

# Equitable Transit-Oriented Development (eTOD) South Central Avenue Light Rail Transit Corridor

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# I. The Challenge of Equitable Transit-Oriented Development (eTOD) in the South Central Corridor of Phoenix

## A. The Primary Objective: Purpose and Introduction

Decades of experience in cities around the US have demonstrated that well-planned transit-oriented development (TOD) will lead to multiple benefits for households, communities, urban regions, and the environment. TOD will expand access to jobs and valued amenities, reduce the cost of living, stimulate the development of attractive and sustainable communities, upgrade housing stock, enlarge markets for local businesses, reduce traffic congestion and infrastructure costs, and improve air quality. However, precisely because TOD delivers these benefits, it frequently raises property values & rents and leads to an exodus of under-capitalized businesses and lower income residents from these same communities. Wide recognition of this problem has led to adoption of measures that can help small businesses and lower-income households to remain and thrive in TOD-served communities. Places that incorporate these measures are called equitable transit-oriented developments or eTOD.

The imminent construction of Phoenix's new light rail transit (LRT) line along S. Central Avenue from downtown to the Baseline Road area makes eTOD an urgent concern for all the communities along this route -- the S. Central Corridor (the Corridor). For the purposes of analysis in this paper and the others in this series, the Corridor is defined as a half-mile buffer around S. Central Avenue, from its cross streets at Lincoln Avenue to Baseline Road. Half-mile areas around each potential station were analyzed using a CNT internal tool that proportionally sums U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-year survey data across the block groups in each station area. Data from CNT's Housing + Transportation (H+T<sup>®</sup>) Affordability Index and Location Affordability Index are also referenced in this series of papers.

**The primary objective of this series of white papers is to propose strategies for achieving eTOD in the S. Central Corridor -- ways in which the Corridor can realize the benefits of TOD without displacement, creating more prosperous and sustainable communities that include its current residents and small businesses.**

These strategies are based on comparable examples of best practices in eTOD from around the country and an in-depth look at conditions in Phoenix and the Corridor communities. The strategies are presented in five papers:

- I. *The Challenge of eTOD in the S. Central Corridor of Phoenix*: This initial paper discusses the inherent strengths and problems of the Corridor as a chain of community areas and ways in which eTOD can provide an especially useful framework for this area's redevelopment. It outlines eTOD strategies that are developed in detail in subsequent papers.
- II. *Building Local Wealth through eTOD in the S. Central Corridor of Phoenix*: This paper examines ways through which the basic advantages of TOD can be applied to conditions in the Corridor in order to

increase employment, raise the net incomes of households, build markets for local business, and prepare current residents and businesses to grasp these opportunities.

- III. *Building Affordable & Sustainable Communities through eTOD*: This paper describes ways which the impetus TOD provides for public, private commercial, and philanthropic investments can be used to make the Corridor station areas more attractive and sustainable, with neighborhoods that include affordable housing and build on their heritage to establish a positive sense of place.
- IV. *Public Policies to Facilitate eTOD*: This paper examines policies that the Corridor communities could advocate, and the City of Phoenix could adopt to support the implementation of wealth and community building through eTOD strategies in the Corridor.
- V. *eTOD Strategies for Phoenix South Central Corridor Station Areas*: All the papers in this series consider the broad differences that exist among the Corridor's community areas, while presenting strategies that are applicable to the entire Corridor. This paper examines the Corridor's station area communities individually and discusses how Corridor-wide strategies may be tailored or emphasized to address the particular needs and opportunities of each community.

### **Method**

For the purposes of analysis in this paper and the others in this series, the Corridor is defined as a half-mile buffer around South Central Avenue, from its cross streets at Lincoln Avenue to Baseline Road. Where indicated, the one-mile buffer was also analyzed. The corridor and half-mile areas around each potential station were analyzed using [U.S. Census Bureau On the Map Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics \(LEHD\) Origin-Destination Employment Statistics \(LODES\) data](#) and a CNT internal tool that proportionally sums [U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-year data](#) across the block groups in each station area. Data from [CNT's Housing + Transportation \(H+T<sup>®</sup>\) Affordability Index, AllTransit<sup>™</sup>](#), and the [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Location Affordability Index](#) are also referenced in this series of papers.

## **B. Executive Summary**

This document is the first in a series of five white papers whose purpose is to propose strategies for achieving Equitable Transit-Oriented Development (eTOD) in the S. Central Corridor of Phoenix -- ways in which the Corridor can realize the benefits of TOD without displacement, creating more prosperous and sustainable communities that include its current residents and small businesses. This document introduces the other four papers and sets a context for them by analyzing data that is relevant to the Corridor's prospects for eTOD and citing examples of best practices from around the United States that can inform the Corridor's leaders on their eTOD issues.

### *The Place*

The Corridor area is a half-mile buffer around a recently funded Light Rail Transit (LRT) line that will run down Central Avenue, some 5.5 miles from downtown Phoenix to Baseline Road. Seven stations are planned for the LRT, each the focal point of a half-mile radius area within the Corridor.

Historically the Corridor has been the home of disadvantaged minorities, where equity issues have been present. Although the Corridor is ethnically diverse, it is predominantly Hispanic, with a Hispanic majority in every station area and a 79% Hispanic population overall. A feature of eTOD valued by Corridor residents is its potential to create a place that celebrates its heritage, both symbolically through station area design and cultural expression and through the preservation of the current population. Although preventing gentrification and displacement may encompass many strategies, it is usually measured by achieving minimal change in racial and ethnic composition.

### *The Economic Growth Strategy*

While economically diverse, the Corridor is a predominantly low-income area in which most households must devote more than 50% of their incomes to the basic necessities of housing and transportation. Through eTOD the community could move toward prosperity in essentially two ways: building incomes and reducing costs.

