6%
Educational Attainment						
Persons 25 Years & Over with Bachelor's or Higher*	386	10%	612	28%	4,599	5.5%
Household Income & Poverty Status						
Median Household Income*	\$24,841	37%	12,218	15%	13,736	30.7%
Ratio of Income in to Poverty Level*						
Population for whom poverty status is determined:	330	9%	446	7%	7,898	9.1%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	223	5%	97	1%	6,818	5.7%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	67	1%	400	5%	501	-0.6%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	40	-6%	-58	-6%	579	-5.0%

Table 59. Demographic Changes near the Poplar and Woodlands Sites Compared to Boulder (1990 – 2010)

Population Characteristics	Poplar Change 1990-2010		Woodlands Change 1990 - 2010		Boulder Change 1990 – 2010	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Population	2,218	31%	1,096	26%	14,073	17%
Population Density (per sq. mile)	2,641	97%	899	15%	254	7%
Age						
Under 5 Years	-19	-2%	11	-1%	-42	-1%
5 to 17 Years	339	0%	-35	-2%	950	-1%
17-64	1,463	-1%	1,205	7%	10,993	0%
65+	442	3%	-85	-4%	2,172	1%
Race						
White Alone	1,149	-10%	857	-3%	8,612	-5%
Black or African American Alone	9	0%	-25	-1%	-172	0%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	7	0%	1	0%	17	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	260	2%	46	0%	1,471	1%
Other Race Alone, or Two or More	542	5%	134+83	4%	4,145	4%
Hispanic	1,124	11%	176	2%	4,485	4%
Households by Household Type						
Households	933	31%	613	29%	6,621	19%
Family Households:	421	-4%	23	-8%	825	-5%
Married-couple Family	341	-3%	18	-5%	760	-4%
Other Family	80	-1%	5	-2%	65	-1%
With persons < 18 years	140	-5%	590	8%	5,796	5%
Nonfamily Households	519	4%	-12	-4%	355	-3%
Educational Attainment						
Persons 25 Years & Over with Bachelor's or Higher*	937	-1%	754	14%	10,959	13%
Household Income & Poverty Status						
Median Household Income*	23,427	50%	28,826	127%	25,132	85%
Ratio of Income in to Poverty Level*						
Population for whom poverty status is determined:	2,252	32%	1,402	35%	13,814	18%
Under 1.00 (Doing Poorly)	283	1%	708	9%	6,020	4%
1.00 to 1.99 (Struggling)	583	3%	321	0%	3,448	2%
2.00 and over (Doing ok)	1,388	-3%	373	-9%	4,346	-5%

Table 60. Housing Changes near the Broadway, Foothills, and Lee Hill Sites Compared to Boulder (2000 – 2015)

Housing Characteristics	Broadway 2000 - 2015		Foothills & Lee Hill 2000-2015		Boulder 2000 – 2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	158	9%	919	45%	3,852	9%
Occupied Housing Units	95	-3%	870	-1%	2,569	-3%
Owner Occupied	138	4%	444	-8%	547	-2%
Renter Occupied	-43	-4%	421	11%	2,022	2%
Vacant	63	3%	49	1%	1,283	3%
Housing Units in Structure						
1 Unit	168	1%	516	-1%	1,430	7%
1, detached	146	0%	244	-9%	421	-3%
1, attached	22	1%	273	8%	1,009	2%
2-9 Units	-39	-3%	372	11%	559	0%
10 or More Units	78	3%	178	6%	1,913	2%
Mobile home, trailer, other	-18	-1%	-98	-14%	-121	-1%
Housing Costs						
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$276,681	61%	\$317,900	90%	207,900	68%
Median Gross Rent	\$49	4%	\$460	38%	425	52%

Table 61. Housing Changes near the Poplar and Woodlands Sites Compared to Boulder (1990 – 2010)

