

MAKING THE CONNECTION: Transit-Oriented Development and Jobs

by

Good Jobs First

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with

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Executive Summary

Transit-oriented development (TOD) is growing in popularity, but most of the focus of such projects is on environmental benefits and innovative design. This report takes another approach. We look at the ways TOD can serve the needs of working families—particularly those with low and moderate income—by providing affordable housing and/or better access to jobs. This is done through an examination of 25 TOD projects around the country that to varying degrees meet the housing and employment needs of those with limited means.

TOD projects, by definition, improve transit options, in two senses. The housing components of such projects give residents easy access to trains, streetcars and buses for commuting to work elsewhere. The commercial components create jobs that people living in other places can more easily reach by public transportation. All this is laudable, but it does not help working families if the housing is upscale and the jobs are polarized between well-paying professional positions and minimum-wage service jobs.

We sought out projects that are trying to bridge the gap. The best ones incorporate a large portion of affordable housing and/or make a substantial attempt to create good jobs that can be filled by people from working families. In other cases, these components are more limited but still significant. Overall, the case studies show that TOD does not have to be an innovation that serves only the affluent or environmentally conscious.

Looking at the 25 projects overall, we found that certain types were more likely to address the needs of working families. These were:

- Projects in which a community coalition negotiated for a Community Benefits Agreement with a private developer for guaranteed concessions such as local hiring, living wages and affordable housing set-asides. We cite examples from Los Angeles, San Diego, Denver, and Milwaukee.
- Those in which a community development corporation (CDC) initiated the project and made it integral to the organization's neighborhood-improvement mission. In Columbus, Ohio, for example, a transit agency working with CDCs developed an entire jobs-access program after helping to develop a mixed-use TOD.
- Cases in which an exceptional private developer intentionally designed a project for the benefit of low-income families and/or commuters. The Tom Hom Group, for example, sited an affordable housing development

in Las Vegas by first consulting bus-route maps and identifying job centers.

The Potential of Economic Development Subsidies

In every case of CDC-led TOD and in most cases of developer-led TOD documented here, economic development subsidies helped make the project happen. However, in only a few cases—such as those involving the Transit-Oriented Development Property Tax Exemption in Portland, Oregon— were these subsidies awarded through programs that explicitly tied the assistance to the project's transit accessibility. In other cases, the subsidies were necessarily meant to promote TOD.

This did not come as a surprise to us. Our 2003 report *Missing the Bus: How States Fail to Connect Economic Development with Transit* found that not a single state required that subsidized projects be transit accessible. It appears that localities, with few exceptions, are also failing to make that connection.

We believe that in urban areas with transit systems, companies should not be eligible for subsidies unless the jobs are transit-accessible and within a reasonable commuting distance from affordable housing. Legislation that would give preference to such deals is now being debated for the third year in a row in the Illinois legislature. Transit linkage is already well established in affordable housing construction: 28 states already impose such a preference or requirement.¹

With "location-efficient job incentives," many benefits will accrue: low-income families will gain more access to economic opportunity, helping to reduce poverty and dependence; more commuters will gain a choice about how to get to work, reducing traffic congestion and improving air quality; and taxpayers will realize better returns on their infrastructure investments through more efficient land use.

The projects detailed here are, we believe, proof that the economic development goal of poverty reduction can be integrated with public transit, especially when leaders are intentional. Reforming job subsidies to make them location-efficient is a way to codify that intentionality.

Introduction

Over the past decade, there has been a growing amount of interest in and practice of transit-oriented development (TOD.) TOD is development which purposefully occurs near public transportation nodes. Commonly cited features of TOD include a mix of residential, commercial, and civic uses within walking distance from a transit stop; pedestrian-friendly streets with sidewalks and walkable destinations; reduced parking; high-density development; preservation of open space; and a variety of housing types and prices.²

TOD projects have been gaining in popularity for a variety of reasons. Many urban transportation agencies conduct joint development projects with private developers because they see TOD as a way to maximize the return on investment in public transportation systems. Some developers specialize in TOD projects, often out of a passion for smart growth and New Urbanist design principles.³ Also, projects often result from environmental concerns.

TOD and Job Access

Although environmental issues and design considerations are important characteristics of TOD, an overlooked aspect is the extent to which TOD provides more opportunities for people to access jobs. TOD has the potential to connect low- and moderate-income people to job opportunities to which they may otherwise have no access. The costs of owning a car, including insurance, maintenance and gas, can be prohibitive for many people. TOD can give people who are dependent upon public transportation the opportunity to live and/or work near transit.

In an effort to showcase TOD projects that serve the needs of low- and moderate-income people, we present 25 case studies of TOD projects from across the U.S. These case studies do not necessarily represent the biggest or best TOD projects in existence. However, they provide a range of examples and illustrate the ways in which TOD can help low- and moderate-income workers access jobs and housing.

These 25 projects vary in the degree to which the developer was intentional about linking people with good jobs through mass transportation. In some cases, developers, officials, or community groups explicitly considered low and moderate-income workers' needs when planning the development. In others, the development's location creates job and transit connections. In all cases, the TOD projects create new potential for people to access jobs through transit accessibility.

We describe the potential for workers to access jobs through TOD in the examples that follow. In many cases, it is easy to foresee which workers will gain access to a transit system that will open up job possibilities or which jobs will now be located along transit lines. These examples illustrate the ways that TOD can connect workers to jobs. In many cases, they may be considered a stepping stone to more deliberate job linkages through TOD in the future.

The People Behind TOD

Who are the catalysts for TOD projects? The prime movers in the TOD landscape hail from quite different backgrounds. In many instances, the root of a good TOD project is an ambitious developer. We found numerous examples of private developers who have been inspired by the Congress for New Urbanism's emphasis on mixed-use, walkable place-making or who have been attracted by other features of TOD. In other examples, major employers have found it to be in their best interests to relocate near public transportation. We also found local governments and transit agencies with intentional policies to link people and jobs.

In six of the report's examples, community coalitions negotiated binding agreements with developers or with government entities to ensure that TOD projects provide good jobs, affordable housing, and economic and environmental sustainability. These community-based initiatives are rising in popularity and are commonly termed Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs.) The development projects profiled for this section, Part I, would have happened without involvement from community groups, but community activism improved the outcomes these projects will achieve to connect people to good jobs. Note that CBAs are generally negotiated with projects that are large enough in size and scope to require substantial economic development subsidies and/or lengthy approval processes from local government bodies. These contingencies allow community groups to gain leverage and barter their public support in exchange for community benefits.

Community development corporations (CDCs) are frequent transit-oriented developers. In these cases, the connection between transit and jobs is often more pronounced because the organization serves the community's job-seekers as part of its mission to revitalize the neighborhood. Part II of this report profiles eight projects in which a CDC built a TOD project that connects people to jobs.

Part III of this report profiles TOD projects inspired by developers. In some of these examples, transit agencies, local government agencies, or major employers initiated the development, but a private development firm carried out the project.

Missing the Bus

A second goal of this report is to record the extent to which TOD projects benefit from economic development subsidies. Our 2003 study *Missing the Bus: How States Fail to Connect Economic Development with Transit* surveyed economic development subsidy programs in 50 states to determine which states effectively coordinate economic development spending with public transportation planning. The report found that no state uses transit accessibility as a criterion—or even a preference—for awarding economic development subsidies.

As a counter to this discouraging finding in *Missing the Bus*, we sought here to find positive examples of economic development incentives being used for projects that combine public transportation and economic development. Almost all TOD projects detailed here were subsidized in some way. However, few TODs were awarded economic development subsidies because of their proximity to public transportation. We found no local transit-oriented subsidy programs except for Portland, Oregon's Transit-Oriented Development tax abatement program.

In a final section to this report, Part IV, we discuss location-efficient subsidies legislation. Location-efficient subsidies are economic development monies that are dispersed to projects based upon the development's ability to do the following:

- maximize the use of existing investments in infrastructure;
- avoid or minimize additional government expenditures on new, publicly financed transportation or other infrastructure; and
- have nearby housing affordable to the workforce of the applicant, accessible and convenient transportation, or some combination of both.

In short, location-efficient subsidies provide preference to TOD projects that connect working families to jobs. This is one way to make local economic development subsidies more accountable and effective.

Criteria for Choosing Projects

Even though all TOD projects increase transit accessibility for some segment of the population, not all TOD projects accommodate the needs of low- and moderate-income families. In numerous TODs nationwide, there is no concern for the ability of low or moderate-income people to either live, work, or shop at the development. Santana Row in San Jose, California, for example, features high-end condominiums and retail stores like Brooks Brothers and Burberry. Simply because development is along transit lines does not mean that working people have increased access to good jobs. However, some TOD projects expand opportunities for people of all incomes.

In choosing TOD projects for this report, we used a number of criteria to whittle the list of possible developments down to 25. The criteria include:

- Priority and type of transit access: the extent to which developers and local officials prioritized transit access when planning the project. If transit accessibility is simply a happy accident, the project was not included. The case studies also represent a range of types of transit access. Buses, bus rapid transit, light rail, subways and pedestrian walkways are all included. In some projects, the developer privately finances new modes of public transportation as part of the TOD. In most cases, however, the TOD projects take advantage of existing transit infrastructure.
- Job access: whether or not we could assume that new residents or employees at the development could access jobs, either because the project is in close proximity to existing people, employers, and infrastructure or because transit in the development transports people to areas of dense jobs and infrastructure across a metropolitan region.
- Affordable housing: each project should include low-income people because members of working families are those most in need of good jobs. If the development has a large residential component, there should be some units reserved for low-income families.
- Development in low-income and mixed-income areas: transit-oriented development projects which are built in low-income or mixed-income neighborhoods, thereby providing increased opportunity to traditionally disenfranchised populations.

- Community involvement: development projects shaped by neighborhood activism or by a formal community input process were given further priority.
- Geographic diversity: We also sought to include a range of locations throughout the United States. Some locations, however, yielded numerous examples. Portland, Oregon is overrepresented because of its historically progressive approach to TOD. Los Angeles is overrepresented because of the presence of an effective accountable development group (Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy) which ensures that new development in the city provides good jobs. And more than one project hails from Atlanta because the city's growth has been so detrimental to air quality that local actors have been compelled to come up with innovative development projects to curb sprawl.

Types of TOD

The 25 projects selected for this report represent a spectrum of types of development. The three major types are as follows:

Transit Communities are massive mixed-use projects in which transit accessibility is a primary goal of the new community's design. These developments are large in scope and often redevelop swaths of land that were occupied by industrial uses in previous decades; many transit communities are good examples of brownfield redevelopment. Transit communities result in brand new, planned city neighborhoods with new construction of housing, retail space, office space, and often civic space like schools. There is no way to require that everyone living and working in a transit community utilizes mass transportation, but transit access is a central feature of these projects. Developers of transit communities usually contract with other developers to conduct the "vertical development" of new homes and businesses on site. Transit communities require tremendous investment and therefore often receive large economic development subsidies. The development process takes several decades to complete in most cases.

Mixed-Use, Urban Infill Development projects are similar to transit communities but have a smaller scope. These developments utilize land that was once used for other purposes, but unlike transit communities, are located closer to urban infrastructure. They often help to redevelop urban neighborhoods by filling in land with new centers of activity. Mixed-use, urban, infill developments bring jobs and housing into the city, where their locations provide residents, employees, and consumers with access to existing regional transit systems. The

mix of housing, retail, and office space create opportunities for residents to access jobs and fulfill daily needs without the use of a car.

Projects with an Affordable Housing Focus comprise all or predominately residential development. In these examples, few or no jobs are created onsite. Instead, these developments exemplify the effort to build affordable housing close to transit so that low-income people who rely on public transportation can utilize it to access jobs across the region.

Part I: COMMUNITY BENEFITS

The projects where coalitions negotiated community benefits agreements (CBAs) with developers represent the most intentional connections between new TOD and the needs of low- and moderate-income workers. In the projects that follow, private developers agreed to provide living wage jobs, participate in local hiring programs, and create affordable housing opportunities. These provisions allow people without cars to both live and work near the new development. Low and moderate-income people can access quality affordable housing and good jobs at the following TOD projects.

Ballpark Village in San Diego: Largest Development with Community Benefits Agreement in the U.S.

Place: San Diego, CA

Project: Ballpark Village

What it is: a 3.2 million square foot mixed-use "village" with 1,600

residential units, office space, retail space, and 136 nearby low-

income units.

Type: transit community

Developer: IMI Realty and Lennar, Inc.

Date: Construction starting in 2006 and slated to be complete around

2012.

Notable: ACCORD, a broad based coalition, won a menu of environmental

provisions, wage standards, local hiring policies, and affordable housing requirements in this large TOD project adjacent to PETCO

Park.

In April of 2004, the first phases of development at the Ballpark District in San Diego opened. Tourists and locals now ride the trolley to PETCO Park to see San Diego Padres games. And a new mixed-use village is sprouting up around the park and its nearby transit center. Ballpark Village will be a development with condominium towers, including two towers of greater than 40 stories. The six square block development will also include 115,000 square feet of retail space, 300,000 square feet of offices, and about 1,600 residential units.

Transit and Jobs

The development will sit directly atop a transit center which serves as a trolley and bus hub. The trolley lines head north, south and east from the development. To the south lies the center of the San Diego shipyard industry, plagued by gentrification. However, many working families live south of the development and will be able to access jobs at Ballpark Village from the trolley, including residents of Tijuana. Many workers east of the development will also be able to use trolley lines to get to Ballpark Village.

The Ballpark District area is also served by about ten bus lines including routes to downtown. Many good jobs, like those in the burgeoning communications sector in San Diego are located in the suburbs of the city. Bus and trolley lines give people access to these jobs as well.⁴

Good Jobs

The development itself will also provide good jobs. Thanks to a community benefits agreement (CBA) negotiated between JMI Realty (Padres owner John Moore's development company) and A Coalition Organized for Responsible Development (ACCORD), Ballpark Village will provide a number of quality job opportunities. First, the CBA guarantees that the site owners and commercial tenants pay their employees a living wage. Therefore, the development will create new living wage retail and office jobs. The retail component of Ballpark Village will include a grocery store for which the developers have agreed to make good faith efforts to recruit a unionized grocery chain.

Second, the CBA includes a number of provisions for local hiring and job placement. Local hiring standards are attached to the CBA wherein residents from the surrounding neighborhoods have the first chance to qualify for open positions. Rehabilitated ex-offenders will also be aggressively recruited to work on the development. JMI Realty will host a job placement center on the project site and will notify community and church groups of open positions before notice is sent to the wider public. Developers agreed to set aside space for a local job notification center. They also agreed to reserve \$1.45 million for an offsite job training program which works with prospective employees to help mitigate any obstacles to being enrolled in construction apprenticeship programs.

The CBA includes additional safeguards for good jobs as well. It provides that all construction contractors must be responsible contractors with an acceptable labor record. It also considers the larger jobs picture in the area; addressing concerns from the San Diego ship repair industry about the decline of good shipping jobs with redevelopment of industrial land, JMI Realty agreed to endorse a regional plan for preserving and expanding the port.

The Coalition

All of these conditions were won by ACCORD in the community benefits agreement it negotiated with JMI Realty. Members of ACCORD include over two dozen local San Diego environmental, labor, affordable housing, and community groups. The group was organized by Center on Policy Initiatives, an accountable

development organization in San Diego. The developer did not receive any subsidies to build Ballpark Village. It is a privately funded project. The developer agreed to negotiate with ACCORD because the coalition might have sought to block the project's approval by San Diego City Council.

In addition to provisions for good jobs, the Ballpark Village CBA also guarantees that construction will use green building standards. Ballpark Village will include the first residential high rise in the country to achieve green building standards under the Leadership in Environmental Efficiency and Design (LEED) Certification program. Developers also agreed to contribute \$1.5 million for home ownership opportunities in the surrounding community and \$50,000 to local youth arts and culture programs. The CBA indicates that any commission for art in the Ballpark Village development will be fulfilled by local artists only. And in order to protect working families who live around downtown from encroaching gentrification, developers will contribute \$100,000 towards a study on the effects of downtown redevelopment on the surrounding community.⁵

Winning Affordable Housing

ACCORD's success was not without controversy. The development arm of the city, the Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC), had first negotiated a deal with JMI Realty, but it lacked the level of safeguards for affordable housing that San Diego so desperately needs in the face of rampant gentrification. ACCORD refined the details of negotiations with developers, and won more than double the number of affordable units and many geared toward lower incomes than originally proposed.

The bulk of the residential units onsite will be luxury condominiums with very high prices, but 30 condominiums will be built onsite at 100 percent of the area median income (AMI). As a compromise to help developers generate enough revenue to pay workers a living wage, the ACCORD CBA allows developers to move 136 low-income housing units to land a few blocks away from the development to parcels owned by Father Joe Carroll of St. Vincent de Paul Homeless Services. These units will be rented to families earning 20 to 40 percent of the AMI. ACCORD members see this compromise as a true victory for affordable housing. "We're very pleased with the number of affordable units. We're pleased with the outcome," said organizer Joel Ramos. The San Diego City Council approved the ACCORD CBA in mid-October 2005. The CBA also guarantees that all affordable housing units will be built before construction begins on other facets of the development.

Indirect Effects of CBA

The CBA that ACCORD negotiated with JMI Realty will produce innumerable direct benefits for San Diego. The CBA has already created a far-reaching indirect effect as well. Because Ballpark Village is the largest private development in San Diego to date, the CBA has helped to bring accountable development issues to the forefront. Job quality and affordable housing are becoming part of the standard lexicon around new development. Future development proposals will be scrutinized for their potential benefit to the community before it is approved by local government.

The Ballpark Village transit-oriented development is the result of a fortunate combination of ingredients in San Diego: A booming development climate around the Ballpark District, a savvy accountable development organization (Center on Policy Initiatives), and developers willing to negotiate (JMI Realty and Lennar Inc).

Cherokee-Gates in Denver: Denver's Campaign for Responsible Development Wins Benefits at Transit Community of the Future

Place: Denver, Colorado

Project: Cherokee-Gates

What it is: a roughly \$1 billion, 70-acre, mixed-use destination point on a

major brownfield in south-central Denver.

Type: transit community

Developer: Cherokee Denver LLC, a subsidiary of Cherokee Investment

Partners

Date: To be completed around 2015-2020.

Notable: Local Denver accountable development group wages multi-year

fight to ensure that new community provides maximum benefit to

working families.

Beginning in 2003, the Campaign for Responsible Development (CRD), a coalition of labor, affordable housing, low-income women's advocacy, and environmental groups organized by the Front Range Economic Strategy Center (FRESC) and the Denver Area Labor Federation (DALF), met with Cherokee Denver to discuss good jobs and other community benefits at the site of a massive redevelopment effort. The site is a brownfield in south-central Denver which is being cleared to be developed into a huge 70-acre, mixed-use, transit community. With the help of the CRD, the development will provide good jobs for working families across Denver.

Jobs

The CRD concentrated considerable energy on this project because the potential benefits are so large. Developers intend to create a destination point with at least 2,500 housing units and 6 million square feet of retail, office and entertainment space. The site holds tremendous promise to connect people to jobs. The development is located halfway between two major employment centers: downtown Denver and the Denver Technology Center in the southeastern suburbs. In addition to newly transit-accessible jobs, the development is also projected to create about 8,000 new construction jobs and about 5,000 new onsite office and retail jobs.⁷

Transit

The Cherokee-Gates development area includes a major light rail transfer station that serves two existing light rail lines. A third light rail line will open at the end of 2006 under the Regional Transportation District's Transportation Expansion (T-REX) project. The Cherokee-Gates development will also be pedestrian and bicycle friendly, and will include a park-and-ride station for commuters.