Corridor residents can build their incomes by securing better employment within the expanded range of jobs they will be able to reach within half an hour using public transit, principally via the Corridor LRT. In this effort Corridor communities will collaborate in the Phoenix region's workforce development organizations to train workers in paraprofessional and skilled trade positions for which many have the requisite educational background. Residents led by local entrepreneurs will also capitalize on their growing community markets for production jobs serving Phoenix's S. Central business district, building construction in their growing communities, and local retail/service businesses serving an expanding community market.

Corridor households may also improve their net incomes by reducing transportation costs. Two thirds of Corridor households rent their housing, and the median renter family has an annual income of less than \$20,000, spends 67% of this income on housing and transportation, leaving less than \$6,000 to meet all other expenses. If housing costs rise with the advent of the LRT, many households could face displacement. Yet a typical renter household could become secure if it reduced expenses by the amount of owning and maintaining one car, an average cost of approximately \$6,000/vehicle/year in the Corridor. However, to live well with one less car, the typical household would need to commute and perform its routine trips by transit or walking in the neighborhood. The household would need to live in an eTOD community.

These strategies are detailed in Paper II of this series, *Building Local Wealth through eTOD*.

## *eTOD Community Growth Strategy*

Given a strong transit network, now established with the S. Central LRT, a viable eTOD community in Phoenix will need to accomplish 3 basic tasks: build and maintain a large stock of affordable housing, create a walkable community, and foster a healthy local business district.

Existing conditions in the Corridor generally make affordable housing development an uphill battle. Most current residents can hardly pay more for housing. The majority of residents are tenants, with little to invest and high vulnerability to displacement; and available data indicate that the current housing stock is in poor condition. However, Phoenix has a cadre of accomplished not-for-profit developers who have demonstrated an ability to leverage private capital and build significant amounts of mixed income housing and commercial businesses along Phoenix's original LRT line. If this partnership will work with community organizations in the Corridor and if market growth can be managed in the community's interest, large-scale affordable housing appears possible.

Creating a walkable community is a requirement for TOD, so that residents can walk to transit and local amenities. This requirement is a particular challenge in Phoenix because of its extreme weather conditions, coupled with a strong heat island effect that can make walking in summer dangerous. However, environmental engineers have developed green infrastructure solutions which, if applied, could make walking in the Corridor pleasant. Sustainable know-how applied to Corridor buildings can also make a significant contribution to affordability.

Given growing markets, the success of local business districts in the Corridor's eTOD communities should be feasible if small business owners receive access to favorable financing and technical support. Objectives of an effort to assist Corridor business owners include minimizing disruption during the LRT construction period, organizing businesses to capture new sales from the expanded transit and community markets, and providing such information and financing as may be needed for business owners to adjust to a changing market. Members of the eTOD planning team are now surveying and meeting with station area business owners, assembling information about their perceptions of needs and opportunities.

Strategies to achieve eTOD community development in the Corridor are detailed in Paper III *Building eTOD Communities*

### *Public Policies to Facilitate eTOD*

Public policies advocated by Corridor communities and adopted by the City of Phoenix and other public bodies can play a critical role in the success of eTOD in the Corridor. Policies in support of the Corridor's Economic Growth Strategy can facilitate the training of residents for jobs that be reached by transit or performed in the community. Public Policies in support the eTOD Community Growth Strategy can make even larger contributions to success. These policies can ensure community planning guidance of the growth process, establish new capacities to facilitate the repurposing of vacant land, reduce the costs

and enlarge the capital involved in building affordable housing, and provide a safety valve to contain displacement if the growth process should spin out of control. The public policies that CNT presents for consideration are detailed in the Paper IV *Public Policies to Facilitate eTOD*.

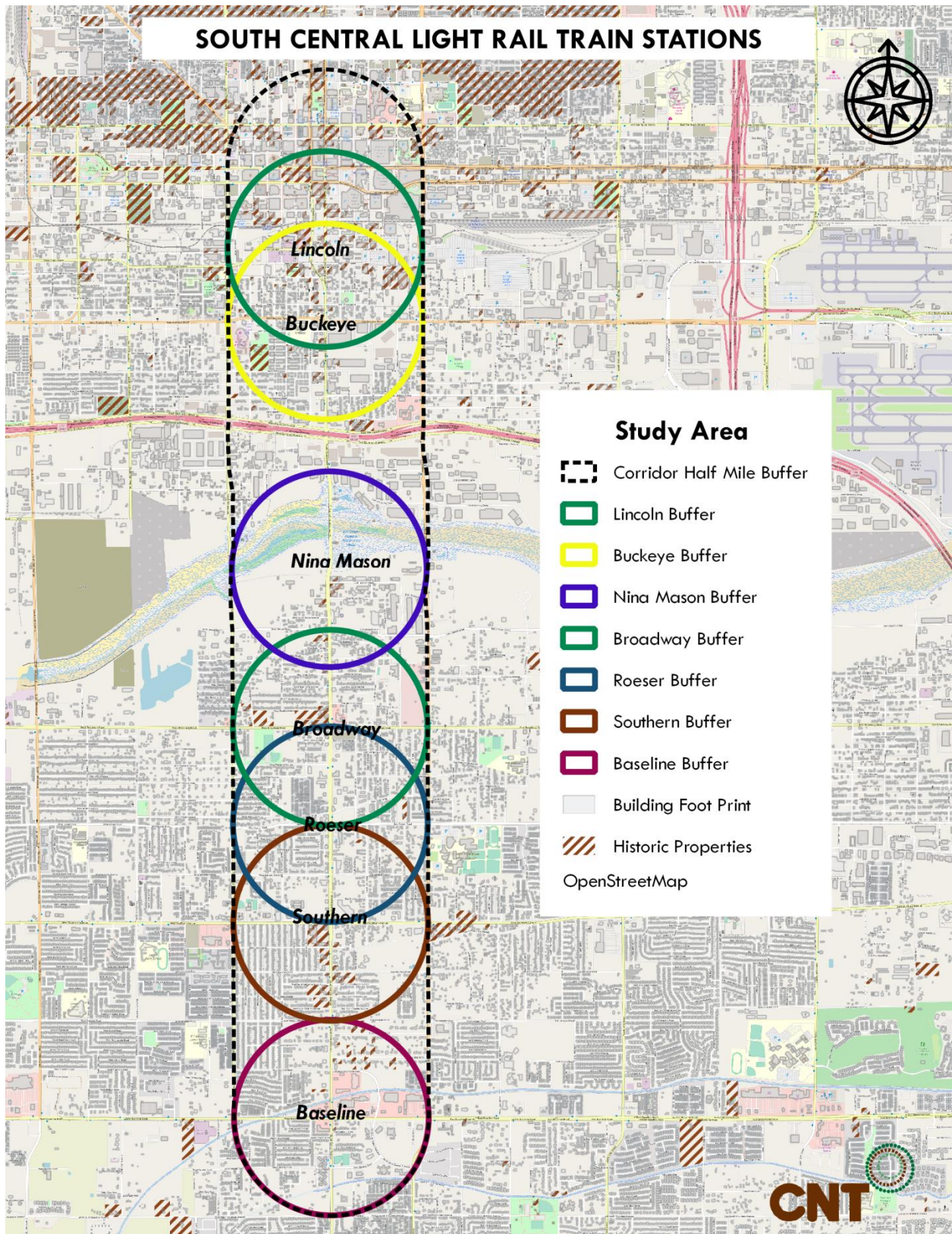
#### *eTOD at the Community Station Area Level*