	Poplar 1990-2010		Woodlands 1990 - 2010		Boulder 1990 - 2010	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Housing Units	1,083	35%	618	28%	7,209	20%
Occupied Housing Units	942	-2%	631	2%	6,621	-1%
Owner Occupied	574	-4%	271	1%	3,692	2%
Renter Occupied	370	2%	360	1%	2,929	-2%
Vacant	141	2%	-13	-2%	588	1%
Housing Units in Structure						
1 Unit	623	2%	112	-2%	4,144	24%
1, detached	389	-2%	164	1%	3,303	1%
1, attached	233	4%	-52	-4%	841	1%
2-9 Units	349	6%	30	-2%	384	-2%
10 or More Units	126	2%	418	11%	2,037	0%
Mobile home, trailer, other	-148	-9%	-112	-6%	235	0%
Housing Costs						
Median House Value for Owner-Units*	\$453,700	361%	\$315,400	270%	373,900	305%
Median Gross Rent	\$1,065	183%	\$515	100%	588	113%

Summary of Crime

The above cases documented little to no documented crimes at the case study sites in the recent history, approximately 2014 to 2016. However, these sites do have frequent police activity due to service calls that are dispatched from the police and fire departments in response to calls for services. As the table indicates, the larger sites average about one call for service per week per year, and about 50% of these calls are for medically related emergencies or services. The other calls are frequently related to suspected crimes that occurred at the developments, not within the neighborhood. For instance, at Broadway, the property manager told us a number of the calls about property crimes were for stolen bikes from the development. Further, most of these calls do not translate into police reports or convicted crimes.

Table 62. Summary of Calls for Service to Case Study Sites (2014 – 2016)

	Total Calls for Service to Case Study Sites 2014 to 2016 (Boulder) & 2015 to Q12017 (Lafayette)					
Categories of Calls for Services	Aspinwall and Josephine Commons (2.25 Years)	Broadway East and West (3 Years)	Foothills (3 Years)	Lee Hill (3 Years)	Poplar (3 Years)	Woodlands (3 Years)
Admin/ other	2	17	9	10		15
Assist calls	18	12	17	9		5
Crime- person	6	19	29	8		13
Crime- property	14	25	22	17		8
Drunk person	1		1	7		
Fire-Related (non-medical)	4	6	5	4		2
Medical	65	22	22	62	2	13
Missing person/ runaway	1	6	9	2		12
Nuisance- animal	3	9	19		1	7
Nuisance- disturbance	3	10	4	5		6
Nuisance- loitering			1	1		
Nuisance- noise		14	9			2
Nuisance- vehicle	2	4	8		2	1
Welfare check	6	1	11	12		7
Total Calls	125	145	166	137	5	91
Average Calls per Year	56	48	55	46	2	30

These data are from the City of Boulder and Boulder County Sherriff CAD Systems which record all Calls for Service to the 911 number. The data were pulled by year for the addresses associated with each housing development.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this project was to learn whether and in what ways the development of affordable housing impacts its surrounding neighborhood. To study this question in the city of Boulder and Boulder County, Colorado, we carefully selected case study sites that comprised a range of neighborhood types, construction dates, number and type of units, and tenant demographics, and had a variety of documented neighborhood resident concerns prior to construction.

This study employed a comprehensive approach, drawing from multiple data sources and methods, to test the validity of the concerns neighborhood residents raised regarding the six affordable housing developments we examined. We conducted an extensive news archive search to identify the concerns and issues that were publicly raised about each site before and after its development. To test whether, and to what extent, the specific concerns raised as well as typical concerns about affordable housing developments were valid in these cases, we compared the conditions in each neighborhood prior to the development of the affordable housing with the current neighborhood conditions. Specifically, we used census data to describe the neighborhood's demographics before and after the affordable housing was developed; detailed parcel records to track changes in the types and values of the surrounding housing units; and analysis of police and fire activity and crime data surrounding each affordable housing development. Previous studies have noted that there are several characteristics of the affordable housing itself and the character of the neighborhood in which it is built that affect whether the affordable housing impacts crime, property values, nuisances, and other concerns. To ensure we had a nuanced understanding of each affordable housing development, we also conducted on-site observations to document the construction quality, design, and property management; interviews with neighbors to understand their interactions with and observations of the site; surveys of residents to gain an insider's perspective on the developments; and interviews with property managers to ask questions about the things we observed or heard through our research.