CBA Provisions

In 2003, the CRD began its work with Cherokee by winning a binding agreement to exclude big-box grocery stores, such as Super Wal-Mart, thereby ensuring that Denver taxpayers will not be subsidizing low-wage grocery jobs that undercut existing high-road grocery employers.

Subsequent agreements reached over almost three years of negotiations between the CRD, Cherokee, and the City of Denver include:

- To date, the city's most expansive affordable housing plan for a major development: 10 percent of all for-sale units and 20 percent of all rental units will be affordable.
- The first-ever extension of the city's prevailing wage to all privatelyfunded infrastructure construction jobs at the project, including maintenance jobs after the complete build out.
- The use of a "best-value" contracting system to promote selection of contractors that provide health care and support apprenticeship programs.
- The first-ever extension of the city's living wage to all privately employed parking and security personnel at the project.
- Establishment of a unique neighborhood-targeted local hiring program to benefit nearby low-income communities.

In addition, Cherokee agreed to participate in the CRD's resident-led Voluntary Clean-Up Advisory Board, organized to oversee the environmental cleanup and deal with off-site contamination issues, as well as to provide free and convenient access to all cleanup documents.

A Change in Economic Development

The CRD is also improving the way Denver conducts business with developers. In the process of pushing Cherokee Denver to provide community benefits, the city too has been forced to reevaluate its policies regarding subsidized

development. For the first time, the city has organized its own assessment of a project around a "community benefits" framework. The city has also included an unprecedented component in its subsidy package to ensure the project pays its fair share for service burdens the project creates, and makes sure that city taxpayers participate in any windfall profits from the sale of land at the project.

Brownfield Cleanup

The CRD's work also led to a strengthening in environmental standards related to the levels of an industrial solvent, trichloroethylene (TCE), despite polluters' pressure on the Health Department to keep the standards at lower levels.

The project is on land once owned by the Gates Corporation, which used it for manufacturing operations. Gates produced rubber hoses and belts for cars and other industrial uses on the land. Cherokee Denver is performing extensive environmental remediation at the site to prepare for development. The company also underwent a process to change zoning at the site from industrial to Transit Mixed-Use District. The new transit district zoning allows for fewer parking spaces and more dense construction.

Incentives

Local government played a vital role in bringing about the proposed development. City officials encouraged developers to find a reuse for the Gates land out of interest in development around light rail. In exchange for development, the city deemed the Gates land an urban renewal district wherein expenditures for roads, sewers, and other infrastructure construction are reimbursed by tax increment financing (TIF). The city will spend \$177 million over 25 years to finance the development. \$85 million of this expenditure would be in principal and the remainder will be in interest to pay off bonds raised through TIF. Cherokee Denver will use special taxing districts to cover \$41 million of expenses.⁸

Cherokee Denver will find developers to take on the residential, retail, office, and entertainment aspects of development. The company estimates that the development process for the site will take 10 to 15 years. Thanks to the CRD, Denver can look forward to good jobs, affordable housing, and a sustainable community at Cherokee's transit community.

Hollywood and Highland in Los Angeles: Good Jobs at a Huge Entertainment Complex Near a Subway Line

Place: Los Angeles, California

Project: Hollywood and Highland

What it is: a large retail and entertainment complex located adjacent to a

subway station.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: TrizecHahn

Date: 2001

Notable: Developers agreed to encourage living wage, health

insurance, and union card check neutrality.

The Walk of Fame in Los Angeles used to be an isolated tourist spot where people took photos. Today, it is a huge retail and entertainment complex of 385,000 square feet that provides at least 1,000 good jobs. The accountable development group the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) intervened and negotiated community benefits with the project's developers, including a union card check neutrality agreement at the Renaissance Hollywood Hotel and the promise of living wages for most of the project's other jobs.

Good Jobs

One of the most significant effects of the community benefits package is that workers are ensured the right to organize because of a union card check neutrality agreement for hotel workers, parking lot attendants, janitors, and theatre employees. This provision protects workers who wish to form unions that, in turn, can help raise wages and job quality standards. Additionally, the people who fill many of these jobs are those that rely on public transportation.

Local Hiring

Local hiring was one of the provisions that LAANE negotiated with developers. Many of the people who have taken these jobs hail from the low-income neighborhood directly adjacent to the development and the low-income Latino and Filipino neighborhoods served by the red line of the Los Angeles subway.

Kip Rudd from the Hollywood Community Redevelopment Agency estimates that 230 of the workers at Hollywood and Highland are from the very low-income neighborhoods nearby. The Renaissance Hollywood Hotel hired about 68 percent of workers from these same neighborhoods. This is a key piece of evidence that infill development projects can provide increased job opportunity for residents of low-income neighborhoods. Others too far to walk to these jobs can use the subway from neighborhoods along the red line.

Other Benefits

The other community benefits negotiated include a provision that all contractors at the site must have a responsible labor record and the contribution of roughly \$10 million over 20 years for community benefits including healthcare. The community benefits include successorship language so that all of the provisions of the agreement will apply if ownership changes.

Commercial tenants of Hollywood and Highland (mostly retailers) can buy into a group healthcare plan if they pay a living wage, defined as the city's living wage. LAANE performs outreach to tenants of the development to make them aware of this opportunity to support their workers.

Job Potential

The large complex includes Mann's Chinese Theatre where the Academy Awards are held, the Kodak Theatre, a bowling alley, movie theatre, nightclubs, the unionized Renaissance Hollywood Hotel, and a mall full of retail and restaurant choices such as the Virgin Records Megastore and Wolfgang Puck's restaurant "Vert."

Retailers at the mall report strong increases in local consumer patronage¹², proving that the complex has created a new sense of place for area residents. Locals can take a shuttle from Hollywood and Highland to the Hollywood Bowl concert venue. The development has turned the area around the subway stop into a major destination for Angelenos, not just tourists.

Economic Development Incentives

The city fronted \$90 million for the project, including \$81 million for a six-level underground parking garage.¹³ Former City Councilmember Jackie Goldberg used the massive subsidy as leverage to help win community benefits in the project.

Hollywood and Vine in Los Angeles: Upscale Development Project Will Benefit All Los Angelenos

Place: Los Angeles, California

Project: Hollywood and Vine

What it is: a luxury hotel, condominiums, mixed-income rental units, and

street level retail at a subway station.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Legacy Partners

Date: 2006

Notable: Coalition negotiates for living wage jobs at new hotel and

other community benefits.

When the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), The Yucca Residence Group, and L.A. Voice heard about the new "W" hotel coming to the corner of Hollywood and Vine by the Red Line subway station, they recognized the urgency to push the developers for a community benefits agreement. The upscale "W" hotel chain typically offers such amenities as chic décor, spas, and personal trainers. Upscale development like this, the group argued, should provide good jobs.

CBA Provisions

Through a series of negotiations, LAANE and its partners won community benefits that ensure good jobs and affordable housing. Specifically, the CBA provides for a target 70 percent of the jobs paying a living wage (pegged to the city's living wage ordinance). Developers will be assessed a \$10,000 penalty for failing to try to meet the 70 percent requirement. Other CBA provisions include \$100,000 for job training, local hiring mandates, a minimum 50 units of affordable housing, and funds for community healthcare outreach. There is also a union card check neutrality agreement for the hotel.

Transit Access

Jobs at the new hotel and retail space will be easily accessible to the residents of low-income neighborhoods all along the red line subway station. The

development is being built directly at the site of the Hollywood and Vine subway station, preserving the historic Taft building.

Construction is slated to begin in 2006 on this mixed-use project. It will include the 300 room "W" hotel, 96 "W" residences, over 60,000 square feet of street level retail space including a gourmet market, 140 condominiums, 262 apartments including 74 low-income rental units, and new parking spaces for the development.

Incentives

The level of subsidies for this project is not yet finalized, but the city of Los Angeles committed \$4.8 million, while the Metropolitan Transit Authority donated land, and the Community Redevelopment Agency pledged to contribute funds totaling no more than \$2 million. The possibility that the community coalition would oppose the subsidies gave the coalition leverage to make this new transit-oriented development beneficial to working families in Los Angeles.

NoHo Commons in Los Angeles: Community Benefits Agreement Ensures Transit-Accessible Job Opportunities for Working Families

Place: Los Angeles, California

Project: NoHo Commons

What it is: a 22 acre, multi-block mixed-use development with affordable

housing, affordable childcare, and living wage jobs centered

around a subway station in an emerging arts district.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: J.H. Snyder

Date: 2006

Notable: a broad-based coalition negotiated a community benefits

agreement with developer J.H. Snyder to provide good jobs and

amenities for working families.

Imagine a new, 22 acre mixed-use development with housing, retail space, office space, a new high school, and a child care center where at least 75 percent of all jobs at the development pay a living wage. Now imagine people from all over the region accessing those jobs through mass transit. This is the reality for Angelenos at NoHo Commons (short for North Hollywood) thanks to an agreement between the Valley Jobs Coalition and developer, J.H. Snyder Co.

The Valley Jobs Coalition, a broad-based coalition organized by Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), negotiated a broad benefits package with J.H. Snyder Co. where good jobs were put first. The CBA's major victories include a requirement that 75 percent of the jobs pay a living wage, first source hiring provisions, a child care center with affordable childcare requirements, and responsible contractor guidelines.

Local Hiring for Good Jobs

The CBA puts into place an extensive first source hiring system. Each time the developer recruits another tenant, that employer is required to meet with LAANE, who informs the tenant about the local hiring mechanisms set up for the development. LAANE commits to bring 100 qualified applicants to the tenant. LAANE reports that about 80 percent of tenants choose to use the first source

hiring system.¹⁴ The Los Angeles Valley College will provide customized job training to area workers for employment at NoHo Commons.

Developer J.H. Snyder Co. agreed to support local hiring in other ways as well. The company agreed to build and host rent-free office space for the First Source Referral System. It agreed to fund an on-site job fair. The developer also agreed to contribute \$10,000 for job training programs at the North Hollywood Day Laborer Site, a facility operated by a local immigrants' rights group. Provisions will carry over to any future buyers of the development, thanks to a successorship clause.

Also under the agreement, both the tenants and the developer agree to report how many jobs pay a living wage. The community evaluates how well the developer is performing on the 75 percent living wage jobs target. If the project has not met the 75 percent living wage requirement in the first two years, Snyder will be charged \$10,000 for each year of noncompliance.

It does not seem likely that J.H. Snyder Co. will have to worry about living wage noncompliance. The Valley Jobs Coalition negotiated a neutrality agreement for the grocery store space; the unionized grocer HOWS Market recently signed a lease for the space at NoHo Commons. Other tenants like Wells Fargo and California Pizza Kitchen will also pay a living wage at the development.

Transit Access

The NoHo Commons development is centered upon the North Hollywood Red Line subway station. The station welcomes visitors into this emerging arts district with distinctive signage provided by J.H. Snyder Co. Angelenos can access jobs at the development either by subway, bus service, or by walking from a North Hollywood residential area. NoHo Commons creates a pedestrian friendly environment around the subway station. New residents of NoHo Commons can also use transit to access jobs at the nearby Academy of Television Arts or Universal Studios.

Affordable Housing

The residents of NoHo represent a mix of incomes. The development features 162 affordable housing units, including 28 units for very low-income, 80 low-income units, and 54 moderate-income units.¹⁵

CBA

The Valley Jobs Coalition negotiated the CBA in 2001. The coalition consisted of the San Fernando Valley Green Party, Gray Panthers, childcare service providers, affordable housing advocates, churches and synagogues, and youth social service organizations. LAANE helped organize the coalition as part of its accountable development campaign.

Developer J.H. Snyder Co. utilized multiple subsidies, totaling about \$44 million. These include Community Redevelopment Agency Funds totaling \$16.7 million, a federal loan of \$14 million, federal grants, including a community development block grant, and federal HOME funds allocated by the city. No city general fund tax dollars were used in this project. Construction at NoHo Commons is slated to finish in 2006. In the meantime, more developments are springing up around the North Hollywood subway station, many of them unsubsidized.

Park East in Milwaukee: Freeway Teardown Enables Community Benefits

Place: Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Project: Park East

What it is: A mixed-use redevelopment of 64 transit-accessible acres

downtown, freed up by the demolition of two freeway ramps,

subsidized by tax increment financing.

Type: transit community

Developer: RSC & Associates, and other private development firms to be

determined. Land is currently being sold by Milwaukee County and

the City of Milwaukee.

Date: Construction starting in 2006.

Notable: A labor-community coalition won County legislation mandating

numerous benefits to ensure better wages, more affordable housing, and preferences for disadvantaged local businesses and

workers.

Before the Park East freeway in Milwaukee was torn down, it was a barrier between the affluent downtown and neighborhoods with high unemployment on the Near Northside. Tearing down the freeway was a first step in removing the barriers. Building a healthy new community with good jobs and transit connections is the next, and with the community benefits victory of the Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods Coalition, Park East can provide just that.

Transit Access

The Park East redevelopment project is located in the heart of the city, between Milwaukee's downtown and a group of low-income neighborhoods called the Near Northside. When people start living and working in the Park East development, they will have access to bus routes which will take them downtown or out to neighboring suburbs where much of the region's job growth is occurring. The new development will be pedestrian friendly (and be walking distance to many downtown jobs), with widened sidewalks and more bicycle access, providing an important link between downtown and urban neighborhoods on the north side.

Fighting for Good Jobs at Park East

The Park East redevelopment initiative started when two freeway ramps were torn down on the northern edge of downtown Milwaukee. The City's redevelopment plan for the area involved dividing the acres into smaller plots and selling them to developers for the creation of housing, retail, and entertainment venues. When the city put its plan before the public at a display at city hall, local activists came to take a look. What they saw provoked the immediate formation of a coalition to challenge the plan. The initial plan had no provisions for affordable housing or for fair labor practices, and it had meager open space or green building standards. Organizers from the Institute for Wisconsin's Future and the Milwaukee County Labor Council started rounding up labor unions, environmental groups, and affordable housing advocates to challenge the plan. The Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods coalition was born in early 2003.

The coalition reasoned that since public money would be spent on the project in the form of infrastructure restoration and other economic development incentives, developers should be held accountable to the community. The Park East redevelopment is primarily subsidized by tax increment financing (TIF). The city let bonds to pay for road construction, sidewalks, storm sewer improvements, lighting, and project administration. The incremental property taxes generated by new development in Park East will pay off the bonds over time. ²⁰ Additional subsidies for the redevelopment will be determined on a case by case basis for each parcel's project.

Once the coalition was brought together, a three year campaign ensued, including protests, phone banking, meetings with officials, and community organizing. The result was a community benefits agreement called the Park East Redevelopment Compact (PERC,) enacted by Milwaukee County in February 2005. The PERC specifies numerous conditions that must be fulfilled by developers of the Park East parcels.

A Victory for Community Benefits

First, the compact places conditions on construction to increase the number of jobs and sub-contracts for residents and businesses. The compact provides that Milwaukee County's prevailing construction wage and Disadvantaged Business Enterprise policies apply to all Park East developers. The Disadvantaged Business Enterprise policies stipulate that minority-owned businesses receive a certain percentage of contracts. Non-profit economic development agencies will be hired to coordinate training and placement of minority and disadvantaged

workers from the area. The PERC also requires contractors to include apprenticeship and training programs and to set goals for local hiring and minority hiring.

On environmental considerations, the PERC urges developers to consider incorporating open space and green building materials into their plans. Affordable housing advocates won a provision that encourages the construction of affordable housing within the development. The County agreed that it will use its own funds to build affordable housing in Milwaukee. The County will build a volume of affordable housing in an unspecified location in Milwaukee equal to 20 percent of all new housing on the Park East site.²¹

The PERC also provides some administrative guidelines. The compact provides that a portion of the revenue from land sales at Park East will go into a Community and Economic Development fund that will help pay the costs associated with the standards laid forth by the PERC. The compact also sets up a Community Advisory Board to oversee the implementation of its provisions.²²

The PERC's enforcement provisions require developers to sign a commitment to the compact. If the Community Advisory Board finds that the developer is not catering to all facets of the compact, the contract may be terminated and the development deal voided.²³

Next Steps

The first two parcels at Park East have been sold to RSC & Associates, a developer that plans to build 122 condominiums, 12 townhouses, and 26,800 square feet of retail space.²⁴ A third parcel was recently bid on by MLG Development, Inc.²⁵ The Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods Coalition continues to be involved with Park East. Some of the coalition members serve on the PERC's Community Advisory Board. The coalition oversees the bidding and development process happening at Park East. The group is forming a non-profit group to institutionalize their campaign to ensure that Milwaukee area development projects are accountable. ²⁶

In the meantime, the Park East campaign is already influencing the economic development debate in the area. For example, a redevelopment project called "PabstCity" was slated to receive huge public subsidies. Would-be developers were asking for \$41 million in city financing.²⁷ Although the Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods Coalition did not directly intercede in the PabstCity debate, Milwaukee's city council rejected the development plan, saying that the taxpayers' costs outweighed the benefits. The Park East compact has raised the

level of discussion on subsidized development in Milwaukee and has created a standard for involving the community in these decisions.²⁸

County supervisors speculate that we have yet to see what kinds of improvements in transit linkages the development will bring. As Marina Dimitrijevic said, "It's not just selling land. It's creating a neighborhood."²⁹ In addition, workers from across the city will benefit from the labor and wage provisions under which new hotels, retail stores, and other businesses in Park East will operate.

PART II: COMMUNITY-LED TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT

In eight examples, we found that TOD carried out by a community development corporation (CDC) has more potential to create access to good jobs for low and moderate-income people than if a private developer initiates the project. CDCs consider job creation and neighborhood revitalization fundamental elements of their missions.

Three outstanding examples emphasize the connections between jobs and TOD. The Bethel Center, in a low-income neighborhood in Chicago, creates new jobs, provides needed services, brings commercial development, and creates safer access to rail transit. The Fruitvale Transit Village creates a one-stop shop for services for low and moderate-income people in Oakland and creates new jobs in the process. The Linden Transit Center in Columbus Ohio inspired the Central Ohio Transit Authority to develop an entire jobs access program for residents of the neighborhood.

Bethel Center in Chicago: From an Endangered Transit Line to Transit-Oriented Development

Place: Chicago, Illinois

Project: Bethel Center

What it is: A 23,000 square foot, three-story, mixed use facility with retail, a

daycare center, an employment office, and a walkway which

connects directly to the Pulaski El train station.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Bethel New Life, Inc.

Date: 2005

Notable: The Bethel New Life community organization embarked on a

14 year odyssey into smart growth planning and redevelopment after being told in 1992 that their neighborhood's train station

(and the entire Green Line) would close.

One of the most successful community-based TOD stories hails from the West Garfield Park neighborhood of Chicago. The community development corporation Bethel New Life brings jobs, safer transit access, needed services, and shopping choices to the neighborhood all in one development—The Bethel Center.