For the sake of brevity, this summary has referred to the S. Central Corridor as though it were one uniform place. The five papers in this series have analyzed the corridor by breaking it down into seven unique community station areas. Community differences mean that the strategies proposed in these papers will need to be tailored to the special conditions of each station area. Paper V *eTOD Community Drill Down* describes these differences in salient station area characteristics and the strategic differences that they require.

### C. Legacy Communities and eTOD Placemaking

Several attributes within the Corridor make eTOD a particularly useful strategy for its redevelopment. These include its historical legacies; the income, travel, and employment patterns of its residents; its land use and the condition of its housing stock. For our purposes in analyzing these features, the Corridor is defined as a half-mile buffer around S. Central Avenue, from its cross streets at Lincoln Avenue to Baseline Road.





**Map 1** Sources: City of Phoenix Data Portal downloaded 10/23/18, QGIS using coordinate reference EPSG: 2223 NAP 83 Arizona Central (ft.)

## 1. Bringing a Place's Heritage into Its Future

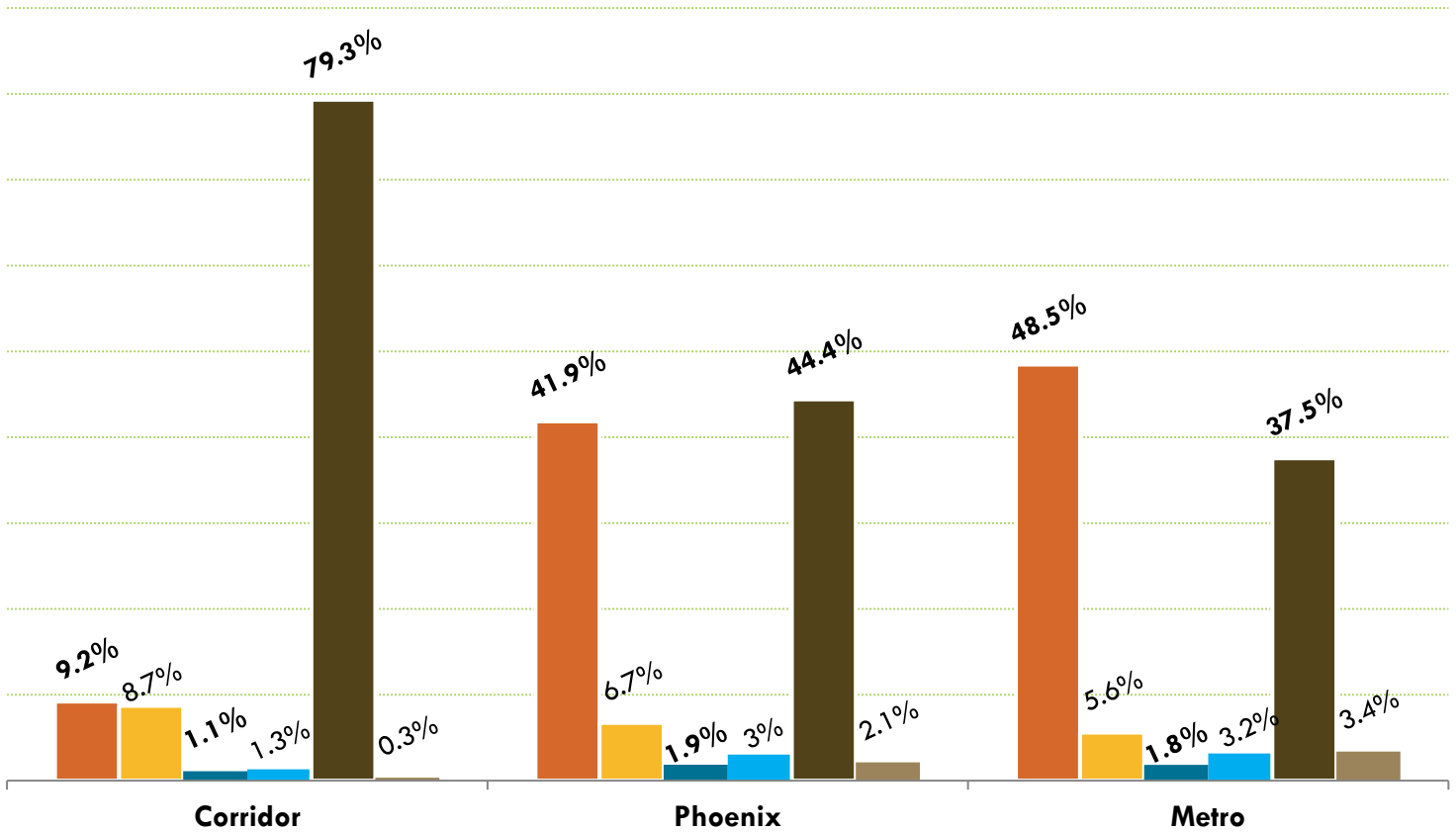
A transit station in a TOD is a gateway to a community -- a place within which residents and visitors can walk to local businesses, amenities, and homes in touch with their surroundings. With proper design, a TOD station will be the cornerstone of a civic space, a plaza, an appropriate place for residents to gather and guests to visit. In an eTOD built to sustain a community, the community's heritage will be reflected in the design of the immediate station area, in public art, street and place names, and elements in the architecture of new and refurbished buildings. In the S. Central Corridor communities have themes based on generations of sustained community tradition, and its station areas can celebrate this heritage.