FINDINGS

Demographic changes to the neighborhood

It can be clearly stated that the introduction of affordable housing to the case study neighborhoods *did not produce any negative changes to the social character or quality of the neighborhoods*. In terms of neighborhood residents' educational level, income, and poverty rate, the neighborhoods surrounding the affordable housing developments we studied were in most cases *better* than the city overall. Additionally, the study neighborhoods were generally less racially diverse (i.e., more white) than the city overall. The percentage of residents in Boulder and Lafayette with bachelor's degrees or higher has increased significantly over time, and the areas surrounding the case study sites are no exception. In the neighborhoods surrounding four of the five Boulder case study sites, the median household income is significantly *higher* than that of the city overall. At one site (Woodlands), the rate of increase in median income is greater than Boulder's has been since 1990, but the median income in the neighborhood remains lower than the city's. In the neighborhood surrounding Aspinwall in Lafayette, median household income has increased steadily, but at a lower rate than the city overall, and the median household income in the neighborhood remains lower than the city's. Similarly, the percentage of neighborhood residents in poverty in the neighborhoods surrounding the five Boulder sites is lower than that of the city overall. In the Aspinwall neighborhood in Lafayette, the increase of residents in poverty has been significantly smaller than that of the city overall, although the overall percentage near Aspinwall remains higher, at approximately the same percentage it was before the development (10%).

In the neighborhoods surrounding four of the five Boulder case study sites, the percentage of residents in poverty is significantly *lower* than that of the City overall. Finally, the city of Boulder is 88.5% white; four of the five Boulder case study neighborhoods have a higher percentage of white residents than the city overall. Lafayette is 87.7% white, which is a higher percentage than the Aspinwall neighborhood. However, that neighborhood has lost 15% of its Hispanic population while the city overall has become more Hispanic.

Crime

The introduction of affordable housing developments did not lead to any increase in crime in the surrounding neighborhoods. Specifically, in the past three years, there were no documented crimes near three of the five Boulder sites. While two of the sites had crimes in the vicinity, these were not associated with the affordable housing developments. There were rumors of mail theft-related crime in the neighborhood surrounding the Lafayette case study site. However, mail theft had occurred in that area prior to the development of Aspinwall, and in a similar crime in nearby Louisville in 2016, the arrested perpetrators were not from Lafayette. To our knowledge, no one has been arrested for the alleged mail theft incident in Lafayette.

Traffic & Parking

Despite being relatively higher density development than their surrounding neighborhoods, five of the six affordable housing developments in our study did not generate traffic or parking-related issues. In Lafayette, neighbors of the Aspinwall development have experienced an increase in traffic and speeding in their neighborhood, however the source of the speeders is unclear. The high volume of traffic is widely acknowledged to be “terrible” in Boulder due to the county’s rapid growth and densification, but only a few residents or neighbors in Lafayette pointed to the affordable housing developments as a potential cause of some traffic-related issues but not necessarily the traffic *volume*.

Property Values

Concern for property values in surrounding neighborhoods is widely cited as residents’ primary concern about affordable housing development. However, our analysis of the six case study sites found that they had *no negative effect* on neighboring property values. All case study neighborhoods saw increases in assessed property values close to the city average or much greater. In the neighborhoods that experienced a slower rate of growth than the city overall, the cause was due to the size of homes. The only slight declines observed that did not correspond to a citywide decline were the median value of improvements within an eighth-mile of the Lee Hill, Foothills, and Poplar developments in 2014. However, this decline in improvement values appears to be due to a systematic adjustment in assessed improvements for certain types of properties throughout Boulder. We did not investigate the adjustment with the assessor, but 21% of our sample of 27,475 parcels had declines between \$50,000 and \$1,000,000 in this time period. Of the 2,090 parcels near the five Boulder sites, 655 saw a reduction of \$50,000 to \$366,000 in assessed improvement values.

Moreover, all of the case study neighborhoods contained predominantly single-family homes prior to the construction of the affordable housing developments, and this character has been maintained since the developments were completed.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In concept, affordable housing is widely supported by community residents. It is included in comprehensive plans, and voters commonly support funding proposals for it. The Boulder city and county comprehensive plans and subcommunity plans have adopted goals for affordability, diversity, and inclusive neighborhoods. The great majority of residents interviewed in this study expressed support for affordable housing. Nonetheless, too often, when affordable housing is proposed for development, neighbors express concern.