Jobs and Transit at Bethel Center

The Bethel Center is a 23,000 square foot mixed-use facility including a daycare center, an employment center, a community technology center, and six storefronts. The storefronts are sidewalk-level and include three locally owned businesses: a Subway sandwich franchise, a dry cleaner, and a coffee shop. There is also an office of the attorney general and two storefronts combined to house a Community Savings Center.

The Community Savings Center is a national model for innovative financial services. In a partnership among Bethel New Life, Park National Bank, and Thrivent Financial, the Community Savings Center provides banking services, headquarters for an Individual Development Account (IDA) program, and financial literacy services like counseling and educational materials.

The Bethel Center structure includes a bridge which connects directly to the Pulaski El train station, allowing people quicker and safer access to the train station. The station is also served by bus service.

Steven McCullough, CEO of Bethel New Life, commented, "The building is a job creator in and of itself and it creates opportunities for people to use public transportation who may not have had the opportunity before." The intersection where the Bethel Center now stands had been vacant for over a decade previous to development. There was gang and drug activity there, which made the rail station dangerous and uninviting. Many people are accessing the Pulaski Station now who would not use it before. McCullough said there is a noticeable increase in the number of people accessing public transportation at the station and an increase in foot traffic around the Bethel Center. The station is a positive property of the property of the property of the property of the people accessing public transportation at the station and an increase in foot traffic around the Bethel Center.

Former Bethel New Life President Mary Nelson said that building the transit center around the Pulaski station was a key element because only about 35 percent of local residents have cars.³² The Bethel Center creates the opportunity for working parents to drop their children off at the daycare center and then walk across the transit bridge to the station. The Chicago Transit Authority train system is the second largest in the country, and the Pulaski station accesses 40 suburbs and downtown Chicago. Many West Garfield Park residents work service jobs in the suburbs and at O'Hare International Airport. In addition to increasing access to jobs outside the neighborhood, the Bethel Center itself created about 100 new jobs in businesses and at Bethel New Life.³³

Bethel New Life's strategy to bring good jobs to West Garfield Park residents has three components. The first part is to foster redevelopment the neighborhood so that it creates as many jobs as possible to which people can walk and bicycle. The second employment strategy is to help place people in jobs across the Chicago region. The employment center at The Bethel Center and safe access to the rail station and buses serve that goal. Finally, Bethel aims to hire as many people as possible for its own operations. Bethel New Life currently employs between 350 and 400 people; it is a major provider of home health care services.³⁴

The Bethel Center is the most recent chapter in Bethel New Life's longstanding interest in development. Bethel New Life had already been building energy efficient housing on brownfield cites in West Garfield Park in the 1990s.

A Threatened Transit Line

In 1992, the Chicago Transit Authority announced that it would be closing the Pulaski station and the entire Green Line which runs above Lake Street, connecting several of Chicago's West Side neighborhoods to the rest of the metropolitan area. Bethel New Life, with the help of the Neighborhood Capital Budget Group, sent out a rallying cry. It formed the Lake Street El Coalition ("El" stands for Elevated Train) along with environmental groups and community groups from neighborhoods along the rail line. West Garfield Park residents did not want to lose their train stop.

One year later, the Lake Street El Coalition won. The CTA announced a \$380 million plan to rebuild the Green Line. Throughout the campaign, the Center for Neighborhood Technology exposed Bethel New Life to sustainable development principles and to the benefits of transit-oriented development.³⁵ Bethel New Life was just beginning.

Planning around Transit

After saving the transit line, Bethel New Life embarked on a neighborhood planning process. It created a "smart growth coordinator" position. It pulled community members together to start creating a unified vision for the neighborhood. It identified four vacant or underutilized areas that needed new development. And it was keenly aware of the benefits that could be leveraged by building around the transit stop. The group developed plans for 100 units of housing within walking distance from the train station plus a large transit center at the site of the station.

Through a mix of donations and public and private financing, Bethel New Life started developing around the Pulaski station. First, the organization built housing. Parkside Estates includes 100 single-family homes one block from the rail station. Energy-efficient lighting and insulation reduce utility costs for homeowners. Buyers were eligible for "location efficient" mortgages, which allow buyers that use public transportation or have only one car to qualify for larger loans.³⁶

All the while, Bethel New Life had sights set on something even bigger. The organization broke ground on The Bethel Center in 2002, which benefited from multiple economic development incentives.

Financing

Bethel succeeded in having the city of Chicago designate the area as a tax increment financing district. Other incentives include \$1.68 million in Empowerment Zone grants, \$1.3 million in Illinois Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity grants, a \$430,000 grant from the Chicago Department of Environment, and a pre-development grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.³⁷ Construction loans and foundation grants rounded out the financing.

Environmental Benefits

The Bethel Center is a model green construction building. It uses only half as much energy as a conventional commercial building and is the first in Chicago to earn gold certification in the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED Building Rating system.³⁸ Photovoltaic cells on the building's roof capture solar energy. Half of the roof is covered by a rooftop garden which reduces storm water runoff and benefits interior climate control across the seasons. Automatic light dimmers, a high efficiency HVAC system, and an innovative Heat Recovery Unit (HRU) system also help to diminish energy usage.

The Bethel Center utilized more than 25 percent recycled building materials. Care was placed in ensuring that at least 50 percent of the wood used on the project originated from forests where environmentally conscious methods are used to grow and harvest it. All paints, carpets, and adhesives used inside the building are special low-toxicity.³⁹

West Garfield Park as a Model

McCullough sees The Bethel Center as a model of effective TOD. He explains, "The Bethel Center exemplifies a really organic, community-based process. It is built around community feedback, around an inner city, old station. You don't have to have everything bright, shiny, and new for a successful TOD...TOD can be for anyone. It's not just for suburban communities. It's not just about alleviating sprawl."⁴⁰

The Bethel Center proves that commercial development in West Garfield is economically viable, and opens doors for future investment in the neighborhood.⁴¹ "We turned a dark, dank corner into a thriving place," Nelson said, "This is really an anchor for more redevelopment in the area." From a new rail station to new housing near transit to a multi-use transit-oriented center, Bethel New Life is proving that TOD is one way to help a community recover.

Fruitvale Transit Village in Oakland: Reconnecting a Low-Income Neighborhood to Transit and Jobs

Place: Oakland, California

Project: Fruitvale Transit Village

What it is: a pedestrian plaza flanked by 47 rental lofts, office and retail

space, a public library, health clinic, and senior center located at

subway station.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Unity Council

Date: Completed 2004. Phase II, a residential development, is slated for

completion in 2009.

Notable: The Unity Council developed the project to connect the low-

income, immigrant Fruitvale neighborhood with the subway

station, jobs, housing, and community services.

In the early 1990s, the San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) Authority announced that it planned to build a large parking garage at Fruitvale's BART subway station. The community recognized that such a development would increase traffic, pollution, and most importantly—would worsen the disconnect between the neighborhood's main street businesses and the transit riders who use the BART station everyday. Former Unity Council CEO Arabella Martinez commented, "When you got off BART, people were looking at the backside of buildings. We thought where they wanted to put a garage would have made things worse."⁴²

The Fruitvale neighborhood is a mostly Latino and Chicano, low-income neighborhood southeast of downtown Oakland. A large percentage of Fruitvale's residents are new immigrants to the country. The neighborhood is the most densely populated area in Oakland.⁴³

The Unity Council, a community development corporation that provides workforce development, children and family services, literacy education, housing services, and community building, had been focusing on neighborhood revitalization efforts in Fruitvale for over 40 years. The Unity Council created the Fruitvale Development Corporation to develop around the BART station. BART

officials collaborated with the Unity Council to create a sustainable development plan around the subway station. Neighborhood meetings ensued, and after much hard work, in late 2003, the Fruitvale Transit Village opened.

Inside the Development

The development includes: 47 residential rental lofts, ten of which are reserved for families earning 35-80 percent of median income; almost 115,000 square feet of community services office space; about 40,000 square feet of retail space; a health clinic; a branch of the Oakland public library system; a Head Start and Early Head Start school; and a senior center. The project also includes two parking garages and a grand pedestrian plaza in the heart of the development called Independence Boulevard. The plaza links the BART station to Fruitvale's successful business strip on International Boulevard.

Connecting to Jobs

The Unity Council estimates that Fruitvale Transit Village has created about 290 jobs. ⁴⁴ Many of the people who work at the Fruitvale Transit Village are employed by the Unity Council. Teaching jobs, administrative positions, case workers, janitors, and senior level executives all work in Unity Council offices. The largest employer at the Village, however, is La Clinica de la Raza, which employs medical assistants and other health professionals. Job seekers may also find work at local retail and restaurant establishments.

Fruitvale residents benefit from increased access to the job market on nearby International Boulevard because of the Transit Village's pedestrian plaza. In the 1990s, more than 50 percent of the retail space along International Boulevard was vacant over a span of about eight blocks; since the Fruitvale Transit Village opened, the vacancy rate has been less than one percent.⁴⁵ The Unity Council can help residents access these jobs; it operates a career center about a half mile from the Transit Village which helps workers qualify for local employment opportunities.

New Fruitvale Transit Village residents can choose from an array of transportation options, allowing access to jobs across the region. The BART subway takes riders to job centers in downtown Oakland, downtown San Francisco, Fremont, and Berkeley. About 6,500 daily passengers use BART at the Fruitvale station. ⁴⁶Ten local and regional bus lines converge at the station, providing residents access to jobs in many suburbs. The project also includes the second largest bike station in the country. ⁴⁷ The station is attended 24 hours

and operated by a bike shop owner. Local officials reportedly plan to develop a bus rapid transit system in the community in the future.

Although most families in the Fruitvale area probably own a car, many Fruitvale residents depend on public transportation. Families are large and cannot afford for each worker in the household to own a car. As a very dense neighborhood, walking is one of the most common ways to get around.

The Neighborhood

Community members make good use of The Fruitvale Transit Village as a gathering place. The Unity Council uses the plaza for a farmer's market, a concert series and Friday night "Movies on the Plaza," which bring neighbors out to commune. The myriad community services available at the Transit Village are well utilized by Fruitvale residents. The health clinic serves uninsured and immigrant families and is always full. The Head Start serves 280 families a day. The senior center is full, and the Cesar Chavez Library is considered one of the most appealing branches in Oakland.

The Unity Council also plans to open a small business incubator called Public Market in 2006. The Public Market will provide opportunities for local artisans and small business owners to set up shop with minimized risk and increased supports.

Support for Project

The Unity Council assembled a complex set of more than 20 financing mechanisms to fund the \$100 million development. Among them, the Federal Transit Administration contributed over \$5.7 million to fund various aspects of the project. The City of Oakland used prepaid leases, tax increment financing, and Community Development Block Grant funds to help finance the Transit Village. Several foundations provided grants for the project as well.

The Unity Council received other kinds of support for the TOD that are not quantifiable. BART supported the Unity Council by being flexible and willing to work through issues out of faith in the utility of a community-led TOD project.

Mixed-use Challenges: Retail

Recent critics contend that the retail portion of the Fruitvale TOD is suffering. Neighborhood retailers interviewed for an article in the *East Bay Express* complained that the BART commuters fail to trickle from the station into the

plaza to shop. They also argue that there is not enough density of opened businesses to attract shoppers. The Unity Council boasts a lengthy list of retail establishments: a delicatessen, a doughnut shop, a bank, a florist, a jewelry store, and a Mexican restaurant are among several. However, some shop owners contend that the moderate to high income customer base promised by BART commuters never materialized, while locals find some shops to be too expensive.

In press accounts, Unity Council representatives have contended that disgruntled retail tenants are in the minority. But the group also acknowledges that the retail space has been a challenge. Jeff Pace, Vice President of Finance and Business Operations for The Unity Council, explained that several factors caused the retail space to fall short of expectations. First, "It's Class A, built to very high standards," he said. The high costs that went into building the space necessitate charging higher rents than the surrounding neighborhood commercial space. Second, in planning stages, the premise was that BART riders from places like Alameda would patronize these businesses. But the Unity Council has learned from observation that the Fruitvale BART station is an origination station rather than a destination station. Riders spend time and dollars at their destinations, not at the stations where they start their trips. ⁴⁹

The retailers have also been affected by the placement of the parking garage. The Unity Council was obliged to build some parking into the Fruitvale Transit Village development to offset the garage that sparked the initial controversey. The Council followed BART's recommendation to place the garage as close to the station as possible. As a result, Pace states, park-and-riders have no compulsion to enter the pedestrian plaza and browse the retail.⁵⁰ Pace has also grappled with difficulties renting the development's significant office space.

Mixed-use Challenges: Office

In terms of office space, most of it is filled by social service agencies because The Unity Council sought to create a "one-stop shop" for services. La Clinica de la Raza, the De Colores Child Development Center, the Fruitvale Senior Center and the Unity Council itself occupy office space at the new development. The services offered by these organizations succeed in fulfilling the mission of bringing needed services to the area. But as Pace explains, "The jury is out about the wisdom of anchoring a large commercial center with nonprofits."⁵¹

The Unity Council has learned that clusters of nonprofit organizations do not create a lot of pedestrian traffic. They are also unreliable tenants because their funding is so variable from one year to the next. Two tenants were forced to pull

out of the Fruitvale Transit Village office space right before its opening in 2004. About a quarter of the Transit Village's office space currently stands vacant. Filling the space has been further complicated by the recession induced by the region's dot com bust which began in 2000. "In two or three years, we'll be able to say a lot more about whether this was a successful and replicable model," Pace added.⁵²

Next Steps

The Unity Council is currently working out details for a second phase of development at the Fruitvale Transit Village. The development will include 250 to 450 owner-occupied, residential units. The Unity Council plans to break ground for Phase II at the end of 2007. The development may mitigate some of the retail problems by creating more neighborhood buying power. As Pace explains, "I think people have to understand that these kinds of projects do not create jobs just by going up. Neighborhood revitalization takes more to consummate the vision...Just getting it built isn't enough. It is significant and difficult. The true test for these projects will be after over five years." 53

Linden Transit Center in Columbus: Revitalizing a Neighborhood and Connecting Workers to Jobs

Place: Columbus, Ohio

Project: Linden Transit Center

What it is: a bus transit center with a local bank, daycare center, and

clinic in a Columbus neighborhood that is being revitalized.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Central Ohio Transit Authority, Greater Linden Development

Council, and Columbus Urban Growth Corporation

Date: Completed 1999.

Notable: The Central Ohio Transit Authority (COTA) places special emphasis

on getting employees to work. However, funding for some of its ambitious reverse-commuting services has been discontinued.

It is not common to find a public agency that recognizes the importance of connecting people to jobs, and even makes explicit plans for how its transit expansion will accommodate workers. The Central Ohio Transit Authority (COTA) built a mixed-use transit center in South Linden, Ohio, along with the Greater Linden Development Council and Columbus Urban Growth Corporation. Over subsequent years, COTA developed strategies to connect workers to jobs.

The Transit Center

The Linden Transit Center, alone, was a huge gain for the neighborhood. The center provides several transportation opportunities for Linden's residents. It serves as a hub for eight bus lines, five of which are express routes that stretch out into the suburbs of Columbus and downtown. A circulating shuttle called Linden LINK connects the transit center to the Linden neighborhood.

The transit center includes a branch of Fifth Third Bank, a 17-hour daycare center called Mother's Helper, and Children's Hospital clinic. The center's mix of uses allows transit riders to drop their children off at daycare before commuting to work. The center also serves as a community meeting place; voting is held at the center, and people congregate there to access services. "It is heavily utilized. It really connects people," said John Palmer, Public and Media Relations Specialist for COTA. 54 It has also played a role in the revitalization of the

neighborhood, with development occurring at the three corners surrounding the transit center.

COTA and Employers Make the Connection

Both public agencies and private businesses in Columbus recognize the importance of transit for linking people to jobs. After the center's opening in 1999, COTA hosted a series of job fairs there to enable employers to recruit from Linden. The *Columbus Dispatch* reported that more than 200 residents attended job fairs in hopes of attaining jobs along Columbus's Interstate 270 outerbelt. What's more, the outerbelt employers like Bank One, Alliance Data, and Mount Carmel and St. Ann's hospitals understood that many of the area's residents do not own cars. ⁵⁵ Their participation in the jobs fair proved their desire to hire Linden residents.

Specific companies partnered with COTA to provide transit service tailored for employees from Linden. Disappointingly, these programs were eventually discontinued. Budget cuts at COTA and at the private employers rendered these programs unsustainable. However, they remain innovative models for connecting people to jobs through public transportation.

Federal Express (Fed Ex) partnered with COTA in order to help fill positions at the company's Package Delivery Distribution center. COTA provided fixed-route service from Linden to the company's distribution center for the company's afternoon and evening shifts. Fed Ex subsidized the costs of bus passes for employees and also guaranteed COTA that the route will yield a minimum 25 percent fare box recovery. Approximately 60 passenger boardings occured on the average weekday on the route created for Fed Ex.⁵⁶ Fed Ex stopped subsidizing the bus passes and the route in 2004. The route no longer goes to Linden.

Another major employer, Riverside Methodist Hospitals, partnered with COTA by hosting a specialized job fair. Riverside launched a new route that transported Linden residents from the transit center straight to the hospital.⁵⁷ The route was funded jointly by the hospital and by COTA. However, this program was discontinued in 2001.

Linden Community

The transit linkages to jobs are especially vital for Linden's population. The Linden neighborhood is an urban community suffering from crime, blight, and disinvestment. It is a federal Empowerment Zone. The area has over 10 percent

unemployment and 25 to 30 percent unemployment for African-American males.⁵⁸ About 25 percent of the residents do not have access to a car.⁵⁹

These factors influenced the Greater Linden Development Council and the Columbus Urban Growth Corporation to take on the development of the Linden Transit Center and the three street corners that surround it. The organizations conducted a survey of the neighborhood in the late 1990s to develop consensus about what the neighborhood most needs as part of revitalization efforts. The groups decided to develop a transit center, community space, office, and retail space at the intersection of Cleveland and Eleventh Avenues. The first of the four corners was planned for the Linden Transit Center. The groups partnered with COTA to build the center, which opened in 1999.

Other Influences on COTA

So, what was the genesis of this enlightened approach? In an organizing effort that started in 1997, Building Responsibility, Equality, and Dignity (BREAD), a regional community-based group comprised of clergy and residents, pressured COTA and the Mayor of Columbus to better elaborate the connections between mass transportation and jobs. BREAD's campaign influenced COTA to alter its grant proposal for the federal Livable Communities Act so that a transit center the agency had planned to build in the suburbs be accompanied by a sister facility in the city. Linden Transit Center resulted.

BREAD also met with the Deputy Administrator of the Federal Transit Administration, who agreed to recommend that cities with strong grassroots involvement in transportation planning be given priority for funding. The group's continued involvement with FTA officials influenced the agency to award COTA a \$684,000 grant to expand bus service from the city to the suburbs. ⁶⁰

Following the grant, BREAD worked with COTA to develop bus routes and monitor progress. The group helped COTA design a third regional transit center called Near East. BREAD and COTA continue to work in partnership on transit planning. Ed Garger, Director of Marketing for COTA commented, "[BREAD] helps develop ideas, clarify need, and identify direction."