However, station areas that reflect a community heritage would be at best a museum piece, if the people whose heritage is reflected were moved out. In the Corridor today, the population has an ethnic mix consistent with its history. Hispanic residents make up the majority population in every station area and 79% of the Corridor's total population. This compares with Hispanic populations of 44% in the city of Phoenix and 37% in the Phoenix metropolitan area. The African-American community constitutes 8.7% of the Corridor population, 6.7% of the city and 5.6% of the metropolitan area's population. Asian residents, who include many recent immigrants, and Native Americans, who are a small part of the region's population, are not heavily concentrated in the Corridor.



## STATION AREA ETHNIC DEMOGRAPHY COMPARISON TO CITY + METRO

■ Non Hispanic White ■ Black ■ American Indian ■ Asian ■ Hispanic - Latino ■ Other



**Chart 1.1** Source: AllTransit™ analysis of ACS 2015 5-year estimates . This chart identifies and compares populations of Race + Ethnicity within the S. Central LRT Corridor (a half-mile buffer around the planned LRT line), the city of Phoenix, and the Phoenix metropolitan area (GBSA).

## STATION AREA ETHNIC DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISON

Intersection	Lincoln	Buckeye	Audubon	Broadway	Roeser	Southern	Baseline
<b>Non-Hispanic White</b>	528	96	183	214	310	145	599
<b>Black</b>	247	77	76	235	420	409	505
<b>American Indian</b>	35	21	4	119	46	24	0

<b>Asian</b>	35	<b>208</b>	32	<b>24</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0
<b>Hispanic – Latino</b>	1,577	<b>1,361</b>	2,101	<b>4,008</b>	3,045	<b>3,307</b>	2,526
<b>Other</b>	16	<b>0</b>	0	<b>61</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0
<b>Totals</b>	2,438	<b>1763</b>	2396	<b>4661</b>	3821	<b>3885</b>	3630

**Table 1.1** Source: AllTransit™ American Community 5 year estimate 2015 data. This table identifies populations of Race + Ethnicity in half-mile radius station areas on the S. Central LRT Corridor. Some station areas intersect.

An objective of eTOD in the S. Central Corridor should be maintaining an ethnic and racial composition similar to the current population, protecting minorities, and keeping people in place, as the communities become more prosperous. An excellent example of a development that has achieved this goal is the Fruitvale eTOD of Oakland, California. In 2003 the Bay Area Rapid Transit Authority (BART), planned to build a large parking lot adjacent to a new station in the predominantly Hispanic and low-income community of Fruitvale. But the Unity Council, a leading social equity corporation in Fruitvale, prevailed on BART to allow it to develop the site differently. The Unity Council worked with professional planners and numerous community residents through a series of public meetings and charrettes to produce a new vision for the immediate station area. Instead of a parking lot, an arcade of shops would connect the station to an existing commercial district in which many of the businesses were owned and operated by local proprietors. New and refurbished buildings around the station included a community center with services that community residents said were in demand: a Headstart program, a playground, a charter high school, a senior center, legal services, a public library, and a medical clinic. Along with the businesses and public services, housing was developed for a range of family sizes and income levels, including some units built with stipulations that ensured their long-term affordability.

Over more than a decade, the Unity Council has been able to secure public and private investments to make all these elements of the community vision a reality. During the years of the Fruitvale eTOD’s growth (from 2000 to 2015) data shows that in the census tract of this station area: median household income rose 47%; the proportion of homeowners increased by 8%; the percentage of the population who were college graduates grew by 13%; the Hispanic portion of the population declined by only 1%. <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/04/how-transit-oriented-development-can-prevent-displacement/556373/>. When asked about the reasons for Fruitvale’s success, Chris Iglesias, head of the Unity Council answered, “The concept of bringing these services to a dense area of the city, especially around transit, I think it worked better than anybody envisioned. There’s more of an opportunity for folks to put down roots and be part of a community.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Schneider, CityLab, *How Transit Oriented Development Can Prevent Displacement*, April 2018, <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/04/how-transit-oriented-development-can-prevent-displacement/556373/>;

Several points from the Fruitvale story seem especially relevant for the Corridor as a chain of communities about to incorporate new transit services, in which residents want the transit to enhance and strengthen their communities rather than displace them:

- Through proximity and streetscape design, the Fruitvale transit village connected to an existing retail district with locally owned businesses. While a modest amount of commercial space was built into transit center, it did not stand apart from or seek to replace the existing business district; it joined.
- The housing developed was mixed in unit size as well as income. By attracting households in a range of family sizes, ages, and income levels the housing adjacent to the transit center served as a microcosm of the community.
- The array of services built into the transit center, in accordance with expressed statements of residents as to what they needed and wanted to see there, was for all members of the family and families of different ages and compositions. The range of services mirrored the diversity of the housing. These services, joined to local retail, made the transit center much more than a place to catch a train. It became a regular stopping point for families within walking distance of the station and others arriving by transit. Apparently, Fruitvale's combination of amenities has meant more to people in the community than a place of convenience; it has been valued as a positive reason to stay in the neighborhood.