In communities such as Boulder and Lafayette that are experiencing intense growth pressures, residents often feel overwhelmed by the pace of change. They also have invested time and money in their neighborhood and they seek input into the design and uses of new developments within their communities. While it can be demonstrated that relatively small housing developments such as those produced by BHP and BCHA do not make major impacts on their neighborhoods, because of residents' heightened sensitivity to change, when higher-density affordable developments are proposed, they may meet with undue negativity, as well as legitimate concerns about traffic flows, noise from deliveries, and whether there is adequate access to social supports and services for the intended residents.

Based on the findings of this study, our recommendations to improve the process of future development efforts all fall under the heading of "Communication," and it should be frequent, two-way, and ongoing beyond the certificate of occupancy.

Communicate clearly during the planning process.

Planners need to be careful about using nuanced, technical language in communication with the public. When adopted plans call for affordable housing, the plans should be specific about how much and where this type of housing is needed. If the public does not truly understand what is planned, and has only a vague idea of the commitment to "affordability" goals, they may feel that a specific plan for affordable housing is a "bait and switch." To prevent a misperception that the housing authorities are being intentionally vague (or lacking in expertise), neighbors should be made aware that the process of securing funding for affordable housing development is often slow, piecemeal and dependent on external decisions. Similarly, housing developers, and the host City, need to let the public know when HUD policy, funding, or city policies and standards require a change to the design. Conveying these legitimate development constraints may prevent the public from feeling misled about the project. Stakeholder committees in the planning process should be diverse, and planners should make it transparent how committee input will be used in development decisions. Finally, the housing authorities should maintain a social media presence during the development phase to provide prompt answers to public questions, and to correct misinformation before rumors spread.

Provide excellent property management that includes communication with neighbors.

The relatively few problems we observed at the case study sites could be directly attributed to property management problems. For example, the issues with litter around the Broadway site during the first two site visits was resolved by the third visit; the interview with the property manager indicated that the issue was due to a temporary gap in management. Similarly, complaints from neighbors around Aspinwall due to residents smoking on neighbors' private property were both caused and solved by property management. Unsolved rumors about potential crimes near the Aspinwall site could also be addressed through more active engagement with the police and communication to the surrounding

neighbors. These updates could also explain police activity, much of which is for medical calls. The Good Neighbor Agreement that 1175 Lee Hill has with its surrounding neighborhoods appears to be a successful model for this type of ongoing communication that should be adopted by other developments.

Communicate the expertise of the housing authorities.

The two housing authorities whose properties were included in this study are expert developers and property managers. Neighbors are often concerned about the impact that “hard to house” residents will have on their community. However, skilled property managers keep any issues that arise internal to the developments. In contrast, site-based “Section 8” apartments typically have a greater impact on their neighbors. Demonstrating and communicating the housing authorities’ legacy of successful property development, properties’ award-winning designs, the life-changing opportunities provided to residents—as well as the authorities’ excellent track record of carefully listening and responding to neighbors’ concerns—will help instill confidence in the future.

Provide information about the development.

The multi-family rental properties in this study are typical in that they are not well-integrated into the surrounding community of single-family homes. Units turn over relatively frequently, residents have different schedules, and residents and neighbors seldom interact. In this sense, these properties are not any more disruptive to or isolated from the neighborhood than a market-rate development would likely be. However, when nearby residents perceive differences or experience problems, they need a way to get information and answers to minimize frustrations. The model being used by the Lee Hill development may be useful for others to adopt, especially Aspinwall. The residents we interviewed who lived in the Aspinwall neighborhood were looking for information on the frequent police visits, a way to talk to property managers, a way to solve the problem of off-site smokers, and the like.

Communicate the ways that affordable housing benefits the entire community.