COTA's Efforts to Make the Connection

Starting in 2001, Franklin County and COTA funded a Jobs-Access Coordinator position. The coordinator developed new transit routes based on worker needs. He or she also created transit solutions for workers who face challenges using

mass transportation to get to work. The duties of this position have been combined with those of the Mobility Services Specialist.

Many of the innovative programs that COTA developed around the time that the Linden Transit Center was completed have since fallen victim to budget cuts. The year 2006 is the first in four years in which COTA is not operating at a budget deficit. In the previous several years, COTA has weathered massive budget and job cuts. COTA emphasizes, however, that in the future, the Jobs-Access Coordinator position may be reinstated.⁶²

Despite budget cuts, COTA sees its efforts to make transit affordable for commuters a central part of its mission and also fulfillment of the role that the federal government intends for public transportation. Garger said, "Transit isn't just for your ride; transit is for the ride of the people you depend on."⁶³

Currently, three Columbus area mixed-use transit centers have been built. COTA thinks of these stations as a way to spur development. COTA is currently developing a long-range transit plan for Central Ohio looking at rail service or fixed guideway transportation.

COTA received substantial financing help from other government agencies in its efforts to develop the Linden Transit Center. It received the \$2.1 million Livable Communities grant. COTA also received \$270,000 from the Ohio Department of Transportation.

Four Corners Development

The Linden Transit Center was the first part of the larger "Four Corners" revitalization that is going on in South Linden, Ohio. Several lots and buildings have been renovated for office and retail space in the three corners surrounding the transit center. New additions to the corners include a neighborhood policing center, headquarters for the Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority, a State Farm Insurance office, and a renovated building transformed into the Linden Café. Assorted local retailers, like barber shops and tax preparers, also occupy the area. When one enters Linden, the community appears vibrant and alive. The Linden Transit Center is the reason.

Cleveland EcoVillage: Environmental Building Initiative Revives Neighborhood and Rebuilds Transit Station

Place: Cleveland, Ohio

Project: Cleveland EcoVillage

What it is: 20 new environmentally sustainable townhomes built near a

renovated, environmentally sustainable rapid transit station

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Detroit Shoreway Community Development Organization, EcoCity

Cleveland, and Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority

Date: 2004

Notable: Developers take a holistic approach to environmentally

sustainable growth by creating a mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly,

transit-oriented, environmentally-efficient community.

EcoCity Cleveland and the Detroit Shoreway Community Development Organization (DSCDO) banded together in the late 1990s with the shared idea of building environmentally conscious infill development in the Detroit Shoreway neighborhood. Together, the two organizations spearheaded an effort to rally the community in support of a green village. The process resulted in a brand new rapid transit station, transit-oriented infill development, and a neighborhood which serves as a national model for both environmentally sustainable development and economic development.

A Community Buys into Eco-development

EcoCity Cleveland and DSCDO took their vision for development to the Detroit Shoreway community in 1997. Through a series of meetings, residents voiced enthusiasm and support for an EcoVillage. The EcoVillage concept integrates New Urbanist ideas about mixed-income, dense infill development with environmental ideas about sustainable building materials and energy efficiency.

EcoCity Cleveland chose the Detroit Shoreway neighborhood because of the existence of a rapid rail station, the strength of the DSCDO, and the diversity of the neighborhood's residents. Detroit Shoreway is a racially-mixed, mixed-income neighborhood on the west side of Cleveland. The average household

income is around \$22,000. About a quarter of the residents are African American, and another fourth are Hispanic. The neighborhood has suffered some of the tell-tale signs of urban disinvestment over the years, but has managed to hold onto amenities like the Michael Zone Recreation Center and a modest but stable commercial strip. An antique row and historic churches also add to the character of the neighborhood. The DSCDO hopes to bring more necessary services to the neighborhood through future development.

As the Detroit Shoreway community was weighing the EcoVillage concept, the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA) announced that it planned to close the community's rapid transit rail station. The station was the least used rail station in the greater Cleveland system. It was overgrown with weeds, filthy from illegal dumping, and unsafe due to its isolated location away from the street. Some criminal activity had occurred there. The RTA held a community meeting to inform the neighborhood that it would be shutting down the station. To the surprise of transit officials, hundreds of local residents came out to protest the proposed closing. If the station were safer, residents assumed, it would be better utilized.

Detroit Shoreway Gets New Rail Station

The RTA changed course. Bolstered by the knowledge that the EcoVillage development would help stabilize the area, the RTA decided to overhaul the station and invest \$4 million in a new, energy-efficient, community-designed rail station. John Goodworth, RTA Project Manager for the station related, "At the time the station was designed, very few people or organizations, including GCRTA really knew about Sustainable Design. The design decisions however that made the West 65th Station green, including those that saved energy, limited pollution to the environment, saved construction costs and saved the Authority and taxpayer dollars in life cycle costing, made so much sense that we were empowered to make them on a project management level. At project completion, GCRTA management was more than pleased with our results."⁶⁴

In 2004, the new, 1,200 square foot station opened. It is the first "green" transit station in the U.S. and possibly the world. It features radiant heat, passive solar energy, recycled materials, and environmentally conscious light fixtures. It is not a LEED certified building, but serves as a model for green transit stations. Now, the Cleveland Transit Authority specifies in every request for proposal (RFP) for a new station that it must be LEED approved. The building came in about half a million dollars below cost estimates. "Green does not necessarily mean it costs more green," Goodworth enthused.⁶⁵

The station features a meeting room, retail space, a plaza, an RTA police ministation, and public art. The RTA is currently preparing to lease out the retail space to a small business like a coffee shop. Community activities like cooking classes take place in the central meeting area. Volunteers cleaned and painted a pedestrian bridge that leads to the station, increasing safe access to it.

Materials and colors for the station were modeled after the neighboring St. Colemans Church, which has a stone façade and a copper roof that has taken on a patina green color with age. On the transit station, the wall treatments were varied with a similarly shaded masonry. The roof was covered with an environmentally friendly and lower-priced recycled aluminum that was painted to blend with the patina color of St. Colemans. ⁶⁶

Perhaps the biggest benefit of the new rail station is the increased transit access that neighbors enjoy. "The number of people using the station has increased exponentially," Goodworth said. "At the old station, if we had five customers a day, we were lucky. Now, you will see more people on the platform than that every time you board or alight from a train. There are twelve year old kids, mothers with strollers, families, teenagers. It's a wonderful, heartwarming thing," he said. Goodworth estimates that the station serves about 300-400 people daily, which is very good ridership for Cleveland. He adds, "Part of the station's appeal is that it's more than just a train station. It was designed to be a meeting place where neighbors can break bread together, read the papers, play cards, or discuss local and national news. It's a very good thing for the neighborhood and for Cleveland."

EcoVillage Townhomes

DSCDO and EcoCity Cleveland opened their first major EcoVillage development in 2004 as well. The organizations built 20 townhomes on a site where 10 dilapidated homes once stood, across the way from the new RTA station. The townhomes utilize energy efficient and environmentally efficient design. Controlled ventilation, nontoxic building materials, recycled building materials, solar panels, and high-efficiency furnaces minimize the environmental impacts of development. Neighbors can get involved in the nearby Ithaca Court community garden.

DSCDO sought to build the housing as affordably as possible, but no affordability requirements were placed on the project. When complete, the townhomes were affordable to people earning about 80 percent of the area median income (AMI.) Developers built extra space in the basement which homeowners may rent out as apartments to increase the affordability of the

homes. DSCDO analyzed the homeowners' utility bills over the past year and found that the average gas bill for an EcoVillage Townhome was about 50 percent less than the cost of heating a standard home in Cleveland.⁶⁸

Mandy Metcalf of DSCDO said that one of the reasons that the EcoVillage has been a success in Detroit Shoreway is because there is a density that can support transit. "A lot of people depend on public transportation [in Detroit Shoreway]," she said. She also commented that the neighborhood residents seem to have embraced the new EcoVillage identity. She observed, "They have a sense that things are happening and things are changing." ⁶⁹

Transit Access and Jobs

The Detroit Shoreway neighborhood is serviced by both rail and bus transport. Three major bus routes take people throughout Cleveland. The EcoVillage rail station is on Cleveland's red line which goes to two major employment centers: downtown in ten minutes or to the airport in 20 minutes. In 2005, RTA reported an 8 percent increase in ridership along the red line.⁷⁰ The rail system allows residents to commute throughout the city, accessing jobs at major employers like Case Western Reserve University.

EcoVillage development also enhanced transit and job access by making the area more walkable. A pedestrian footbridge stretches over the rail tracks and connects the rail station with the new EcoVillage townhomes. The station has bicycle storage, and pedestrian pathways link it to a nearby bus stop.

DSCDO and EcoCity Cleveland built a one mile walking path through the area surrounding the rail station. The path is stenciled with phrases in blue paint that invite pedestrians to explore green spaces and other amenities along the path. Some residents walk this path to work at industrial sites on the fringes of the neighborhood.

Next Steps in the EcoVillage

The DSCDO is planning next for a multi-family, mixed-use development directly adjacent to the rail station. Currently, the DSCDO is working with the City of Cleveland and Parkworks to design park space adjacent to the Zone Recreation Center and across from the rail station. The 22 acres of green space will be a demonstration in storm water runoff abatement and natural habitat conservation as well as a model in urban green space preservation. DSCDO will also build four single-family, affordable housing units in the neighborhood in the near future.⁷¹

The townhomes and rail station have spurred new development from other sources, as well. Sutton Builders is developing nine new townhomes called Side Street Town Homes. The Townhouses at Courtland Court are another residential development project in Detroit Shoreway.

Funding

Although the RTA bore the cost of rehabbing the EcoVillage rail station, funding for the townhomes required some ingenuity. The federal Environmental Protection Agency gave DSCDO a grant to hire a project coordinator to get the EcoVillage idea off the ground. The City of Cleveland provided a15 year tax abatement and help with variances, permits, design and technical assistance. It also funneled \$200,000 to the project through Housing Trust Funds and \$50,000 through a Ward 17 Community Development Block Grant. Private foundations such as the Cleveland Foundation, George Gund Foundation, and the Wean Foundation provided additional support. The developers also received a Solar Electric Power Association Grant for \$75,000. At present, all of the townhomes in the EcoVillage are occupied by homeowners.

The partnership between the RTA, DSCDO, and EcoCity Cleveland remains strong. The three groups have found common interest in creating environmentally and economically sustainable development. "It was so unbelievable," Goodworth said, "It just went like clockwork."⁷²

Minnesota Avenue Metro in Washington D.C.: Planning Process Leads Neighbors to Strategize for Transit-Oriented Development

Place: Washington, DC

Project: Minnesota Avenue Metro Area Redevelopment vision plan

What it is: a planning process that brings community members and

Metro subway users together to plan for TOD in a less affluent D.C.

neighborhood.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: The planning process has been a collaborative effort between

Washington Regional Network for Livable Communities and the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization.

Date: The Vision Plan was completed in 2005.

Notable: An initiative to promote better health through active,

pedestrian-friendly environments leads to a plan for transit-

oriented development.

A new land use planning process is taking place in the Marshall Heights neighborhood of Northeast Washington DC. Although the area lacks a wealth of good jobs, it does have good transit service, grocery stores, banks, and a very active citizenry. In 2005, over seventy area residents, community leaders, and government staff identified desired upgrades to the Minnesota Avenue and Benning Road commercial district; the upgrades are adjacent to the Minnesota Avenue Metro subway station on the Metro Orange Line and create a plan for positive change that fosters a safer walking environment, a more vital shopping district, and a stronger sense of community.

Vision

At a series of community meetings, residents discussed the desire to make transit convenient and safe, to add pedestrian-friendly and bicycle-friendly amenities to their neighborhood, and to create development strategies that bolster local retail, use infill development opportunities, and create mixed-use buildings with housing over shops along the area's main corridors. They envision a culturally interesting main corridor with varied retail choices. Residents also wanted to have a public gathering place and more public art.

The vision plan will transform the area around the subway to make it livelier and safer. In turn, residents will be able to access jobs by using the subway station and bus lines with greater ease. Cheryl Cort of the Washington Regional Network for Livable Communities (WRN) said that when the vision plan is implemented, residents can "get off Metro at nine at night and have a safe and interesting walk home."⁷³

Guiding Development

The Marshall Heights neighborhood has been the focus of scattered redevelopment efforts over the last several years. The area is ripe for investment. It has a commercial corridor with a Safeway grocery store, banks, and local retail. It has the second largest bus line in DC, with 3,000 passenger boardings there everyday. The Metro subway station also has 3,000 boardings a day.⁷⁴

Development efforts have been funneling into the area piecemeal. The Minnesota Benning Government Center, which will be built directly adjacent to the Minnesota Avenue subway station, is slated for completion in 2008. The government center will have ground-floor retail space, community meeting space, and will house the DC Department of Employment Services. The two major commercial strips in the area are candidates for improvement under the DC Great Streets Initiative, a program that provides resources to help make improvements to sidewalks and streetscapes in the six major corridors in the District. In addition, the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA) is planning to upgrade the bus bays at the Minnesota Avenue subway station and create a more pedestrian-friendly approach to the station.

However, multiple transportation projects by the District Department of Transportation (DDOT) and new development proposals are moving forward without an overall plan for the area. The Minnesota Benning Government Center will bring 1,400 city employees in the first phase and an additional 700 in the second phase into the area, but will not necessarily create many new jobs for local residents. The relocated Department of Employment Services will, however, offer job counseling services for district residents at a "One-Stop Career Center." City officials hope that the presence of government employees catalyzes economic development, but this strategy has been questioned by independent experts.

While government agencies are attempting to address concerns about improving pedestrian safety and access to transit, different approaches continue to be debated by planners. The area holds the record for the highest number of auto crashes in the district. It is also one of the most dangerous places in DC for pedestrians. The vision plan represents the first unified effort to coordinate the neighborhood's growth in an open and inclusive manner. The result will include changes to allow residents safer pedestrian access to transit.

Jobs and Marshall Heights

Most of the residents of Marshall Heights rely on public transportation to get to work. While their neighborhood provides few jobs, residents are a short bus ride away from major job centers. The average Marshall Heights resident has completed high school but has no college education, and accesses service jobs throughout the DC region by way of the subway and bus lines that converge along Minnesota Avenue and Benning Road. Although the vision plan does not place specific emphasis on creating new jobs, the plan encourages new businesses to locate in the business district by fostering an attractive walkable environment. Improving safe access to the neighborhood's transit service will allow residents to reach jobs across the region.

Building the Future with Neighborhood Input

The WRN catalyzed this planning process in partnership with the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization (MHCDO). WRN recognized that Marshall Heights residents were not benefiting from the transit station to the greatest extent possible, despite the fact that many residents do not own cars. MHCDO participated as a leader in community development and as a provider of a variety of social services for the area. Linda Hembry of MHCDO commented, "I hope that this is a catalyst for bringing more public and private development to the area to help revitalize it."

The vision plan was supported by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation out of a desire to promote physical activity and good health by facilitating the creation of environments that integrate physical activity into peoples' daily routines.⁷⁸ When community leaders got involved in the plan, they created a vision for the neighborhood that evolved into a pedestrian-friendly, transit-oriented development plan.

The Marshall Heights community hopes to advance its vision of neighborhood development so that it is the primary reference for government agencies and developers interested in helping to revitalize the area. The MHCDO will work

with other nearby neighborhoods to spread word about the vision plan. In the next few years, they will start implementing the plan. And in the future, Marshall Heights residents should have safer walks to bus stops and subway stations, an enlivened commercial corridor, and better access to jobs.

Ohlone-Chynoweth Commons: Transit Access for Low-Income People in a High-Income City

Place: San Jose, California

Project: Ohlone-Chynoweth Commons

What it is: a mixed-use affordable housing development connected to a light

rail and bus station.

Type: project with an affordable housing focus

Developer: Eden Housing, Inc.

Date: Completed 2001.

Notable: Affordable housing development in San Jose allows residents

access to jobs across the region, despite the exorbitant housing

prices in Silicon Valley.

Affordable housing is a real rarity in San Jose. The dot com gold rush pushed housing prices to stratospheric levels. The land is so expensive for homebuyers and developers alike that many affordable housing providers consider San Jose an untenable location. When the Santa Clara Valley Transportation Authority (VTA) issued a request for development proposals for its land near the Ohlone-Chynoweth transit station, Eden Housing, Inc. responded; the VTA leased the land to Eden at a reduced rate, making affordable housing feasible.

Eden Housing built Ohlone-Chynoweth Commons on the land, a \$31 million complex featuring 194 units, all targeted to families earning 30 to 60 percent of the median income. The complex also includes a grassy play area, an on-site daycare center, a community center, a computer learning facility, and 4,400 square feet of retail space. Debben Perkins, a working mother who lives in the development told the *San Jose Mercury News*, "I couldn't live around here otherwise—anywhere in the Bay Area, really." ⁷⁹

Transit and Jobs

Eden Housing also constructed a landscaped pedestrian pathway that leads residents and users to the adjacent Ohlone-Chynoweth transit station, a previously underused facility that runs mass transportation 24 hours a day. Two light rail lines converge at Ohlone-Chynoweth, the Guadelupe Light Rail Line and

the Almaden track. The station is also a major bus transfer point. Residents can link to Caltrain, which takes riders to San Francisco. The station provides access to downtown San Jose, to the San Jose airport, and to outlying points in Santa Clara, Sunnyvale, Milpitas, Mountain View, and to Silicon Valley employers. San Jose State University, city and county government offices, and the tech industry near North 1st Street all supply employment opportunities along transit lines as well.

Services

In addition to jobs, Ohlone-Chynoweth Commons residents also benefit from a menu of services provided by Eden Housing. The childcare center is heavily utilized. The complex offers after-school programs, financial literacy education, tax assistance, family nights and other social programming, and a computer lab set up for both after-school tutoring and adult education. The development also features low-flow plumbing, efficient lighting fixtures, and extra insulation for energy efficiency.

Incentives

The fact that the land on which Ohlone Chynoweth was built was a parking lot owned by VTA made this project possible in an otherwise challenging environment for affordable housing. A number of agencies also helped. The City of San Jose paid for the rezoning process to change the land to a new Transit Corridor High Density Residential development. The City gave Eden Housing a \$5 million loan and \$14 million in tax exempt bonds that were backed by a letter of credit from the Federal Home Loan Bank. Other financing came from a number of partners. Eden received about \$11 million in state and federal tax credits. The Metropolitan Transportation Commission's Transportation for Livable Communities program gave Eden a \$574,000 grant. The Federal Home Loan Bank gave Eden a \$500,000 grant. Fannie Mae gave Eden a grant of \$50,000. Eden also incurred substantial debt to the city and to Wells Fargo.