#### D. Income Levels and the eTOD Redevelopment Cycle

A basic reality that must change if the Corridor communities are to improve is that their levels of median household income must rise. If the change is to occur through an eTOD process, the increase must be in the incomes of current residents, and especially among residents who are renting their housing. The income of homeowners in the Corridor significantly lags homeowner income in the city of Phoenix and the metropolitan area. But the income of renters in the Corridor is generally less than half that of Corridor homeowners. Many renter households in the Corridor will need to improve their incomes to continue living in an improving community.

### HOMEOWNER + RENTER INCOME COMPARISON

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Center for Transit-Oriented Development, *Families and TOD, Creating Complete Communities for All, TOD 205, p.16*, <https://www.aarp.org/content/dam/aarp/home-and-family/livable-communities/2014-01/families-and-transit-oriented-development-case-study.pdf>

**Table 1.2** Sources: CNT Analysis, 2016 ACS 5-year estimates

When eTOD is linked with other community development strategies, it can contribute to this wealth-building process in several, interconnected ways that include:

- Expanding the range and number of accessible job opportunities

Station Study Area	HOMEOWNERS		RENTERS		Ratio of Renter to Homeowner Income
	Number of Homeowner Households	Median HH Income Among Homeowners	Number of Renter Households	Median HH Income Among Renters	
Lincoln	181	\$53,698	556	\$32,421	60.4%
Buckeye	202	\$32,166	562	\$12,732	39.6%
Audubon	175	\$41,554	229	\$21,151	50.9%
Broadway	453	\$39,907	819	\$20,232	50.7%
Roeser	620	\$39,476	1,217	\$19,592	49.6%
Southern	640	\$41,003	711	\$19,630	47.9%
Baseline	591	\$49,032	417	\$20,535	41.9%
<b>Totals<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>2240</b>	<b>\$43,512</b>	<b>3,298</b>	<b>\$21,336</b>	<b>49.0%</b>
Citywide	281,420	\$73,468	253,000	\$37,144	50.6%
Metro	979,617	\$75,182	617,024	\$41,124	54.7%

- Reducing household travel expenditures, which are the first or second largest class of expenses for American households
- Developing mixed-income housing that enables current residents to remain as new residents enter the community
- Establishing paths to homeownership for lower-middle income households
- Building green and sustainable infrastructure in response to resident\investor demand
- Enabling local businesses to grow in response to expanding markets
- Creating local jobs in construction and expanding businesses
- Driving a virtuous cycle of redevelopment—where quality, equitable redevelopment attracts more investments that benefit residents

A notable example of how an eTOD project can launch a multifaceted campaign to uplift a low-income community is the redevelopment process driven by the Bethel New Life organization in the Garfield Park community of Chicago’s West Side. This faith-based community development organization moved up to a new scale of activity in the 1990s when it joined a broad coalition to prevent the Chicago Transit Authority from demolishing the rapid transit line that served Garfield Park.<sup>3</sup> The successful organizing

<sup>2</sup> Total of station areas is not Corridor total, because some station areas overlap

<sup>3</sup> Center for Neighborhood Technology, *Saving the Green Line* <https://www.cnt.org/projects/saving-the-green-line>

effort was based on plans to make the refurbished “Green Line”, which connects the West Side to Chicago’s downtown, the impetus for community-based TOD. Bethel catalyzed one of the first major investments in this line’s TOD – a retail node and day care center adjacent to a transit station, surrounded by affordable housing that Bethel was developing.<sup>4</sup> Over twenty years Bethel has steadily enlarged its scope of programs in all the aspects of community development in the eTOD redevelopment cycle: expanded connections to jobs with worker training and placement services; mixed-income housing development that includes training in financial literacy, savings programs, and paths to home ownership for lower-income households; support for existing and new locally owned businesses that capitalize on a gradually improving market. On Chicago’s West Side Bethel has worked against a background of poverty at least as profound as any Phoenix, and Garfield Park has miles to go, but Bethel’s eTOD work has enabled thousands of families and entire neighborhoods to reach a higher quality of life.<sup>5</sup>

Bethel’s example can show the corridor communities that while transit alone will not transform a low-income area, considerable value can be realized when transit is linked to other development activities:

- Bethel’s programs to train local residents for skilled jobs have been more effective because most of the businesses that hire its training program graduates are accessible by transit.
- The housing Bethel develops for community residents has value, which it would not possess otherwise, because it is within an easy walk of transit.
- The start-up entrepreneurs and local businesses Bethel has helped to succeed have usually benefitted from transit-served locations.
- Some for-profit and not-for-profit corporations have launched projects in Garfield Park because the community is served by high frequency transit and a highly competent community development.

## E. Travel Patterns and Expenses, Building Household Incomes Through eTOD

### 1. Access to Jobs

Applying CNT’s AllTransit™ on-line tool, <http://alltransit.cnt.org> for Phoenix or any other American city, we can quickly look up the approximate number of jobs a person could reach from any city address, within half an hour, using public transit. Chart I.2 shows the number of jobs a worker could reach within half an hour, using currently available transit services, from each of the planned Corridor LRT stations. These numbers of transit-accessible jobs will expand as the faster and more frequent LRT service makes more jobs accessible within half an hour.