While many Boulder residents support the notion of affordable housing, in a housing market that is challenging for many households, questions can arise about the “fairness” of subsidized units and whether the residents “deserve” to live in Boulder. In Boulder, the need for affordable housing can be tied to the salient homelessness issue. The wide divergence between what most jobs pay and what most housing costs have pushed thousands of people into housing crises, including sheltered and unsheltered forms of homelessness. Most neighbors of the County’s homeless shelter whom we interviewed were not happy with its presence. Yet, some of those same neighbors saw the value of the transitional housing at 1175 Lee Hill and were pleased with its operations. Similarly, in Lafayette, while neighbors have raised concerns about the design and development process and some management issues, they have embraced the diversity of their neighbors. The public needs to understand that having an ample supply of good-quality, affordable units is essential for solving the homelessness crisis that is both directly and indirectly affecting so many residents of Boulder.

Tighe’s 2010 study concluded that “Affordable housing appears to have “no effect when (1) affordable housing is sited in healthy and vibrant neighborhoods; (2) the structure of the affordable housing does not change the quality or character of the neighborhood; (3) the management of affordable housing is responsive to problems and concerns; and (4) affordable housing is dispersed” (p. 24). Our findings echo this conclusion. The majority of the neighbors we interviewed were pleased with the developments and had positive perceptions of the residents.

Well-designed, well-managed affordable housing provides life-changing benefits for the residents with almost no cost to the surrounding neighborhood. Together, the findings of this study suggest that the strong demand for affordable housing must be met through creative funding, thoughtful siting, innovative design, and collaborative planning. Once built, neighbors, affordable housing residents, and property managers need to openly and actively discuss neighborhood concerns and solutions to any issues that arise. The six cases in this study demonstrate that affordable housing can be successfully added to a wide variety of neighborhoods without creating negative material or social impacts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Site Observation Score Sheet

SITE OBSERVATION RATING SYSTEM

- 1-HIGH/VERY POOR
- 2-NOT GREAT/POOR
- 3-AVERAGE/FINE
- 4-BEST/NONE

Impact on Neighborhood

NOISE

- 1-Very loud: may potentially hurt one's ears. For example, high volume audio bass from a sound system or an ambulance
- 2-Loud: disrupts sleep and ability to concentrate on tasks or conversations
- 3-Minor: conversations are audible but not distracting
- 4-Minimal: low sound to silent

TRASH: LITTER

- 1-High amount of trash dispersed throughout site; objects are both large and small; litter extremely visible in multiple areas
- 2-Wrappers and small trash dispersed throughout site, reflecting a tendency to place garbage where it is convenient instead of in appropriate receptacle
- 3-One-three pieces of misplaced litter; occasional trash
- 4-No trash; absence of litter

TRASH: DUMPSTER

- 1-Dumpster is overflowing; cannot close due to high volume; trash bags stacked on top of each other; trash area is heavily littered; recyclables and non-recyclables mixed
- 2-Dumpster is full and at capacity; large trash objects are negligently disposed of; disorganized; recyclables and non-recyclables mixed
- 3-Some trash surrounding dumpster; trash bags may be placed beside an empty or half-empty dumpster; recyclables and non-recyclables separated
- 4-Trash located in dumpster/recycling bin; dumpster is closed; non- issue

GRAFFITI

- 1-Numerous graffiti marks; large images; sayings are offensive; curse words
- 2-Several graffiti marks; smaller in size; convey both a positive and negative message
- 3-Minor markings; convey a positive message but is unauthorized
- 4-No graffiti whatsoever

PEOPLE ON PROPERTY

This category was not subject to a rating. Researchers counted the number of people they saw on the property during their site visits.

LOITERING

- 1-Large groups of people that are neither coming or going and look like they could pose a risk or be involved in criminal activity
- 2-Groups of people lingering without purpose

- 3-Few people are seen lingering on the property without purpose
- 4-People in the development are coming and going with purpose or have defined activities within the space

PARKING

- 1-There are no open spaces and cars are circling looking for parking
- 2-2 to 5 open parking spaces in the lot or on the street
- 3-Ample parking (more than 5 spaces)
- 4-Many open spaces even during peak times (after 5)

PETS

- 1-Numerous pets running loose; pet waste visible on property; excessive barking
- 2-Few pets running loose; some barking; some visible pet waste
- 3-Pets leashed; occasional visible pet waste; good curbing of pets
- 4-Pets leashed; no visible pet waste; no barking