Rocky Road

Ohlone Chynoweth Commons is not without its detractors. The surrounding neighborhood protested the project for fear that the high density development would be too demanding on the local elementary school. The neighborhood of single family houses had already acquiesced to a dense, multi-family development called Ohlone Court. After completion of the Commons, the neighborhood groups reported feeling satisfied with the project. The project also raised security concerns because of the risks associated with transit riders

being so close to residences. The layout of the buildings is not conducive to a well-monitored, safe pedestrian area at the station.⁸² However, Eden Housing provides extra security services at the site.⁸³

Other challenges have arisen due to difficulties in leasing out the retail space. David Miller, Commercial Development Manager for the VTA, explained that the retail space is not along a major thoroughfare, which makes it less visible and less viable. He also noted that the Ohlone Chynoweth station is an origination station rather than being a destination station. VTA has found that retail uses as a part of a mixed-use TOD are only successful if located adjacent to streets with a high volume of traffic.⁸⁴ Despite challenges, the retail is currently fully leased. A new Italian restaurant and a small grocery store are among the businesses that call Ohlone Chynoweth Commons home.⁸⁵

Impacts

Building at the Ohlone-Chynoweth station has spurred more development. In 2003, private developers built One Pearl Place: upscale, luxury apartments just south of Ohlone Chynoweth Commons. Ohlone Chynoweth Commons increases transit use and provides affordable homes. As Miller states, the next step is to be more deliberate about putting jobs along the light rail lines. ⁸⁶

Parson's Place and Emerson Park in East St. Louis: A CDC Relocates Transit Station and Develops Around It

Place: East St. Louis, Illinois

Project: Parson's Place and Emerson Park Security and Commercial

Building

What it is: A total of 276 units of mixed-income rental homes adjacent to a

new transit center plus 4,200 square feet of office and retail space

at the rail transit station.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Emerson Park Development Corporation and McCormack Baron

Salazar developed Parson's Place. The U.S. Economic Development

Administration and St. Clair County Transit District built the

commercial building adjacent to four transit bays.

Date: Parson's Place Phase I (174 units) completed in 2002; Phase II (102

units) completed in 2005. Emerson Park Security and Commercial

Building completed in 2003.

Notable: A community development corporation uses TOD as a strategy to

rebuild a blighted neighborhood.

In the late 1990s, a community development corporation in East St. Louis, Illinois bet that if it could move a proposed light rail station into the neighborhood, development and revitalization would follow. It was right. The Emerson Park Development Corporation (EPDC) won a new transit station in the neighborhood, and then built housing and commercial space nearby. These events have catalyzed a rebirth of the Emerson Park neighborhood. And they have provided residents with public transportation choices.

Light Rail Access

In 1997, Metro announced that it would be extending MetroLink light rail service into East St. Louis. Initial plans bypassed Emerson Park. EPDC countered the plan by proposing its own version of a new MetroLink extension to the mayor during a community meeting in a packed auditorium. EPDC's proposed to locate the largest park-and-ride station on the line in Emerson Park at 15th Street and Baugh Avenue instead of a proposed station adjacent to an interstate.

Mayor Bush supported EPDC's transit plan and won city council support for the rerouting. As a result, Metro rerouted the light rail extension and Emerson Park won a light rail station.⁸⁷

The Emerson Park MetroLink station opened in May 2001. The neighborhood became the hub of public transportation outside of St. Louis. After the first year in operation, average weekday ridership on the East St. Louis light rail line was 25 percent higher than had been projected. The connection allows Emerson Park residents to access good jobs throughout the entire St. Louis Metropolitan area to the West and throughout St. Clair County and Scott Air Force Base to the East. The area is also serviced by bus routes. Jeff Fields of EPDC remarked, "This was the beginning of our nonprofit neighborhood association becoming a community (re-)development corporation with a more powerful force in the city." 189

Transit-oriented Development

The station also inspired EPDC and area developer McCormack Baron Salazar to build affordable housing and plan for commercial development at the station. EPDC struck a partnership with McCormack Baron Salazar. A spokesperson would later say that the new transit station was the primary reason that the company had selected Emerson Park to build Parson's Place. She said, "It was actually when the eastern expansion of MetroLink was announced that we began to look for sites that were adjacent to one of the new stations. There was a direct correlation to our interest in East St. Louis and the announcement about the station." Phase I of Parson's Place opened in 2002.

The first phase of the Parson's Place development consists of 174 mixed-income rental units in 58 townhomes just north of the Emerson Park MetroLink station. About 60 percent of the units are set aside for families earning 50-60 percent of the area median income (AMI.) The remaining units are market rate rentals. The Parson's Place development also includes three refurbished nearby playgrounds, including the Ceola Davis Park, which was redesigned to reduce obesity among neighborhood children. Phase II of Parson's Place was completed in 2005. It includes 102 more units of rental housing, with over 75 percent of the units reserved for people making less than 60 percent AMI and the remainder reserved for households at 40 percent of the AMI. A third EPDC project is under construction now; the River City Affordable Homes is the first phase of a planned 150-unit for-sale development in the Emerson Park neighborhood.

Parson's Place is exclusively a residential development. However, the light rail station and the new housing helped spark retail and office development around

transit, too. The Emerson Park Security and Commercial Building was built at the light rail station and opened in 2003. It is a 4,200 square foot building which houses offices for both Metro and St. Clair County security forces as well as a locally owned coffee shop. The St. Clair County Transit District built the commercial building as part of a plan to develop the areas around its light rail stations. The United States Economic Development Administration provided 80 percent of the funding needed to build it, and St. Clair County contributed the remaining 20 percent.

Unfortunately, 1,300 square feet of space at the transit station currently stands empty. There have been challenges leasing out the space. Several nonprofit organizations have eyed the space and then lost financing. Commercial development is still a challenge in Emerson Park. It is a part of the long process of redevelopment.

Jobs and Transit Usage

Emerson Park residents work a variety of jobs across the St. Louis region. They travel downtown and into surrounding counties. However, most people in the community actually drive to work. Despite a lack of hard data, local impressions are that most Parson's Place residents own cars and use them to commute to work. Linda Franks from Parson's Place leasing emphasized that the close proximity to transit makes the development more appealing for would-be tenants, but that ultimately, most people drive to jobs.⁹¹

A Neighborhood on the Rebound

The considerable investment placed in Emerson Park is improving the area's reputation and spurring additional development. Other significant developments include the 2005 opening of Central City Apartments, an 84-unit development by Chicago-based Eastlake Development Corporation. The Jackie Joyner-Kersee Boys and Girls Club located adjacent to the Emerson Park light rail station is a new multi-million dollar facility.

Previous to EPDC's initiatives, the Emerson Park neighborhood had been experiencing a rapid decline. In 2001, about 75 percent of the neighborhood's potential workforce was unemployed. Half of the residents were on welfare. The neighborhood population and housing stock declined dramatically. Parson's Place I and II more than doubled the population of Emerson Park.

Making Change

In designing Parson's Place, EPDC underwent its second extensive community planning process. EPDC strengthened its renewed partnership with the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The university's East St. Louis Action Research Project helped assess community needs. Students conducted scores of interviews with residents and community leaders about the planned development. EPDC's members and other area residents participated in almost all phases of the project, from helping to secure financing to helping plan the development and participate in land acquisition processes.

EPDC would not have been able to develop Parson's Place without the community, and it also relied upon diverse sources of equity and debt. EPDC raised funds from diverse sources to build Parson's Place. Phase I entailed a complex web of financing. About \$1 million each was secured from the City of East St. Louis, The Danforth Foundation, the Empowerment Zone, and tax increment financing (TIF). The St. Clair County Transit Authority loaned EPDC significant money because of the project's connection with the transit station. The State of Illinois, SunAmerica, Regional Housing and Community Development Alliance, Southwestern Illinois Development Authority and Bank of America were other major contributors to financing. Phase II financing was much easier to procure because of the success of the first phase of Parson's Place. USBank provided funding in the form of mortgage loans, tax credit equity and a \$2 million donation via the State Donation Tax Credit Program. 92

As Jeff Fields points out, the Parson's Place story is about cumulative effect.⁹³ It started with the light rail station. That made the housing possible. And the housing will make commercial development possible. Over time, Emerson Park will be a very different place.

Winchester Greens in Chesterfield County, Virginia: Affordable Housing Residents Win Transit Access

Place: Winchester, Virginia (a suburb of Richmond)

Project: Winchester Greens

What it is: A mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly affordable housing community

temporarily linked to jobs by van service.

Type: project with an affordable housing focus

Developer: Better Housing Coalition

Date: 2000

Notable: The residents of the development waged a campaign for transit

access.

In 1997, the Better Housing Coalition (BHC) of Richmond, Virginia bought the Park Lee apartment complex from HUD for one dollar. The Park Lee Garden Apartments were built in 1965 in Chesterfield County to house low-income people, and they had come to embody the crime, dilapidation, and blight that people sometimes associate with Section 8 housing. The Department of Housing and Urban Development and Chesterfield County government were interested in seeing the Park Lee apartments redeveloped. The cornerstone of BHC's plan was to create a development that provides needed services for residents, a holistic approach that would later inspire the residents to advocate in favor of transit access.

Winning Transit Access

Throughout the development process, BHC engaged residents in planning. Residents collectively decided to name the new development Winchester Greens. They also discussed services that would enable them to successfully become self-sufficient. As a result, BHC built a child care center onsite alongside new townhomes and garden apartments. When Winchester Greens residents found out that a transit grant was available to Chesterfield County, the community building efforts of the BHC were channeled to action for transit access.

In July 1999, about 35 Winchester Greens residents marched along the busy Jefferson Davis Highway. The event, dubbed "Walk for a Ride" called attention to the need for better public transportation in Chesterfield County. The marchers walked about one and a half miles along the dangerous shoulder of the highway singing "All we are saying is give us a bus," to the tune of John Lennon's song, "Give Peace a Chance."

They were successful in swaying county supervisors to accept the grant for transit access. The following year, the Greater Richmond Transit Company established van service called the Chesterfield Link. The van transported Winchester Green residents and others from Chesterfield County into Richmond in about one half hour, linking up with Richmond's established bus routes, which extended throughout the city. In 2000, it was estimated that about 80 percent of Winchester Greens residents relied on the service.⁹⁵

A Temporary Boon

Unfortunately, when the term of the pilot project grant ended in June 2004, Chesterfield County determined that it was no longer feasible to operate the Chesterfield Link. County spokesperson Barbara Smith explained, "Chesterfield evaluated the cost to continue the service, available funding sources and the number of citizens served by the service. This coincided with cuts in funding coming to the county from the state. It was decided that other services were more pressing and Link could not be funded by the county." Van service for the elderly, low-income, and disabled still serves the area. And a downtown express route stops just south of the development, but the Chesterfield Link is no longer.

As transit access has changed for Winchester Greens, so has the residents' need for public transportation. Most residents own cars and use them to commute to jobs. In fact, ten years ago, the average annual income of Winchester Greens residents was below \$6,000. In 2006, the average income is at about \$18,000. ⁹⁷ Having transit access during the crucial first years of Winchester Greens enabled residents to gain higher incomes.

On Site Jobs

The construction of Winchester Greens created around 500 construction jobs and 36 permanent jobs. People work in maintenance, property management, and several residents of Winchester Greens work at the childcare center. The BHC anticipates adding another 25 jobs to the project by 2007. 98

Pedestrian Friendly Development

Winchester Greens is a mixed-use, walkable development. The project boasts narrow streets and broad sidewalks. Housing, childcare, retail, and office space are all within a short walk. The development includes 240 rental townhomes and apartments and two separate buildings of senior housing. Section 8 vouchers are accepted at the development, and about 90 units are rented to very low-income families. A bank, a dollar store, and a restaurant occupy the commercial space.

BHC plans to build a single family subdivision adjacent to the rentals. It is also developing two to three more parcels for commercial space. Office space is under construction and will open in 2006.

Over 140 children use the development's large, \$2.5 million child care center. Residents also benefit from a community center, a small library, a swimming pool, recreation area with parks, and a fitness center. The development was built using recycled materials and green building principles.

The BHC offers residents programs like job training, substance abuse referrals, and recreation activities for the children. Free on-site education is also offered at Winchester Greens, with courses in health, art, reading, and dance. Residents may also opt to participate in an onsite food co-op.

Crime has dropped significantly since the days of the Park Lee Apartments. In one quarter of 1997, there were 298 police calls to the Park Lee Apartments. By 2004, that rate dropped by 80 percent. Violent offenses dropped to almost none. Domestic offenses dropped from 98 to 11.99

Incentives

The BHC was able to realize its vision with the help of government agencies and private donors. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development gave BHC a \$13.5 million grant, which covered over half of the project's costs. Other funding came from tax-exempt debt, federal low-income housing tax credits, and private loans. Charitable donations totaling \$250,000 helped to finance the childcare center. Additionally, BHC and Chesterfield County received state and federal grants for infrastructure around the commercial space.

Winchester Greens residents led the charge for transit access in 1999. Transit access gave residents the boost needed to attain jobs and save money. The Better Housing Coalition worked hand in hand with some of the region's most

needy families to make it happen. "You don't often get 80 acres of land for affordable housing. This was a unique opportunity," said Lynn McAteer from BHC. 100

PART III: DEVELOPERS

Private companies and transit agencies have also made some encouraging contributions to TOD and jobs access. In the examples that follow, the basis for a developer's decision about where to locate a new project suggests the degree to which the TOD connects low and moderate-income people to jobs. The following examples demonstrate a range of intentionality. Several developer-led TODs are commendable for intentionally linking low and moderate-income people with job opportunities.

In Portland, Oregon, adidas chose to relocate its offices to an urban campus near light rail and bus lines. Similarly, BellSouth intentionally chose to move to the Lindbergh City Center in Atlanta, a mixed-use TOD built around a subway and bus station. The developer The Tom Hom Group used bus maps to site a location for its Las Vegas affordable housing development. Two of the three large transit communities, Mission Bay in San Francisco and Mueller in Austin, are also noteworthy for ensuring that at least a quarter of all housing will be made affordable to low and moderate-income earners and for focusing on creating job centers.

adidas in Portland: Urban Campus Improving Transit and Job Access

Place: Portland, Oregon

Project: adidas Village

What it is: A spatial company consolidation from multiple suburban sites into

an 11-acre urban campus.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: adidas in collaboration with Winkler Development

Date: 2002

Notable: Close cooperation with the neighborhood has made the

campus an asset, not an island. And the company declined an offer

of taxpayer subsidies.

Economic development subsidy horror stories that involve corporate relocations are usually about sprawl. Workers who live in a city or its inner ring suburbs, who previously traveled to work on mass transit, become unable to get to the company's new location in a distant "greenfield" office park or industrial park. These workers join the ranks of the unemployed, and concentrated poverty grows in the urban core.

In Portland, Oregon, one company has proven that there is a better model for corporate relocation. In 2002, adidas (which does not capitalize its name) moved employees from six buildings in a suburban Beaverton office park and one northeast Portland office into an 11-acre headquarters campus in northern Portland, just five minutes from downtown. The company combined its workforce to bring nearly 1,000 employees into the new adidas Village.

Commuting to adidas

Employees of adidas have a range of public transportation options. The adidas Village is located near bus routes and near the Overlook Park MAX light rail station. For those employees who live near the campus, the area is pedestrian friendly and bicycle friendly. And residents of the adjacent Overlook neighborhood have safer access to local amenities and public transportation.

Environmentally Conscious Campus

The company recycled the site of the vacant Bess Kaiser Hospital; it wanted to reuse the existing buildings, and it did so on many levels. adidas used 215,000 square feet of the old hospital buildings and built 118,000 square feet of new office space in an urban campus environment. The company recycled much of the hospital remains; adidas hired "harvesters" who filled large containers with leftover cabinets, doors, stainless steel sinks, and toilets. These materials were donated to a Portland-based non-profit group called MercyCorps which in turn was able to give these supplies to hospitals in Honduras and in Russia where building codes are less stringent than in the U.S. Many materials were recycled for active usage in adidas Village. The dirt that was excavated to build a parking facility was recycled as the foundation of the Oregon Food Bank's new warehouse. ¹⁰¹

The new campus' five buildings include a restaurant, two coffee shops, a gym, tennis courts, a skybridge, and several amenities that are free for public use, such as an outdoor soccer field. To the south of the Village, adidas renovated Madrona Park and incorporated a children's play center and basketball courts and donated these improvements to the City.

Community Involvement

adidas also worked closely with neighbors from the Overlook Neighborhood Association to ensure that the new development was implemented in terms that were agreeable to the surrounding community. Local input led to increased lighting along walkways in the campus and along the campus's major corridor of Greeley Avenue. The company's relocation created tremendous benefit for the community. The company created new, well-lit public paths and a new pedestrian bridge to cross Greeley Avenue, allowing employees and neighbors to pass through the area with ease and safety. A new bus stop was moved into a better lit and more accessible location on North Greeley Avenue. Better bicycle lanes were constructed for use in and around the campus.

To its credit, adidas invested heavily in Portland without taking any subsidies from taxpayers. Mayor Vera Katz offered the company an \$8 million tax credit to locate in the former Bess Kaiser buildings, but the company refused. A spokesperson for Adidas commented, "We were already relocating our business to that region, and we didn't feel it was appropriate to take the tax credit...We thought the city could put the money to better use, perhaps through the Interstate MAX [light rail] program." adidas has invested in the local

community through various initiatives which are primarily focused on youth education and youth sports activities.¹⁰³

adidas gained the benefit of its employees being closer together. The city gained the reuse of a vacant property without giving up its tax base as an incentive. And the neighborhood gained jobs and new public amenities.

Campaige Place: Single Room Occupancy Residents Access Jobs via Transit in Las Vegas

Place: Las Vegas, Nevada

Project: Campaige Place

What it is: a 319-unit, single room occupancy (SRO) residential development

in downtown Las Vegas.

Type: project with an affordable housing focus

Developer: The Tom Hom Group

Date: Completed 2000

Notable: Infill development designed for low-wage workers provides safe

housing close to jobs.

The Las Vegas economy includes a lot of service jobs in casinos, hotels, and other tourist attractions. Although the city's major casino and hotel destinations are unionized, most off-strip hospitality and retail jobs are not organized. Many of the people who fill these positions have long commutes or live in dangerous neighborhoods because of the lack of safe, affordable housing in the city. In 2000, developer Tom Hom Group (THG) addressed this problem by opening Campaige Place.

Campaige Place is an affordable housing development near jobs and transit that is designed specifically for low-wage earners. The units are small, furnished, single room occupancy (SRO) residences. Residents who live at Campaige Place earn no more than \$22,000 and pay rent of about \$99 a week or about \$400 per month, all utilities included. THG's website enthuses, "Typically, the people who live in an "SRO+" from THG work nearby, earn an hourly wage, have service jobs like food server, kitchen worker, store clerk, and hotel employee, [and] use public transportation." ¹⁰⁴

Transit Access

The development is downtown, close to city hall and The Fremont Street Experience, a seven-block open air tourist destination with casinos, hotels, shopping and entertainment. Many of the development's residents work at these venues. One cocktail waitress at a Fremont Street casino described her day to

the *Las Vegas Sun* prior to the opening of Campaige Place: "As it is now I walk to the bus station after work and ride 35 minutes home because I don't see any decent places to live close by." Now that the development is built, some of the establishments on Fremont Street recommend Campaige Place to new employees.

The housing development provides access to jobs because it is located in a dense section of downtown. It is within walking distance of hotels, restaurants, retail, and the Downtown Transportation Center, the transit system's central hub. Campaige Place residents have access to the entire transit system in the greater Las Vegas Valley through the bus lines that weave in and out of downtown; about ten bus routes run within a block of the development. The Las Vegas Regional Transportation Commission also plans to provide MAX service in coming years. MAX vehicles are bus/train hybrids that serve a portion of downtown and will expand in the future. Additionally, Campaige Place offers bicycle racks for residents.