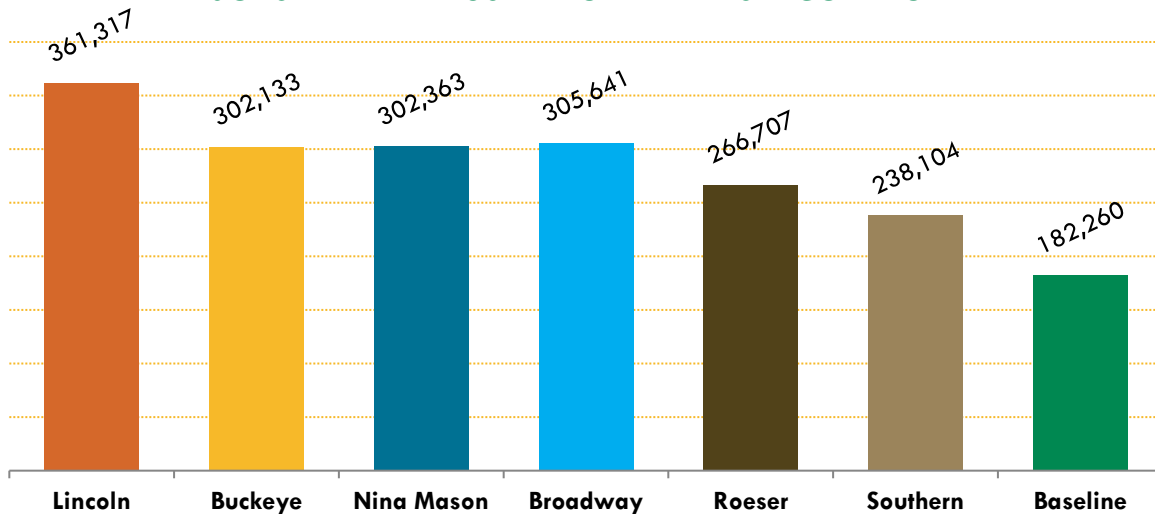
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<sup>4</sup> Center for Transit-Oriented Development, *TOD Case Studies: Implementation in Low-Income, Ethnically Diverse Communities*, 2007

<sup>5</sup> Bethel New Life: Descriptions of current programs, <http://bethelnewlife.org/>



## JOBS WITHIN A 30 MINUTE TRANSIT COMMUTE



**Chart 1.2.** Source: AllTransit™+ ACS 2016 5-year estimates . This chart shows the number of jobs available to station area residents using existing transit systems within a 30-minute commuting time frame.

This increased access will provide new opportunities to Corridor workers, but there will be many Corridor residents for whom transit access alone will not be sufficient to secure a good job. For example, the Buckeye station area -- which is second in proximity to downtown Phoenix, the Sky Harbor Airport and other job centers and which currently has the second highest level of transit service in the Corridor -- has the Corridor's lowest median household income for homeowners and renters. It is a common pattern in American cities for impoverished communities to exist close to job rich central business districts (CBD). The problem is a residence-job mismatch, in which low-income residents lack the qualifications for many professional and paraprofessional jobs in the CBD, and many of the jobs available to them are part-time or otherwise fail to pay a living wage.<sup>6</sup> The second paper in this series discusses how data analysis and collaboration with workforce development organizations can mitigate the jobs-residence mismatch. Excellent transit connectivity is one necessary condition for such collaboration to be fruitful.

## 2. Household Savings through Reduced Transportation Costs

### *Housing + Transportation (H+T) Cost Analysis*

<sup>6</sup> Keith Ihlanfeldt, "Spatial Mismatch Between Jobs and Residential Location Within Urban Areas," *CityScope*, HUD User Periodicals, Vol 1, Number 1, Chapter 11, pages 219 -244, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20868372?seq=1/subjects>

The fact that transportation is the first or second highest category of expense for most American households is not widely appreciated. Transportation vies with, and in many cases exceeds, housing as the highest category of costs for US households. The principal costs of transportation for most households are the purchase and operation of a car(s). In its Housing + Transportation (H+T) Index (which has been used by HUD and metropolitan planning organizations around the US) CNT has constructed a model that reliably predicts auto ownership, auto use, and transit costs, for certain classes of residents (including homeowners and tenants) at the census block group level.<sup>7</sup>

CNT has taken census data (ACS 2016 5-year estimates) regarding owner and renter housing costs with transportation costs, to produce its Housing + Transportation (H+T) Index, which reliably predicts housing and transportation costs at the census block group level.<sup>8</sup> In this project, CNT has applied a proportional sums methodology to census block group data to calculate housing + transportation costs for homeowners and renters in each half-mile radius station area of the corridor. This information is presented in Table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3 also presents two additional items for information on the transit use and level of service in each station area:

- The percentage of station area residents who commute by transit, and
- The Transit Connectivity Index™, developed by CNT, which indicates the level of transit service available in an area.<sup>9</sup>

## HOUSING + TRANSPORTATION (H+T) COST COMPARISON

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<sup>7</sup> Center for Neighborhood Technology, Housing + Transportation Index Methodology, 2017, [https://htaindex.cnt.org/about/HTMethods\\_2016.pdf](https://htaindex.cnt.org/about/HTMethods_2016.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Center for Neighborhood Technology, Transit Connectivity Index, <https://alltransit.cnt.org/metrics/>