TRAFFIC IN AND OUT OF THE DEVELOPMENT

- 1-High amount of traffic in and out of the development; entrance/exit is congested
- 2-Medium to high amount of traffic entering or exiting development
- 3-Traffic is low or flows without issue or congestion
- 4-Very little to no traffic entering or exiting the development

STORM WATER

- 1-Numerous areas of standing water with no visible drainage or storm water facilities
- 2-Some areas of standing water and not clear drainage
- 3-No areas of standing water and clear drainage facilities
- 4-Development has green infrastructure, clear drainage with no evident issues

ENVIRONMENTAL ENCROACHMENT

- 1-Development impedes present environmental habitat
- 2-Development encroaches somewhat on the surrounding environment with little protection
- 3-Development provides some restraints to ensure environmental protection
- 4-Development allows for proper borders for environmental protection

OPEN SPACE ACCESS AND VIEWS

- 1-Open space access is completely obstructed; Views are now completely blocked
- 2-Minimal Open space access; minimal views
- 3-Good access to open space; partial views throughout the development
- 4-Unobstructed access and views for surrounding neighborhood

DESIGN FIT WITH NEIGHBORHOOD (COLOR, DENSITY, UNIT TYPE)

- 1-Completely different from surrounding neighborhood context in color, density and unit type
- 2-One to two design features, building and site, are similar to surrounding neighborhood
- 3-A good compromise design-wise to surrounding neighborhood
- 4-Completely meshes with the design of the surrounding neighborhood

CONTEXT FIT WITH ADJACENT NEIGHBORHOODS

- 1-Use is different from the surrounding neighborhood and development is isolated
- 2-Use is different but somewhat compatible with the area, but the project is not integrated
- 3-Use fits with some of the other uses in the area, and the development is partially integrated
- 4-Use fits well with most or all other uses, and the site is integrated with the adjacent neighborhood

Development Quality & Location

BUILDING CONDITION: AESTHETICS

- 1-Building and premises are very dilapidated and uncared for; items are being stored outside and the area looks dirty or untidy
- 2-Building and premises do not appear to be well cared for but aren't completely in disrepair
- 3-Building and premises are cared for but there are areas that need improvement or look unkempt
- 4-Building and premises are obviously well cared for and free of tarnishes, trash or outside storage

BUILDING CONDITION: SAFETY

- 1-Building appears unsafe to the point where it may pose a danger to residents
- 2-The safety of the building may be questionable and could pose minor risk
- 3-Building appears safe without major or minor risks
- 4-Building appears very safe and is ADA accessible

PLAYGROUND CONDITION AND USE

- 1-Playground and playground area is dirty and in disrepair; needs new paint; needs to be repaired; filled with trash; appears unsafe
- 2-Playground is highly used; could use new paint, mulch, appears dirty or uncared for
- 3-Playground looks well cared for; there is a safe amount of mulch and it is painted without tarnishes
- 4-Playground has new mulch and is newly painted; looks clean, safe and free of trash

LANDSCAPING, FENCING AND TREES

- 1-Unkempt, broken or missing fencing, lack of trees or other vegetation, poor upkeep of landscaping (lack of mowing, tree trimming)
- 2-Some fencing, occasional landscaping upkeep
- 3-Good upkeep, landscaping is well kept
- 4-Landscaping, fencing and trees are well maintained

ACCESS & MOBILITY OF THE SITE

- 1-Poor walkability score; segregated from transportation; poor access to development; no bike path access
- 2-Low walkability score; some public transportation options; inefficient access to development; some bike path access
- 3-Good walkability score; better public transit options; good access to development; good bike path access
- 4-High walkability score; extensive public transit access; efficient access to development; excellent bike path access

Site Observation details

[Aspinwall and Josephine Commons](#)

[Broadway East and West](#)

[Foothills Community](#)

Lee Hill Road

Poplar Court

Woodlands

Appendix B: Interview recruitment letter and interview script



College of Architecture and Planning
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER

COMIRB
APPROVED for
EXEMPTION
21-Jul-2016

Name
Street Address
City, State Zip

Dear _____ (name)

We are seeking your feedback for a research study on one or more of the properties developed and managed by the City housing authority, Boulder Housing Partners. The purpose of the study is to understand the performance of the authorities' properties, and specifically, whether any of the residents' concerns about the properties during the approval process have been realized.