Intentional Transit Connections

The Tom Hom Group has been developing SROs for over 30 years. Will Newbern, president of THG said, "We like to build in urban cores where there is transportation. Many of our people do not own cars, so they have to be public transit-oriented." When scouting a site for Campaige Place, the first thing that Newbern did was visit the central transit terminal in Las Vegas and pick up all the bus maps to find out where the most routes go. He selected this site because of the number of bus lines that connect this location to transportation jobs and hospitals. ¹⁰⁶

Additional Services

Residents of Campaige Place benefit from amenities not typically associated with SROs. The building boasts a laundry facility, a mini-mart, a garden patio, rooftop deck, workout room, meeting lounge area, housekeeping, cable television, 24 hour front desk, and electronic key card access. Campaige Place also hosts what is nicknamed "Computer Pal," an onsite computer station with compiled information on jobs, public transportation, healthcare, job training, education opportunities, and social services. Newbern reports that there is almost always a waiting list for people to use the computer; it is very popular. 107

Incentives

In order to make Campaige Place happen, THG used federal low-income housing tax credits and private activity bonds from the state. The U.S. Bank offered an \$8.5 million letter of credit for this \$12 million project. Newbern related that Campaige Place could not have been built without these incentives. ¹⁰⁸

The area around Campaige Place has reportedly been growing more desirable since the project's opening. Newbern credits Mayor Goodwin with promoting downtown development and helping to spur a rebirth in downtown Las Vegas. High-end condominiums have been built near Campaige Place. No matter how the area changes around Campaige Place, the housing there will always provide people with safe, affordable living, with access to jobs. Newbern comments, "The proximity of the project is very important because it gives people who don't have their own transportation the opportunity to get into the central core by walking or by public transit." Campaige Place is connecting people with job opportunities.

BellSouth in Atlanta: A Corporate Move into the City Supports a New, Mixed-Use, TOD Neighborhood

Place: Atlanta, Georgia

Project: Lindbergh City Center

What it is: Two towers comprise the main Georgia offices of BellSouth. The

towers sit adjacent to a MARTA rail station, and mixed-use development is planned to surround the office space. A strip of

restaurants has already been developed.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: MARTA and Carter & Associates

Date: Office towers were completed in 2002. All facets of development

slated to be complete in 2010.

Notable: BellSouth moved 2,400 of its employees from sprawling suburbs to

a transit accessible location in Atlanta.

Atlanta's flagship transit-oriented development project is coming along slowly. The Metropolitan Atlanta Regional Transportation Authority's (MARTA's) vision to encourage mixed-use development around the Lindbergh transit station catalyzed a long and rocky process. Almost ten years after initially putting out a request for development proposals at the site, MARTA and Atlanta are still thick in the process of developing the mixed-use community they planned in the late 1990s. However, BellSouth's decision to bring its operations from various locations in the suburbs to three downtown stations, including Lindbergh, has boosted jobs and development prospects for the area.

Accessible Jobs

Atlanta's second largest private employer, the telecommunications giant BellSouth, decided in 1998 to consolidate its 23 regional locations into three downtown spots. Among the locations, the Lindbergh City Center offered the added benefit of being a MARTA rail station. "We wanted people to have choices about how to get to work," the coordinator of BellSouth's Metro Plan said. BellSouth became the central tenant for the new development and helped shape the process.

BellSouth's relocation makes good jobs accessible for Atlanta residents who do not own a car. After moving into Lindbergh, BellSouth posted job advertisements on MARTA's trains and buses. The company instituted a training and employee retention policy geared at securing new, urban workers. People can access these jobs by rail, by bus, or by a van service operated out of the adjacent Buckhead community.

The Lindbergh transit station is the junction of two MARTA rail lines: the northern line and the northeastern line. Additionally, nine bus routes converge at the station. BellSouth encourages its employees to use public transportation in several ways. First, the company guarantees MARTA riders a free, reserved parking space at one of four garages built at suburban sites. Second, the company subsidizes about half of the price of MARTA passes for each employee. Phil Jacobs, President of BellSouth's Georgia operations, reports that 43 percent of the company's 2,400 employees buy BellSouth-subsidized MARTA cards.¹¹²

The station also serves as a stop for a private bus service called Royal Bus Lines. A recent *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* article reported on the stiff competition between MARTA and Royal Bus Lines to serve the Hispanic riders which comprise a significant portion of Atlanta's area public transit riders.¹¹³

The Lindbergh City Center relocates employees (such as those at BellSouth) more than it creates new jobs. New jobs have sprung up in the retail space. Three restaurants along the main corridor of the project employ people who travel there using mass transportation or who walk. The neighborhoods to the north and west of the station are higher income areas, and the area immediately surrounding it is primarily Hispanic. Those who fill the restaurant jobs are apparently from this Hispanic community or access the jobs from the Lindbergh transit station.

The Long Process of Mixed-use Development

The two towers that house BellSouth operations and the renovation of the Lindbergh transit center were completed in 2002. Carter & Associates built 980,000 square feet of office space adjacent to the transit station. About 2,400 BellSouth employees work there. MARTA's corporate headquarters are also located at Lindbergh. They occupy about 230,000 square feet.

South of the BellSouth towers is a main street with ground level retail space, including restaurants. MARTA has faced challenges filling the retail space with appropriate businesses. Lynda Penton, Economic Development Specialist for MARTA, says that MARTA has turned away some prospective retailers for the

space because they were too car-oriented.¹¹⁴ There is an apartment building scheduled to open near the station at the end of 2006. Two other condo projects will start in 2006 and are expected to be complete by the end of 2008. These projects all make up the first phase of the project.

The second phase of the project is in preplanning. It includes properties north and west of the MARTA headquarters building that will be mostly residential development but will also include some retail, possibly a grocery store. Construction on phase two will begin in the 2008 to 2010 time frame.¹¹⁵

A Change in Ridership

In 1999, the Garden Hills neighborhood located in the adjacent Buckhead area of Atlanta sued MARTA for failing to consult the neighborhood and plan appropriately. The neighborhood objected to the high number of parking spaces—13,000—originally proposed. The conflict was resolved when MARTA agreed to build about 10,000 spaces in the transit center and move the other spaces for BellSouth out to the four suburban locations.

The Lindbergh City Center project and the change in parking spaces have catalyzed a shift in the way public transportation is used at the station. After the two office towers were completed and BellSouth moved its employees into the city, the station actually experienced a decrease in ridership. Penton cites that approximately 1,500 patrons were displaced when the station's parking lot was closed for redevelopment. These were riders who drove into Lindbergh from the surrounding neighborhoods.

MARTA is changing its ridership from drivers to non-drivers. As construction continues at Lindbergh it creates another deterrent from driving into the city to use the station. In the long run, however, the station will be developed to become a destination point rather than a place simply to access transit.

Development Incentives

During the late 1990s, MARTA became interested in TOD because the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) changed its regulations in such a way that TOD would now benefit MARTA financially. In the past, the FTA required all revenues generated from joint development to be used in accordance with the original grant. In practice, this required the transit agencies to use development proceeds to buy land associated with new capital projects. In 1997, the FTA ruled that transit agencies like MARTA could keep that money and use it for operational purposes. That is when MARTA began identifying excess land for its

TOD program. The Lindbergh station had land used only for parking, and MARTA selected it for mixed-use development around the station.¹¹⁷

Lindbergh City Center's development garnered financial support in a variety of ways. BellSouth received \$14.5 million in tax abatement for moving into the city. MARTA contributed \$81 million to the development. Also, MARTA received a planning grant from the Federal Transit Administration's Livable Communities Initiative. Despite the planning efforts, the Lindbergh City Center project has not earned rave reviews from planners.

Lindbergh Challenges

In addition to slow development, the Lindbergh City Center project has been consistently plagued by criticisms. After the project's first phase, New Urbanists have criticized the development for failing to be adequately integrated into the existing community. They cite the lack of sidewalks in the development which makes it hostile for pedestrians. In this way, critics argue, Lindbergh City Center echoes the pitfalls of Atlanta's auto-dominated development history.¹¹⁸

Another mounting criticism stems from the development's gentrifying effects on the local neighborhood. The area immediately east of the Lindbergh transit station is a haven for immigrants, especially those who have recently emigrated from Cuba. The diverse neighborhood offers a population of Spanish-speaking people and affordable rental units.

Two new private developments in the Lindbergh area will replace low-income rental units with higher-end housing. Sembler Company plans to replace the Lindbergh Plaza across from the transit center with big-box retailers like Target, Home Depot, and Best Buy, plus 235 market-rate apartments. The Lindbergh Plaza currently houses local retail geared toward the needs and incomes of current neighbors.

In a second development, Lane Company is building a project called Lindmont approximately three blocks southeast of the transit station. Developers will raze the Lindmont Apartment building to make way for new housing. Lane Company projects that the 1,400 residential units will be completed in 2010. The project will include 280 affordable housing units; it received \$33.5 million in tax-exempt bonds from Atlanta Urban Residential Finance Authority to do so. However, replacing the housing in an area full of affordable rental units with 20 percent affordable housing will certainly displace a large number of current residents.

The new phases of Lindbergh City Center promise to improve walkability and other design features of the development. What the future will hold for this transit-oriented development is yet to be seen. In the meantime, BellSouth and MARTA continue to provide transit-friendly jobs.

Atlantic Station in Atlanta Replaces Brownfield Site with Large-Scale Transit Accessible Neighborhood

Place: Atlanta, Georgia

Project: Atlantic Station

What it is: a complete transit-oriented neighborhood big enough for its own

zip code, 30363, with housing, retail, office, and park space.

Type: transit community

Developer: Jacoby Development

Date: Officially opened 2005. Construction will continue for the next 10-

15 years.

Notable: One of the largest transit-oriented development projects in U.S.

history.

On the north side of downtown Atlanta, a new 138-acre neighborhood is emerging. Atlantic Station is billed as the 12th largest "city" in the state of Georgia¹²¹, and it is one of the largest transit-oriented development projects in the U.S. Developer Jim Jacoby of Jacoby Development, Inc. has been working to make Atlantic Station a reality since 1997, when he bought the acreage from owners of the Atlantic Steel Mill. Now, the \$2 billion transit-oriented community is thriving, with new residents, employers, and retail stores arriving on a regular basis.

Atlantic Station encompasses 6 million square feet of office space; 3,000 to 5,000 residential units including condos, townhomes, duplexes, and lofts; 1.5 million square feet of retail and entertainment space; and at least three hotels. The community is designed using classic "New Urbanist" design features like concealed underground parking, wide sidewalks, mixed-use buildings, and street-level retail.

Transit Access

As people continue to move into the neighborhood, they benefit from a burgeoning job market in Atlantic Station as well as an elaborate transit system which provides access to other parts of Atlanta. A free electric shuttle travels throughout Atlantic Station and transports people to the nearest MARTA rail

station about one mile away. Remarkably, the shuttle, which is called the Atlantic Station Green Line, is funded by Jacoby Development. MARTA modified the nearest rail station to create recharging decks for the electronic shuttle, but that is the extent of public investment in the Atlantic Station Green Line.

Jacoby Development is currently pursuing linkages between the Atlantic Station Green Line electric shuttle and the Georgia Tech trolley. The Georgia Tech trolley has a reputation in Atlanta for its cost-effectiveness and efficiency. An *Atlanta Business Chronicle* reporter writes, "If that happens, west Midtown will boast the best-connected and cheapest public transit surface system in the city with connections to millions of square feet of office, retail, and residential space, plus connections to two MARTA stops...Both systems are free and available to the public." ¹²³

The MARTA Arts Center Station is the closest rail station to Atlantic Station. It links subways, buses and county bus service to suburban Cobb County. Special programs provide incentives for people to use the mass transit system. For example, Atlantic Station offers transit pass discounts and discounts for walkers and bikers. The development also provides preferred parking spaces for people who carpool into the community for jobs.

Atlantic Station also includes bike paths and wide sidewalks. Part of the development includes a new bridge that connects Atlantic Station to Midtown Atlanta. The 17th Street Bridge has dedicated lanes for shuttle buses and bicycles. It also features wide, tree-lined sidewalks for pedestrians.

Jobs in 30363

As office space fills, many jobs arrive at Atlantic Station. SouthTrust bank recently consolidated operations to its Atlantic Station location. Other tenants include law firms and a real estate company. Retail, entertainment, and restaurant jobs abound. Dillards and IKEA, for example, are new to the Atlanta market and have hired hundreds of people. However, the quality of these new retail jobs is mostly poor; a recent survey of new job opportunities listed on the Atlantic Station website yielded only minimum-wage employment opportunities. As well, most retailers and restaurants in the development are national chains.

Despite the fact that most good jobs at Atlantic Station are apparently not new but rather relocated, job projections are rosy. Engineering firm MACTEC reports that Atlantic Station is expected to generate about 20,000 new jobs and more than \$619 million in total salaries. Residents of Atlantic Station can also access job opportunities by walking a mile into downtown Atlanta.

Unfortunately, Atlantic Station's ability to connect working families to jobs may lie more in the potential for people from nearby areas to access jobs inside the new development than for working families to live and work there. Affordable housing is not a major component of Atlantic Station. Jacoby Development contracted with a range of housing developers to build residential units in Atlantic Station. City officials lauded the project for including some affordable housing units. However, only 4 percent of the residences in Atlantic Station are actually affordable housing units. Patlantic Station is an excellent example of large-scale infill and brownfield redevelopment, but lacks opportunities for working families who want to live there.

Environmental Benefits

Atlantic Station represents one of the largest brownfield cleanup efforts in the southeast. Developers cleaned the volatile materials left from the steel mill over a period of several years. Critics balked that the project would never happen because it appeared to be stalled, but developers soldiered onward and ultimately successfully recycled a large parcel of Atlanta land.

Jacoby Development also concentrated major effort into making the new development environmentally friendly. The primary office tower in the development received LEED certification because of its green characteristics. Over 150,000 cubic yards of building material were recycled in Atlantic Station. An environmentally efficient central cooling system that is powered by a fuel cell cools the entire community. Residents and tenants have been assured low utility bills.

Government Support

Many government agencies and actors helped Jacoby realize his vision. Then Governor Ray Barnes assembled a Green Light Team of agency heads to help facilitate zoning and planning processes prior to construction. The federal government waived its moratorium on road building to which Atlanta is subject because of its failure to comply with Clean Air Act standards. The Environmental Protection Agency declared Atlantic Station an Excellence in Leadership project ("Project XL"), which triggered the authority to enact a series of environmental assessments on the proposed bridge. The assessments found that the 17th Street Bridge linking Atlantic Station to downtown would be environmentally beneficial and thus allowed it to be built. The state of Georgia spent \$130 million on construction of the 17th Street Bridge.

Various government entities also worked with Jacoby Development to fill gaps in financing. City officials designated a tax increment financing (TIF) district at Atlantic Station, and the city released about \$120 million in tax-exempt bonds under the Georgia Redevelopment Act as part of TIF to fund infrastructure. Public investments made Atlantic Station a more effective transit-oriented development, better linked to the larger Atlanta community and its residents.

Belmont Dairy: Rebuilding Near Downtown Portland for New Uses

Place: Portland, Oregon

Project: Belmont Dairy

What it is: A mixed-use, brownfield redevelopment along major bus lines,

including 19 market rate loft apartments, 66 affordable housing

units, and 26,000 square feet of ground level retail.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc.

Date: Completed 1996.

Notable: Low and moderate income families occupy 66 units in this

development. Residents benefit from low utility bills due to

developers' use of green building materials.

It's a classic tale of land re-use in American cities: homes sprout up in areas that were once exclusively industrial zones. When industry shuts down, vacant factories and contaminated land are left beside homes and businesses. Carnation Dairy, for example, sat vacant in the Sunnyside neighborhood of Portland, Oregon for six years.

The dairy, a complex of five buildings, made Eskimo pies for 70 years before shutting down operations. In its stead, Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. built a residential and retail development and named it Belmont Dairy. After a brownfield remediation process, developers created a mixed-use development project including 19 market rate loft apartments, 66 affordable housing units, and 26,000 square feet of ground level retail shops and restaurants, including a large grocery store called Zupan's Market and a Caribbean restaurant called Sweetwater's Jam House.

Transit Access

The Belmont Dairy project, completed in 1996, stands out as a flagship mixeduse, infill project in the smart growth poster child city of Portland. The development is close to downtown and along a major bus route, allowing new residents to access the extensive TriMet transit system of bus and light rail routes. These transit opportunities permit residents to access jobs in both the city and in surrounding counties. Belmont Dairy is only 1.5 miles from downtown. Developers included additional bicycle spaces to accommodate bicyclists.

Transit accessibility is a common feature of Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. development projects. The company is heavily involved in TOD and even helped build light rail, trolley, street car, and the transit mall in Portland. The company also focuses on urban development. Spokesperson Francesca Gambetti said that the people at Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. "are firm believers in the need to build density in and around downtown." ¹²⁶

Affordable Housing

Working families who do not own a car can afford to live at Belmont because all 66 of the project's housing units are reserved for families who earn no more than 60 percent of the area median income. Fannie Mae contributed to this feature of the development by pitching in \$8 million in low-income housing tax credits as part of an affordable housing initiative called HousePortland. Developers Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. also received financing from tax-exempt bonds, city loans, and Community Development Block Grant funds. Development Block Grant funds.

Environmentally Conscious Building

In addition to low housing costs, residents save money from reduced utility bills through energy saving building design.¹²⁹ Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. used PGE's EarthSmart guidelines and maximized insulation, weatherization, energy efficient lighting and appliances. It recycled materials for interior elements like carpeting and utilized low flow showerheads to conserve water. In addition, tenants use an onsite recycling complex for household trash.¹³⁰

Developers considered sustainable development implications from start to finish of the project. The brownfield mitigation work provided for reuse of otherwise unusable land. During the construction process, developers re-used 50 percent of the original dairy buildings and salvaged the dairy's large wooden beams for use in future projects. They also ensured that more than 90 percent of construction waste was recycled.

In 1999, developers completed phase II of the Belmont development by building 30 rowhomes called Belmont Dairy Rowhouses. These homes are arranged in a pedestrian oriented layout with garages in the back for more walkability at street level. In addition, the homes are zoned so that residents may use the

ground floor of their homes to operate a business. This allows families flexibility in using their skills to generate income.

Transit Access and Transit Use

Simply because the project is on a transit route, however, does not mean that people use it. The property manager at Belmont Dairy estimated that 95 percent of people at the property use cars. Very few people use the bus lines. And most people work downtown, but drive there. She also stated that the employees working at Belmont Dairy's retail establishments do not reside in the development. ¹³¹

The Belmont Dairy does a great job of creating the circumstances for people to live and work without cars, but the reality is not quite there yet. Ten years after the Belmont Dairy development project, the Sunnyside neighborhood is a bustling community with significant pedestrian traffic. Perhaps the future will see more residents living car-free.

Center Commons in Portland: New Housing Along Light Rail Line Benefits Diverse Populations

Place: Portland, Oregon

Project: Center Commons

What it is: A 4.9-acre residential and retail development with senior

housing, affordable family housing (three and four-bedroom units), a large daycare facility, and pedestrian pathways to a light rail

station.

Type: project with an affordable housing focus

Developer: American Pacific Properties, a subsidiary of Lennar Affordable

Communities and Innovative Housing, Inc.

Date: Three- and four-story residential apartments and retail space

opened in 2000. The townhomes opened in 2001.