<b>Station Study Area</b>	<b>Tenure</b>	<b>Median Household Income</b>	<b>Annual Housing Costs</b>	<b>Annual Transportation Costs</b>	<b>H+T Costs</b>	<b>H+T %</b>	<b>Transit Users %</b>	<b>TCI Score</b>
<b>Lincoln</b>							15.5%	11.5
	Homeowner	\$53,698	\$13,591	\$7,808	\$21,399	39.9%		
<b>Buckeye</b>	Renter	\$32,422	\$11,676	\$3,733	\$15,409	47.5%		
							13.5%	9.4
<b>Audubon</b>	Homeowner	\$32,166	\$9,646	\$8,694	\$18,340	57.0%		
	Renter	\$12,732	\$4,816	\$3,481	\$8,297	65.2%		
<b>Broadway</b>							3.5%	6.1
	Homeowner	\$41,554	\$5,215	\$10,110	\$15,326	36.9%		
<b>Roeser</b>	Renter	\$21,151	\$9,172	\$8,044	\$17,216	81.4%		
							7.5%	6
<b>Southern</b>	Homeowner	\$39,907	\$5,955	\$10,012	\$15,966	40.0%		
	Renter	\$20,232	\$7,952	\$6,499	\$14,451	71.4%		
<b>Baseline</b>							7.6%	6.3
	Homeowner	\$39,476	\$4,674	\$10,226	\$14,900	37.7%		
<b>Citywide</b>	Renter	\$19,592	\$7,978	\$6,420	\$14,398	73.5%		
							5.4%	7
<b>Metro</b>	Homeowner	\$41,003	\$5,527	\$11,468	\$16,995	41.4%		
	Renter	\$19,630	\$8,607	\$7,286	\$15,893	81.0%		
<b>Total/AVG<sup>10</sup></b>							3.6%	5.2
	Homeowner	\$49,032	\$9,371	\$11,665	\$21,036	42.9%		
<b>Citywide</b>	Renter	\$20,535	\$8,332	\$6,769	\$15,101	73.5%		
							7.4%	7.4
<b>Metro</b>	Homeowner	\$43,512	\$7,220	\$10,623	\$17,843	41.0%		
	Renter	\$21,336	\$8,474	\$5,885	\$14,359	67.3%		
<b>Citywide</b>							4.3%	4
	Homeowner	\$73,469	\$14,368	\$11,722	\$26,090	35.5%		
<b>Metro</b>	Renter	\$37,144	\$11,128	\$7,396	\$18,524	49.9%		
							3.5%	3
<b>Metro</b>	Homeowner	\$75,182	\$14,121	\$12,018	\$26,140	34.8%		
	Renter	\$41,124	\$12,008	\$8,137	\$20,145	49.0%		

**Table 1.3** Sources: HUD's Location Affordability Index. CNT's Analysis, ACS 2016 5-year estimates

Generally, households are considered cost burdened when their combined costs of housing and transportation (H+T Costs) exceed 50% of household income. Such high costs for these two necessities make it difficult for families to allocate money for other vital needs including healthy food, education,

<sup>10</sup> Total of station areas is not Corridor total, because some station areas overlap

health care, savings, and recreation. These conditions are certainly common in Phoenix and the Corridor communities, as **Table 1.3** demonstrates. For renter households, H+T costs exceed 50% in every station area by a wide margin. Even homeowner households in the Buckeye and Broadway station areas face H+T costs greater than 50% of income.

Among homeowners in the four southern station areas of the Corridor and for the Corridor as a whole, transportation costs exceed housing costs, indicating a potential for substantial household savings if transportation costs can be reduced. This potential is confirmed by the data on vehicle ownership presented in Table 1.4. In most station areas and the Corridor as whole, homeowner households have about the same level of vehicle ownership as in the city of Phoenix, even though the household incomes of Corridor homeowners are 30% lower than that of the city.

### VEHICLE OWNERSHIP COMPARISON

Station Site	Homeowner	Renters
<i>Lincoln</i>	1.54	0.91
<i>Buckeye</i>	1.72	0.71
<i>Audubon</i>	1.94	1.36
<i>Broadway</i>	1.91	0.8
<i>Roeser</i>	2	0.79
<i>Southern</i>	2.09	1.01
<i>Baseline</i>	1.9	1.67
<i>Corridor Median</i>	1.94	0.99
<i>Citywide</i>	1.8	1.24
<i>Metro</i>	1.74	1.33

**Table 1.4** Sources: CNT Analysis, ACS 2016 5 year estimates,

#### *Vehicle Ownership and H+T Costs*

For renters housing costs exceed transportation costs in every station area, and as Table 1.4 demonstrates, levels of car ownership are lower than the city mean in five of the seven station areas. Yet south of Buckeye fewer than 10% of workers who live in these areas commute by public transit, and current levels of transit service are relatively thin. This information, coupled with the staggering H+T cost burden that station area renters carry indicates two phenomena: First, a significant number of renter households do not own a car simply because they cannot afford to do so, and, given current limitations in transit service, they are accordingly limited in their range of opportunities. Second, many renter households maintain and use at least one car, even though this is a very heavy expense, considering their incomes. Both these situations indicate a strong need for eTOD to make a profound change in the lives of these families.

### Mortgages and Home Ownership

An additional H+T pattern that is distinctive of the Corridor's and significant for its equitable development is the high percentage of homes that are owned free of a mortgage. As Table 1.5 demonstrates, the percentage of owner-occupied homes that have no mortgage is 21.4% higher for the Corridor than for Phoenix as a whole. The pattern of mortgage-free homes is especially prevalent in the southern station areas of the Corridor. Largely because of this pattern, the median housing cost of homeowners in the Corridor is only half the city of Phoenix median.