You are being asked to participate in this study through an in-person or phone interview because you live near the property currently.

The interview will take approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour, depending on your knowledge of the project. Your name will be kept confidential and your comments, if used in the study, will be anonymous.

The study is being led by professors Carrie Makarewicz and Jennifer Steffel Johnson, from the Department of Planning and Design, University of Colorado Denver.

If you are available for a short interview by phone or in-person, please contact our research assistant, Liz Fuselier by phone (303.315.1008) or email (BoulderHousingStudy@gmail.com).

Sincerely,

Carrie Makarewicz, Ph.D., and Jennifer Steffel Johnson, Ph.D.
Department of Planning & Design

Interview Script and Questions:

We are conducting research to evaluate the performance of the _____ project, as well as others developed and managed by the City of Boulder's housing authority.

[If the person's name was on the public record related to the development] We got your name from the record of the public meeting on ____ [date] [or the op-ed, or the letter you sent...], when you expressed concerns about the construction of the ____ project. Now that the project has been finished and lived in for ____ [years], we are following up to find out your thoughts on the development now.

1. How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
2. How has it changed since you've lived here?
3. Do you remember the concerns you had about this property? [If comments are available, share them with the participant]
4. To your knowledge, did the City make any changes to the project in response to the community's concerns?
5. What has your experience been with the property?
6. Have you gotten to know any of the residents of the property? [Or, what is your impression of the residents of the property?]
7. What is the neighborhood's general perception of the property?
8. Do you think the neighborhood has changed as a result of the development being here? If so, in what ways?

The following is a list of typical concerns communities express about affordable housing developments. Can you please indicate whether or not you feel that the project has contributed to or caused any negative impacts in these areas?

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| • Noise | • Building design and quality |
| • Trash | • Parking |
| • Vandalism/ Graffiti | • Traffic |
| • Crime | • Burdening of neighborhood Services and Amenities |
| • Sewer Capacity | • Change to the neighborhood character |
| • Too many kids | |
| • Water Runoff | |

Demographics

Please answer the questions on the following pages regarding your housing, household, age, gender, and income range. These questions are optional. If you answer them, they won't be used in a way that associates your answers with you.

ⁱ This is not a new trend. EPI also notes that the “median worker’s wages and benefits grew just 7.9% between 1979 and 2013” even though economic growth and productivity rose by 64.9%.

ⁱⁱ Depending on the market area, qualifying incomes are a percentage of the median income for the region, referred to as the Area Median Income or AMI. Households earning less than 80% of the AMI generally qualify for affordable housing in which they pay 30% of their income for rent, regardless of the rent price. In the highest cost housing markets, such as the San Francisco Bay Area, households earning up to 120% of the AMI may qualify for affordable housing assistance.

ⁱⁱⁱ According to the Direct Marketing Association’s 2015 Response Rate Report, as reported by the IWCO Direct, downloaded 12/1/16 <https://www.iwco.com/blog/2015/04/14/dma-response-rate-report-and-direct-mail/>

^{iv} According to a 2001 Denver Post article “Question 2A asks voters to slightly amend a growth cap passed in 1996. The measure requires renewal every six years. City officials say the growth cap, which limited new housing to 200 units per year, is too restrictive and is driving up the cost of housing. The question asks voters to approve the construction of an additional 50 'permanently affordable' housing units every year” (Ryan Morgan 2001). Then in 2000, measure 2B asked voters to approve an exemption from managed-growth amendment for two areas, including the BCHA site “a 12-acre site owned by the Boulder County Housing Authority, purchased with the intent to build a senior housing project. A 'yes' vote would allow the authority the opportunity to begin the planning process to provide our seniors with some much-needed housing alternatives. The city will require, through the planning process, that the property will include a meaningful percentage of affordable housing units.” (2000). In the City’s current online Municipal Code, Section 6.10 Residential Growth Management specifies “The approximately 12-acre parcel located in the SE quarter of Section 35, Township 1 North, Range 69 West, north of the intersection of Brooks Avenue and Dounce Street, shall be exempt from the above limitations so long as it is developed for residential purposes by the Boulder County Housing authority or its agent.” Available from