Notable: Portland city officials encouraged dense growth along light rail

lines.

Center Commons demonstrates that a mixed-use transit-oriented development project can provide housing choices near transit for people of all incomes and in all stages of life. The TOD project is a 4.9 acre development in the Center neighborhood of Portland. The housing portion of the development encompasses three apartment buildings and 26 townhomes. It includes 60 rental units for low-income people who make between 30 and 50 percent of the area median income (AMI). Center Commons also includes senior housing and market rate rental units. Developers built an on-site daycare facility called Grandma's Place which makes it easier for working families to juggle work and home life. People of all ages and incomes live at Center Commons, and many of them use mass transit to commute to jobs.

Transit Access

Survey results of residents from the development's rental units indicate that 46 percent of residents' work trips and 32 percent of their non-work trips are on mass transit. Metro, the Portland area's regional government agency, found that ridership at Center Commons was 25 percent higher than they estimated it

would be. In general across Portland, Metro has found that mixed-use TODs create 10 times higher ridership than traditional development projects.¹³³

Residents at Center Commons can access three different bus lines adjacent to the complex or MAX light rail lines a quarter mile away. The light rail lines travel east out to the airport and to Gresham or west to Beaverton where Portland's technology industry resides. The light rail system provides access to the entire three-county region around Portland. A light rail ride from Center Commons to downtown Portland takes about 20 minutes. Light rail also transports people to the office cluster at Lloyd Center. Center Commons is only three miles from downtown and is close to the Central Eastside Industrial District, which lies on the opposite side of the Center neighborhood. Residents of Center Commons use mass transit more than the average Portlander.¹³⁴

New pedestrian pathways leading to the nearest transit station constituted a major focus of the development for community leaders and for the developers. Connie Lively, the former project manager at the Portland Development Commission said, "I think the sidewalk and street enhancements that were done as part of the project as well as the attractiveness of the project made the walk to the light rail station feel more safe and accessible to neighborhood residents. Residents may have felt more willing to take light rail to work after the project was complete, because they no longer had to walk past a chain link-fenced and blighted building." 135

Portland Encourages TOD

The Center Commons project started in 1994, when Portland officials engaged the surrounding community in a planning process for the site. The project was one of about seven projects among the first batch of TODs approved under Portland's TOD implementation program. In 1996, the Portland Development Commission (PDC) purchased the site from the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT), and then proceeded to hold a development offering. "We felt very lucky to find a five acre site next to a light rail station," Lively commented.

American Pacific Properties, Inc. (AMPAC) emerged as the master developer for Center Commons because the company pledged to build more affordable housing units than required. Tom Kemper, Director of Development for AMPAC and now principal of The Kemper Company, thought it was a "really cool site" because "it afforded the opportunity to do development near a light rail station." ¹³⁶

Recognizing that there are higher costs involved in building higher density housing, and wanting to encourage higher density development near light rail stations, Portland provided developers with a property tax abatement through the city's "Transit Oriented Development" tax abatement program. The Federal Transit Administration also gave developers a grant through its Metro Regional Services for Transit Oriented Development program. The TOD-related incentives made it easier for developers to build at high density near the light rail station. Other kinds of incentives were also used to make many of the housing units affordable to a range of households. The PDC gave developers a loan. AMPAC also utilized federal low-income housing tax credits and revenue bonds from Oregon Housing and Community Services. As an added incentive for would-be buyers at Center Commons, income-qualifying households receive a 10-year transit-oriented property tax abatement from the city of Portland.¹³⁷

Brownfield Redevelopment

This project also represents a good example of brownfield revitalization and infill development. Up until the early 1990s, the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) had used the site as a Department of Motor Vehicles location and for fleet operations. Before developers started construction on Center Commons in 1999, Portlanders were informally using part of the large ODOT site as a park-and-ride for the MAX station because of its proximity to the light rail station. Demolition of the existing, abandoned structures and some environmental remediation needed to occur at the site to rid the soil of diesel fuel and oil before development could begin. The resultant use of the site means that residents at Center Commons are closer to transit and closer to the infrastructure of downtown Portland. Plus, the Center neighborhood is rid of blighted buildings and a large vacant lot.

Mixed-use, Mixed-income, Mixed-age

Although mostly residential, Center Commons does incorporate ground floor commercial space in one of its three apartment buildings. H & R Block has an office in the 5819 Building. The development has created a boost to local businesses as well. A coffee shop opened near the project after its completion. The PDC also provided small matching grants for business improvements in the area such as façade enhancements.

Neighbors to the development got involved in the early phases of planning at the request of the PDC. The neighborhood made a series of suggestions that were later incorporated into the development plan: a range of housing types, a range of income levels for the housing, a rental/owner ratio that reflects the neighborhood, the creation of some commercial space, and the preservation of several large oak trees on the site, all of which manifested in the development.¹³⁸

The intergenerational quality of Center Commons is a unique feature. Residents of Center Commons receive a 15 percent discount on childcare at Grandma's Place. The director of Grandma's Place enthuses that the mixture of generations at the site encourages positive relationships between the children at the daycare and the seniors at home. Many times, seniors care for the children as they play outside or the children pay visits to seniors.¹³⁹

Criticisms of the Project

Despite the success of creating a mix of housing types near bus and light rail lines, Center Commons initially had its critics. Neighborhood residents initially worried that they would be subject to parking problems if users of the development and also park-and-riders for the light rail lines park their cars throughout neighborhood streets. 140 Center Commons was built with 0.6 parking spaces per unit, making it potentially challenging for residents with cars to park in the development or provide parking space for guests. However, a reduced parking ratio is also seen as a success of the plan because it further encourages transit use. 141 Five years have passed since Center Commons opened, without a demonstrated need for new parking spaces and no complaints from residents of adjacent neighborhoods about parking spilling onto their streets.

Residents of the project have voiced disappointment that there is little to no interaction among low-income renters, market-rate renters, and townhome owners despite their close proximity. ¹⁴² Unfortunately, providing housing for people from different ages and incomes does not necessarily facilitate interaction among them. Community building among Center Commons residents is further challenged by the fact that each building contains one kind of resident rather than mixing renters and owners of different incomes. Low-income family renters are housed in the Center Village building while The Commons building is exclusively senior housing and the 5819 Building houses market rate renters only. Despite this separation of incomes, Center Commons remains a flagship project for quite possibly the most TOD progressive city in the United States. As Phil Whitmore says, Center Commons was "a good starter project" for the region. ¹⁴³

East Downtown (EDo) Albuquerque Master Plan: Planning Smart Growth

Place: Albuquerque, New Mexico

Project: EDo Master Plan

What it is: A Master Plan which updates zoning for Broadway Boulevard and

Central Avenue in East Downtown (EDo), encouraging walkable, mixed-use, transit-oriented development, affordable housing, preservation of historic structures, and "Main Street" local

businesses.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Broadway Central Corridors Partnership Neighborhood Association

sponsored the plan. Paradigm & Company took critical first steps in developing mixed-use condominium/retail/office space at the

Albuquerque High Lofts.

Date: The Master Plan was created in 2003 and adopted by City Council

in 2005. Development of the Albuquerque High Lofts will be complete in 2006; the first phase of Albuquerque Lofts

development was complete in 2003.

Notable: A diverse business/resident/community coalition catalyzed the

Master Plan, and is guiding development in the area.

Sometimes it is a combination of vision and neighborhood influence which brings much needed development to blighted urban neighborhoods. In the case of EDo in Albuquerque, New Mexico, a New Urbanist pioneer named Rob Dickson teamed up with neighbors, local business owners, and environmental groups to form the Broadway Central Corridors Partnership. Their goal was to transform the area just east of downtown Albuquerque. As more redevelopment occurs under the EDo Master Plan, more residents are accessing jobs by transit.

Transit Access

East Downtown is serviced by Albuquerque's bus system. The area is connected to the rest of Downtown Albuquerque by the Route 66 bus line and the City's more recent Rapid Ride transit buses. Buses run north and south along Broadway and east and west along Martin Luther King Boulevard. Transit riders can travel to points throughout the Albuquerque region by using the

neighborhood bus lines to link to other bus lines. Additionally, the Rapid Ride buses along Central Avenue use technology which changes traffic signals to green so that bus rides are shortened by 25 percent. In the future, the city of Albuquerque plans to build more advanced transit systems, like light rail. ¹⁴⁴ In the near future, EDo residents will also benefit from new "Rail Runner" commuter rail lines which will connect EDo to Belen, south of the city, and to Bernalillo, just north of the city.

Job Opportunities

The increased linkages will help connect residents of The Lofts and residents of the adjacent Huning Highlands neighborhood to jobs. Huning Highlands is a predominately low-income neighborhood which has suffered from disinvestment and crime. There is a large concentration of jobs downtown, which East Downtown residents can access by foot, bike, or by bus. Downtown Albuquerque begins two blocks away, and the improved sidewalks along the EDo Master Plan development area make walking downtown much easier and safer for new residents and Huning Highlands residents alike.

Additionally, small businesses are blossoming in East Downtown, some headed by neighborhood residents. Most recently, a 6,000 square foot grocery store called The Market@EDo signed a letter of intent on a space along Central Avenue and is set to open in the summer of 2006. A mainstay of the commercial space in East Downtown is the Artichoke Café. Broadway Central Corridors Partnership member and café owner Terry Keene has run the Artichoke Café for over 17 years, and has recently expanded. He employs about 10 people from the neighborhood. Although the Artichoke Café was the only restaurant in the neighborhood for much of the last decade, Keene has witnessed new businesses open in the last one and a half years. People are working at two new restaurants, coffee shops, bookstores, hair salons, dry cleaners, clothing stores, a tattoo parlor, a pastry shop, and a photography studio. Keene has also noticed the increase in neighborhood residents. "A lot of people are moving into this area because it's along a transit corridor that can take them to downtown, across the river..." he said. 145

According to a 2005 report from the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at the University of New Mexico, job growth in Albuquerque rose most substantially over the last year in construction, with projects ranging from the suburbs of Albuquerque to the downtown area. Recent infrastructure building, construction at historic buildings, and construction of a garage in EDo have all required that workers be paid prevailing wages. The EDo revitalization creates a community in which people can live and also from which they can access jobs.

EDo Master Plan

The first significant change that came to EDo was at the old high school. Dickson's company Paradigm & Company renovated the school which had been shut down in the 1970s. Dickson rehabilitated the property into lofts, townhomes, and commercial space, creating infill development while recycling a historic building. At the grand opening for the Lofts at Albuquerque High in 2002, one high school alumnus commented, "It's looking more and more like it used to and we're so pleased with what Rob has done." 147

Dickson commented that once construction was complete on phase I of the high school and it looked like it would be a success, The Broadway Central Corridors Partnership knew that the next step was a great neighborhood. The Partnership embarked on a long process of changing the zoning in East Downtown to a mixed-use, mostly residential designation, utilizing a New Urbanist, "form-based" development code. Form-based codes determine zoning primarily based upon aesthetic features like building height, façade features, location of parking, and the placement of buildings in relationship to the street. It emphasizes the creation of livable, mixed-use "places" rather than simply zoning lots piecemeal.

The Albuquerque Environmental Planning Commission supported the broader plan and zoning changes in 2004. In March 2005, the Albuquerque City Council approved the zoning changes and development plan. In addition to changing zoning, the EDo Master plan envisions a "Main Street" shopping district along Central Avenue. It also protects historic structures in the area and provides guidance for the creation of affordable housing.¹⁵⁰

Incentives

The City of Albuquerque has been instrumental in helping Dickson finance his vision. As a lender, the City funded about a quarter of the \$6.3 million first phase of construction, which renovated two of the five historic high school buildings. The City also spent \$3.4 million on a public parking garage for the area, used in part by residents of The Lofts. Federal historic tax credits were utilized in financing Phase I of the project. Four new buildings in the project, completed in 2004, were completely privately financed.

Mission Bay, a New BioTechnology Jobs Center in Southern San Francisco, Integrates Transit and Mixed-Use Development

Place: San Francisco, California

Project: Mission Bay

What it is: The largest redevelopment in San Francisco since the Golden Gate

Park, Mission Bay is a 303-acre mixed-use transit community combining mixed-income housing, retail space, office space, a biotechnology campus, and a public school near light rail and bus

lines.

Type: transit community

Developers: Catellus Development Group (a ProLogis Company) and Farallon

Date: to be completed over the next 20-30 years.

Notable: A new light rail line inspires extensive redevelopment of old rail

yards, and local policies ensure local hiring and affordable housing.

The land selected to become Mission Bay began as rail yards in the early 1900s. Now, a modern light rail connection and bus service will turn this new 303-acre development into a transit community where people can access good jobs.

Transit in the Village

The San Francisco Municipal Railway and the San Francisco County
Transportation Authority are extending light rail service out to Mission Bay and
south along Third Street to a Caltrain station. The new line is slated to open in
2006. Mission Bay residents and employees will be able to use light rail to link
to both the BART subway system and to Caltrains, which transport riders from
San Francisco south into San Jose. The light rail will also link to San Francisco's
financial district. Additionally, the neighborhood is accessible by two bus lines.
Developers plan to operate Mission Bay shuttles, which will circulate throughout
the area and link people to major bus and light rail lines.

Access to Good Jobs

Mission Bay is projected to house over 31,000 new, permanent jobs and hundreds of construction jobs for a 20-30 year period.¹⁵² A cornerstone of the

redevelopment is a large, 43-acre biotechnology campus for the University of California San Francisco (UCSF). The research campus is projected to employ over 9,000 people. Mission Bay is considered one of the big job growth areas in San Francisco. The development will see lots of people commuting in everyday to access jobs as well as residents walking to jobs. There are already people who both live and work in Mission Bay.¹⁵³

Job Quality

The developer is bound by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency's Program in Diversity, which is a set of local hiring and job quality standards that have been agency policy for years. The program sets goals for minority and womenowned business participation, local hiring, and prevailing wages for construction workers. It also compels the developer to work with community-based organizations on first source hiring programs for the permanent jobs created by the development. San Francisco Redevelopment Agency staff members work closely with the developer to make sure that it is making a good faith effort to fulfill the requirements of the program.

Amy Neches of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency reported that the job placement portion of the Program in Diversity has been quite successful so far. The job placement provisions are a requirement for all entry-level jobs at Mission Bay. A new Safeway grocery store and a Borders bookstore have hired the majority of their employees through the city-sponsored job placement program. The retailers are happy to be supplied with a qualified workforce.¹⁵⁵

There will be many new jobs created at Mission Bay which will only be available to highly skilled workers such as medical scientists, largely in the biotech and medical fields. UCSF is partnering with San Francisco City College to build a new lab which will help train people to fill lower-level jobs like lab technicians.

Mixed-Use Development

The Mission Bay development plan is ambitious. When complete, the transit community will include 6,000 residential condominiums and apartments, over 5 million square feet of office and commercial space, 500,000 square feet of retail space, a 500 room hotel, 49 acres of parks and recreational areas, a senior services complex, a police station, a fire station, a new library, and a 500 student public school. All buildings will be designed as mid-rises and high-rises.

Although an ambitious project and lengthy process, Mission Bay is evolving. "Third party" developers have begun purchasing individual parcels from Catellus

and developing them; developers like Avalon Bay Communities and Signature Properties have been opening residential developments and mixed-use buildings at the site since 2002. One of the largest components of Mission Bay and the most developed part of the plan is the UCSF biotechnology campus. The campus opened in the fall of 2005 with 43 acres of research buildings, a community center, a housing complex for students and scholars, and a plaza with public art exhibitions.

Who Lives Here?

UCSF is taking an innovative approach to ensuring a quality staff at the Mission Bay campus. It plans to build 160 affordable housing units for its workers. Specifically, the housing will target employees with incomes comparable to those earned by security guards, custodians, administrative assistants, food service workers, lab assistants, and library assistants. UCSF hopes to complete the worker housing by 2012.

UCSF is not the only entity thinking about affordable housing in Mission Bay. The Mission Bay plan stipulates that 25 percent of the housing must be affordable housing. Catellus Development Corporation developed the plan which passed all approvals. (ProLogis later purchased Catellus.) The plan for Mission Bay calls for 6,000 units of housing, 28 percent of which will meet requirements for being affordable to moderate, low, and very low-income households. About 85 percent of the affordable housing units will be built by non-profit developers selected by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency. The remainder of affordable housing units will be built by private developers, often in mixed-income buildings.

Citizen Involvement

The Mission Bay Citizens Advisory Committee has helped to guide the design and development process of Mission Bay since the early stages of planning began. From 1996 to 1998, before the Mission Bay plan was adopted, the Citizen Advisory Committee held about 200 meetings. The group gave feedback into land use plans, heights of structures, and other functional and design considerations for development on the Mission Bay property.

The committee was appointed by the mayor and includes existing and new residents of the neighboring Potrero Hill community and other major stakeholders in the development, including representatives from UCSF, the San Francisco Giants baseball team and from local businesses. One of the most active members of the committee is a house boat owner who has lived in the waterway

of Mission Bay throughout the entire transformation of the land from industrial yards to a new mixed-use community.

Incentives

Mission Bay developers assembled a complex amalgam of financing, including many forms of public subsidies. Before construction started, the City of San Francisco paid to relocate railroad beds for Catellus. The Mission Bay area is an enterprise zone, which provides special tax breaks to developers and businesses. Also, developers received more than \$70 million in tax-exempt bonds to fund infrastructure improvements like water drainage systems. As a redevelopment area, the Mission Bay development will generate tax-increment financing (TIF), which allows new property taxes generated by the development to reimburse the Redevelopment Agency for the infrastructure bonds. In addition, at least 20 percent of revenues from TIF will help to pay for the affordable housing at Mission Bay. Infrastructure costs will also be funded in part by special Mello Roos taxes paid by the private owners in Mission Bay. Additionally, the City enacted a special biotechnology tax credit for Mission Bay. The City enacted a special biotechnology tax credit for Mission Bay.

The result will be a transit community for workers of all income levels, with both proximity and transit access to good jobs. As of 2006, five residential projects have been completed, totaling 1,079 housing units. Rich Sorro Commons, a 100 unit, very low-income rental project opened in 2002. Seven more projects are in construction that will provide 1,179 housing units, 395 of which will be affordable. About 445,000 square feet of commercial space has been completed, including the non-profit life science Gladstone Institute. A 165,000 square foot lab building is under construction. UCSF has completed construction on three research buildings, a campus community center, and a university housing development. ¹⁶⁰

Mueller, a New Transit-Oriented Community in Austin, Includes Mixed-Income Housing, Jobs, and Public Transportation

Place: Austin, Texas

Project: Mueller

What it is: a 709-acre community built at the site of the former Robert

Mueller Municipal Airport

Type: transit community

Developer: Catellus Development Group, a ProLogis Company

Date: to be completed around 2015-2020

Notable: A children's medical center and a film production complex anchor

two employment districts and provide more than 1,700 jobs in

new community.

The last flight from Robert Mueller Municipal Airport took off in May 1999. The City of Austin used the closure of the airport as an opportunity to plan and implement a new kind of development. The city created a redevelopment task force, which in 1996, urged the creation of an "interactive mixed-use community" and a "compact, pedestrian-oriented alternative to sprawl." The new, mixed-use Mueller community promises to be all those things and more.

The Mueller community will consist of a range of mixed-income housing: rowhomes, live-work homes, single-family detached homes, multi-family residential units, and mixed-use apartment and town home buildings. The neighborhood will also see tremendous commercial activity with shops, restaurants, offices, a hotel, and a regional retail center. Added touches like a welcome center/community center and 140 acres of green space round out the neighborhood. The old Mueller airport control tower will be preserved as an historical landmark. Mueller will also contain an elementary school. The entire development will be built under environmental standards set by Austin Energy's Green Building Program and by national LEED standards.

Transit at Mueller

People from across Austin will be able to access jobs at the development through multiple forms of public transportation. Mueller residents will be able

to walk or bicycle to jobs easily via the wide sidewalks and pedestrianorientation of the transit community. Catellus has worked diligently to tie the bike path network into the overall city network for bike commuters and for leisurely bicycling alike. Mueller is located less than three miles from downtown, allowing a quick bicycle ride from downtown or a healthy walk. Three bus lines are integrated into the Mueller development plan, which will hook into Austin's preexisting bus service. More bus lines will be added as the development progresses.

Other public transportation options may be on the horizon. In 2004, Austin voters approved a referendum for a massive transit expansion. The Capital Metropolitan Transportation Authority prepared an All Systems Go Long-Range Transit Plan. It identifies Mueller as a circulator area in which various transit modes will connect in order to ensure access to the wider transit system. Additionally, a rapid bus route may be planned for Mueller in 2007, and an urban commuter rail line, which Austin tentatively scheduled for completion in 2008, will also run within walking distance of the development. A circulator shuttle may be developed to connect Mueller residents and workers to the commuter rail line.

All of these possibilities are currently being studied, and the city will issue a final recommendation in early summer 2006. Greg Weaver from Catellus said that the company is working closely with Capital Metro, Austin's transit agency, so that infrastructure is designed flexibly enough to accommodate transit.¹⁶³

Jim Walker, a member of the Mueller Plan Implementation Advisory Commission that has been working closely with the City and with developers since 2000, said that the commission's goal is to make sure that land use is in place so that when transit does come, the site will be ready and people will best be able to utilize transit access. Walker is passionate about making sure there are rail connections in Mueller. He intoned, "The window is closing everyday on Mueller," indicating that the potential to create a transit-accessible community is in danger everyday that new rail lines are not constructed.¹⁶⁴

While public transportation gets hashed out at Mueller, Catellus and the community are ensuring that a walkable, mixed-use development occurs whether there is transit or not. But public transportation would increase job access exponentially for residents of the new neighborhood. Fingers are crossed for Mueller. "We've spent many hours—many years, really—focusing on all the transportation options in the project, and I'm sure we'll spend many more," Weaver remarked. Whether more transit options come to Mueller or not, the job picture is already well developed.

Jobs at Mueller

The city, the community, and Catellus are all placing tremendous emphasis on making Mueller a job-rich area. "It's important to bring jobs to the community," Weaver said. Catellus intentionally designed Mueller so that a person does not need a car to get to work; the company planned for a variety of housing types to surround each of the core employment centers in Mueller.

Two employment centers will occupy the development. In the northwest quadrant, Dell Children's Medical Center of Central Texas and an accompanying Ronald McDonald House are opening in 2007. Analysts project that the children's' medical center will employ more than 1,000 people. The northwest section of Mueller will also provide jobs through the major regional retail center. In the northeast section of Mueller, the Austin Studios film-production complex has already taken root. The burgeoning film industry at Mueller hired more than 700 people in its first year of operation in 2001. ¹⁶⁶ Old airplane hangars have been converted into studios where films such as "Miss Congeniality" and "The Life of David Gale" were shot. Office space, retail space, and hotel space will also occupy the northeast section and supply jobs.

Neighborhood Input and Quality of Life Factors

The broader Austin community has been a part of the planning process at Mueller from the beginning. Even before the airport ceased operations, Austin assembled a task force and started pulling the public into a participatory planning process. Large citywide workshops named "Mueller 101" and "Mueller 201" invited citizens to give input on the development. The Mueller Plan Implementation Advisory Commission has been working with the city and Catellus since the project's inception. The Commission negotiated an array of conditions for Mueller which became part of the development agreement between the City and Catellus.

The master development agreement was signed in December 2004 and provides for the following: at least 25 percent of all housing built at Mueller will be affordable units—people earning 60 percent of median family income (MFI) for multifamily and 80 percent MFI for single family. Homeownership counseling will be provided to new buyers. At least 30 percent of the retail stores in the northeast town center must be locally owned. There are also design guidelines in place to ensure the community's vision is realized, including guidelines for big-box retailers.

The Austin Film Studios also makes provisions for linked job training. An internship program that targets youth from the traditionally neglected East Austin neighborhoods will provide training for jobs in the film industry. Prospective East Austin employees for the children's' medical center will be trained at the Austin Community College.

Catellus is very supportive of the 25 percent affordable housing mandate. "We fully support affordable housing at Mueller and will do everything we can to ensure it is done well and in the best interest of Mueller and the entire community," Weaver said.¹⁶⁷

Incentives

The city singled out the area for its Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) program and its Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) program. Both programs seek to create mixed-use, pedestrian friendly neighborhoods close to public transportation, but they do not create financial incentives to do so. The city designated the Mueller area a tax increment financing (TIF) district, but is not providing any additional public monies to the project.

Weaver hopes that Mueller becomes a model development project. Add in the affordable housing and green building in Mueller and this could be what Weaver says is "a national example of the way it can all get done, of a public-private partnership, of a good development model where everyone's buying in." Hopefully, Mueller will also gain rail access and be a great example of connecting people to jobs through regional transit systems.

Museum Place in Portland: Urban Infill Development in Mixed-Income Neighborhood Provides Jobs, Housing, and Grocery Shopping

Place: Portland, Oregon

Project: Museum Place

What it is: a three block, mixed-use urban infill development including retail

space, office space, and an expanded YWCA. The Museum Place Lofts and Townhouses include 140 loft-style apartments with a

Safeway grocery store on the ground floor.

Type: mixed-use urban infill development

Developer: Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc.

Date: 2003

Notable: A vibrant downtown atmosphere provides job opportunities,

transit access, and cultural amenities within short walking

distances.

The West End area of Portland between downtown and residential areas to the west hosts Portland State University and a range of museums, libraries, hotels, restaurants, shops, medical buildings, a concert hall, and an historical society. Developers Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. sought this area as the perfect place for its transit-oriented development project Museum Place. The developers wanted to build loft-style rental units in an attractive urban location with easy access to transportation choices and nearby amenities.

Transit Access and Jobs

Museum Place, a mixed-use development project that was built in the West End in 2003, is located on a corner with a Portland Streetcar stop. The development is a few blocks away from both the Portland Transit Mall, which provides bus service north and south along the spine of the city, and a MAX light rail station that connects riders to the entire metropolitan region. Francesca Gambetti, a spokesperson for Shiels Obletz Johnsen, Inc. reported that some residents of Museum Place take the light rail to jobs on the west side of town at employers like Nike and Intel.

There are quality housing and job choices available for people of mixed incomes at Museum Place. Nearby, Portland State University offers union jobs with SEIU Local 503. An array of community offices, retail shops, and cultural institutions offer additional employment opportunities. Of the 140 rental units in the Museum Place Lofts and Townhouses, 20 percent of these are reserved for families who make less than 50 percent of median income. Another building in the larger Museum Place project, St. Francis Apartments, offers 100 rental units reserved for people with incomes at 30 percent or less of the median area income. ¹⁶⁹

Mixed-uses

In addition to mixed-income housing, Museum Place Lots and Townhouses also boast grocery shopping and a nearby YWCA. Safeway opened its first store dedicated to green building and environmental efficiency at Museum Place. The grocery store occupies the ground level of the lofts and sits atop a 220-space underground parking garage.

The larger Museum Place development also entails 1,100 square feet of neighborhood retail space, including a barber shop. Developers fully refurbished the YWCA at Museum Place. Residents of the Lofts and Townhouses were given discounted passes to the fitness facility. In addition to health and fitness facilities, the YWCA houses headquarters offices, a community center, social services, transitional housing facilities, a senior center, and counseling services. Office condos will be opening in the vicinity of Museum Place in fall of 2006.

Plan catalysts

The Portland Development Commission played an instrumental role in encouraging development at the streetcar stop by coordinating a master plan for the area. The PDC also subsidized Museum Place with a total of about \$10 million. The bulk of this money helped to finance the St. Francis Apartments and the YWCA.¹⁷⁰ Developers received a low-interest loan and a ten-year tax abatement because the project is built in an urban renewal area.

Environmental Provisions

Developers built Museum Place following strict guidelines for energy efficiency. The project garnered both Portland General Electric's Earth Advantage certification and the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED certification by maximizing water conservation, improved indoor air quality, and energy efficiency. Safeway features a refrigeration and heat recovery system. The

residential portion of the project provides 30 percent more efficient water consumption. A high proportion of recycled materials went into the buildings. Residents of Museum Place Lofts and Townhouses and the Safeway grocery store benefit from decreased utility bills. The development is designed to use 12 percent less energy than Oregon Code.¹⁷¹

Museum Place was designed to encourage residents to live car-free. Renters benefit from free indoor bike storage. They have the choice of using a FlexCar that is available directly across the street. The development is pedestrian-friendly, incorporating ample sidewalks and a large courtyard. Museum Place provides environmentally progressive urban living within easy reach of good jobs throughout Portland.

Village at Overlake Station in Washington: Housing at Transit Center Creates Job Connection for Working Families

Place: Redmond, Washington

Project: Village at Overlake Station

What it is: 308 affordable housing units and a daycare facility built atop a bus

transit center and park-and-ride facility.

Type: project with an affordable housing focus

Developer: King County Housing Authority and Langley Properties

Date: 2001

Notable: The first experiment in building housing in a bus transit

center offers working families easy access to jobs.

King County, Washington succeeded in developing the country's first housing and bus transit center combination when it opened Village at Overlake Station in 2001. Two four-story buildings and one five-story building contain 308 rental units of housing, a 24,000 square foot day care facility, a park-and-ride facility with two levels of parking, and a bus transit center including two loading platforms and four layover areas. The development provides an important link between moderate-income residents and nearby employers in an area where only upper income people can afford to buy a home. All housing units are reserved for people making 60 percent or less of the median income. Thirty units are wheelchair accessible and barrier-free for physically disabled residents.

Transit

The transit center allows residents to take an elevator straight from their apartments to awaiting buses. Eight bus routes converge at the station. For the first two years of the development's opening, King County and Langley Properties gave Overlake residents free bus passes. (This program was discontinued due to costs.) The development's residents own an average of 0.6 vehicles per unit, indicating that many are making full use of the available mass transportation. Posthuma of the King County Department of Transportation estimates that there has been at least a tripling in transit riders at Overlake Station compared to comparable transit stations. The center also

includes ACCESS Van service for the disabled and an onsite Flexcar for temporary use. Additionally, residents benefit from free onsite bicycle storage.

Correcting the Jobs/Housing Imbalance

The development corrects a long standing jobs/housing imbalance in Overlake. The area is rich with jobs but provides little opportunity for people to live near them. Before Overlake Station was built, there was no housing within a half mile of the station.

The location of Overlake Station permits people to access an array of jobs by foot or by a quick bus ride. The Station is located in a commercial area rife with stores, restaurants, personal services, and social services. A Safeway, Fred Meyer, Marshalls, and Sears are all within one block. Group Health Cooperative's Eastside Hospital facility is directly adjacent to the complex. A few blocks away, Microsoft and about 600 other firms employ over 22,000 employees.¹⁷⁴

Project Inspiration

The idea for The Village at Overlake Station came from King County's Department of Transportation. The agency recognized the value of using its park-and-ride land for something more than simply parking lots. Overlake served as a successful test case for the agency. King County contributed \$1.3 million to the \$38 million development, most of which was directed to the handicap accessible residential units. Other funding came from a variety of sources. Tax-exempt bonds accounted for \$21.5 million. Columbia Housing and Fannie Mae provided a \$13.5 million equity investment. The City of Redmond waived \$1.7 million in developers' fees. The Washington State Convention and Trade Center contributed \$1 million. Developers also used federal low-income housing tax credits.

Residents at Overlake enjoy a host of amenities. The onsite daycare center accommodates 53 children. Half of the slots are reserved for children of low-income families. In the housing portion of Overlake Station, some units offer scenic views of the Seattle skyline. All tenants enjoy laundry facilities, conference space, a resident community center, fitness equipment, and a children's play area. Because the development includes the transit center, and therefore a transient group of users, developers implemented extra safety precautions. The building has a controlled access system, and guards make courtesy patrols through the buildings. Noise and diesel fume considerations prompted developers to employ special, elongated metal awnings. Public art flanks the development.

Making Job Subsidies Location-Efficient

In our 2003 study *Missing the Bus*, a survey of approximately 1,500 state economic development incentive programs, we found that not one state effectively coordinates any of its economic development programs with public transit by giving preference to or requiring that subsidized projects be accessible by public transportation. In two other studies, our 2000 case study from the Twin Cities entitled *Another Way Sprawl Happens*, and our 2003 study *A Better Deal for Illinois*, we provide case studies of job subsidies that were given to sprawling corporate relocations.

Our findings in these three studies have prompted us to offer a policy solution: making economic development subsidies "location-efficient" by intentionally tying them to both transit access and proximity to affordable housing. Several organizations in Illinois have taken up this cause, and location-efficiency legislation passed that state's House of Representatives in 2005 and is being debated again in 2006.

In this study, all but two of the twenty-five TOD projects benefited from subsidies, and in all but four of those twenty-three cases, the subsidies were not restricted to TOD. They were instead a common sample of incentives, both federally funded and state-enabled, such as the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, tax increment financing, enterprise zones, state affordable housing bonds, and loans and loan guarantees. Cumulatively, they suggest that TOD is well suited to be integrated with job subsidies – and vice versa.

Based upon our work in all four studies, then, we offer here some basic principles for making development subsidies location-efficient.

Intent Language. The purposes of such legislation are many: to increase economic opportunity for workers who cannot afford to own a car and thereby reduce poverty; to give more commuters a choice about how to get to work and to thereby improve air quality and reduce traffic congestion; to promote transitoriented development and thereby increase mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly development; to maximize the efficient utilization of existing infrastructure systems and thereby reduce tax burdens; to promote the construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing and thereby promote savings and home ownership; to promote the revitalization of disinvested urban neighborhoods and thereby foster in-fill development; and to preserve farmland and other natural outdoor spaces and thereby enhance regional quality of life and biological diversity.

Transit Access. To qualify as transit-accessible, a workplace should be no more than half a mile, and preferably no more than quarter mile, from a transit stop with regular and frequent service. Alternatively, a workplace could qualify if it provides regular and frequent shuttle service to such a station. A higher preference rating may be given if a workplace is accessible by multiple transit routes or modes.

Affordable Housing. The benchmark for proximate affordable housing is median monthly rents or median monthly mortgage debt service that does not exceed 35 percent of the median workplace wage or salary, which is computed exclusive of the highest 10 percent of salaries. Housing costs are derived from either the municipality in which the workplace is located, or, for work sites in unincorporated areas, county data.

Subsidy Eligibility or Preference. We suggest location-efficiency as a requirement rather than a preference whenever a project is to be located in a metro area that has public transportation. We also suggest tying location-efficiency to multiple, commonly granted economic development incentives so that they become imbedded practice to which employers and public officials become accustomed.

Affirmative Location-Efficient Plan in Subsidy Application. We also suggest that as part of their application for an economic development subsidy, companies file an affirmative location-efficient plan that details how the proposed project satisfies the transit and housing benchmarks, or how the employer will act to satisfy them. For example, the company may commit to providing a shuttle service to a transit station and to participate in the federally enabled pre-tax transit-pass benefit program. Or it may commit to provide an employer-based housing benefit to reduce housing costs.

Methodology

In order to find 25 TOD projects that exemplify the potential to connect low and moderate-income people to jobs through public transportation, we surveyed smart growth experts, community development experts, and community-based allies for their knowledge of good TOD cases. This process yielded information about some recent developments and community efforts that are currently unfolding as well as longstanding models of effective TOD. We also researched relevant publications. Several publications from the Sierra Club yielded potential TOD projects to profile. Publications from the Urban Land Institute, The National Neighborhood Coalition, and The Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities also provided examples of transit-oriented development projects. We conducted a series of Nexis searches on transit-oriented development and we researched state government websites as well. The result of all forms of preliminary research was a list of roughly 75 TOD projects.

From this point, we developed a set of criteria related to the needs of low-and moderate-income people from which to choose 25 projects. These criteria are detailed in the introduction to this report. Once the list of projects was selected, we researched print sources, including Nexis searches for relevant newspaper articles and web searches for other write-ups. We then contacted local sources such as developers, neighborhood leaders, and public officials for more detailed information on transit options and job access for each project. We drafted the case studies and then had primary local contacts review the case studies for accuracy.

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Eden Housing: Jeff Bennett

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Front Range Economic Strategy Center: Chris Nevitt

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Lively Enterprises: Connie Lively

Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy: Roxana Tynan

Marshall Heights Community Development Organization: Linda Hembry

Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority: Lynda Penton

Milwaukee Sierra Club: Rosemary Wehnes

Mueller Plan Implementation Advisory Commission: Jim Walker

Paradigm and Company: Robert Dickson

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Appendix: Contact Information for TOD Projects

adidas Village

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Atlantic Station www.atlanticstation.com

Ballpark Village See details about the CBA at: http://www.onlinecpi.org/CBA.html

Belmont Dairy http://www.sojpdx.com/dairy.html

Bethel Center www.bethelnewlife.org

Campaige Place http://www.tomhomgroup.com/newprojects lv.html

Cherokee-Gates See details about the Campaign for Responsible Development at: www.fresc.org

Cleveland EcoVillage www.dscdo.org/eco/eco_a.html

EDo Redevelopment Plan See details about The Lofts at Albuquerque High at: www.abqhigh.com

Fruitvale Transit Village www.unitycouncil.org/fruitvale/index.htm

Hollywood and Highland www.hollywoodandhighland.com

Hollywood and Vine www.hollywoodandvine.com

Linden Transit Center www.urbangrowth.org

Minnesota Avenue Metro Development Plan To view the Vision Plan, see: www.washingtonregion.net

Mission Bay

The San Francisco Redevelopment Agency webpage for Mission Bay: http://www.sfgov.org/site/sfra_page.asp?id=5597 UCSF's website for Mission Bay: http://pub.ucsf.edu/missionbay/

Mueller

www.muelleraustin.com

Museum Place http://museum-place.com

NoHo Commons

http://www.jhsnyder.net/dev/projects_all.cfm?status=Under%20Construction For information on the Valley Jobs Coalition, see: www.laane.org

Ohlone Chynoweth Commons www.edenhousing.org

Park East

To view a pdf file of a Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods brochure, see: http://www.wisconsinsfuture.org/workingfamilies/econdev/GJLNbrochure.pdf

Parson's Place

To view a pdf file of a Parson's Place brochure, see: http://www.eslarp.uiuc.edu/durp/UP260-F01/brochures/EPDChousing.pdf

Village at Overlake Station http://www.metrokc.gov/kcdot/transit/tod/overlake.stm

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