### Homeowner Mortgage & Non-Mortgage Housing Cost Comparison

Station Area	# Owner Occupied Housing Units	Monthly Housing Cost	# Units with Mortgages	% Units with Mortgages	Monthly Housing Cost with Mortgages	# Units without Mortgages	% Units without Mortgages	Monthly Housing Cost without Mortgages
Lincoln	181	\$1,133	114	63.1%	\$1,604	67	36.9%	\$545
Buckeye	202	\$804	88	43.7%	\$1,468	114	56.3%	\$431
Audubon	175	\$435	51	28.8%	\$728	125	71.2%	\$350
Broadway	453	\$496	171	37.7%	\$882	282	62.3%	\$330
Roeser	620	\$390	251	40.4%	\$975	369	59.6%	\$341
Southern	640	\$461	342	53.5%	\$1,050	298	46.5%	\$391
Baseline	591	\$781	399	67.5%	\$1,100	192	32.5%	\$386
Total <sup>11</sup>	2,240	\$602	1,142	51.0%	\$1,082	1,099	49.0%	\$377
Citywide	281,420	\$1,197	203,765	72.4%	\$1,477	77,655	27.6%	\$428
Metro	979,617	\$1,177	677,453	69.2%	\$1,511	302,164	30.8%	\$433

**Table 1.5** Source: CNT Analysis, ACS 2016 5 year estimates

Further study will be required to understand the implications of this pattern for eTOD. It may be that if the low level of mortgages is the result of residents inheriting property and excising thrift, and if the property is in good condition, the homeowners will benefit from the appreciation of their assets. This increased value may compensate for any increase in property taxes owners may receive. On the other hand, many of the unmortgaged properties may be in poor condition, and the owners either do not care to take out or do not qualify for a mortgage to improve their property. Rising property values will affect such situations, generating new opportunities for homeowners to improve their property and opportunities/pressures to sell their property to new owners who will want to make improvements. In the development of the Corridor, this situation should be tracked, and it may be necessary to make use of or expand programs that will enable lower-income homeowners to remain in and improve their homes.

### H+T Costs and Community Development

<sup>11</sup> Total of station areas is not Corridor total, because some station areas overlap



Overall, the H+T analysis for the S. Central Corridor demonstrates the importance of transportation costs in an eTOD strategy. Property values will predictably rise with the implementation of TOD, or any other effective community development strategy. Higher property values will stress the already heavy H+T burden of households in the Corridor. Reductions in transportation costs can balance higher housing costs for many households. Reducing transportation costs generally means living well with one less individually owned motor vehicle than would be necessary in a workplace and community environment that was not shaped by TOD.

For most households the avoidance or reduction of a vehicle will only be feasible if eTOD creates a number of conditions:

- Access to good jobs in an array of fields through transit, other shared mobility options, or locally so that they can be reached by walking or biking
- A local community that includes convenient retail, recreation, and public service amenities within convenient walking distance. In Phoenix a desirable local walking environment includes shade and other heat island mitigating features that make walking not only possible but pleasant.
- Housing that is affordable for households in a wide range of income brackets
- A growing population that drives local business and job development, along with demand for local amenities, green infrastructure, and housing

## F. Community Building Through eTOD

### 1. The eTOD Community Model

In the core concept of an equitable transit-oriented development community, a transit station is at the center of the community. Optimally it is located on an arterial road or intersection, in a public space surrounded by privately owned and public amenities that may include cafes, food and convenience retail stores, medical and other professional offices, day care, a recreation center, a library and other public services. Within a half-mile radius (which repeated research has found an acceptable walking distance to high-frequency transit) a network of residential streets leads to the community center. The well-maintained housing on these streets accommodates a wide variety of household sizes and income brackets. Much of this housing is affordable to households with incomes at the area median income level or considerably below, although there is no apparent difference between housing guaranteed to meet an affordability standard and market-rate units. In fact, units that are guaranteed to be affordable and market-rate apartments may well exist in the same buildings. The residential and commercial streets of the community invite walking and biking, with supportive infrastructure in an environment lined with greenery. Residents routinely use the private businesses and public services at the community's center, providing an important part of the local business market and justification for public investment.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> A succinct statement of the eTOD community model, with a discussion of variations and factors that can eTOD community successful, was presented by leading practitioners in this field: Dena Belzer and Shelley Poticha, "Understanding Transit-Oriented Development, Lessons Learned 1999-2009", presented in a Center for Transit-Oriented Development publication, *Fostering Equitable and Sustainable Transit-Oriented Development*, 2009,

An eTOD community may be built out at different levels of intensity or density, depending on the desires of the community and market conditions. In the public service and commercial center of the community, buildings may often be multistory and mixed-use, with retail or other public uses on the ground floor and housing above. In markets with less demand, all these functions may be at ground level. Housing may include a wide range of building types with a mixture of low-rise (2-to-4 level) apartment buildings, row houses, and single-family homes on small lots.<sup>13</sup> Within the S. Central Corridor, any construction on residential streets more intensive than low-rise apartment buildings would be unnecessary to support transit or a local commercial center.

An eTOD community is part of an urban transit network that connects it to many specialized services, cultural assets, and other communities, as well as job centers. Some aspects of the eTOD community concept -- placemaking in accord with the community's heritage and access to jobs and opportunities that build residents' incomes -- have been introduced earlier in this paper and are addressed in detail in the Paper II of this series.

Additional elements of the eTOD community highlighted in the preceding discussion of the eTOD model community include:

- The extensive development of mixed income, and especially affordable housing;
- Development of a green infrastructure of walkable streets that provides connectivity within an eTOD community;
- Support of the local businesses that are an essential component of the community.

These aspects of eTOD communities, as they might be realized in the Corridor, are introduced in the following pages of this paper and addressed in detail in Paper III in this series.

## 2. Affordable Housing Development in Corridor eTOD Communities

A subject of central concern in establishing an eTOD community that avoids displacement is the potential to retain and increase the supply of quality, affordable housing. To the extent that existing housing becomes unaffordable to current residents or (in a related phenomenon) extensive areas of housing in poor condition must be fully rehabbed or replaced at current costs of construction, the probability that current residents will be displaced rises. While there are gaps in the data available to CNT in assessing the threat of displacement arising from housing conditions, several factors indicate that the risks of displacement are high.

### *Displacement Risks*

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<http://iri.hks.harvard.edu/files/iri/files/fostering-equitable-and-sustainable-transit-oriented-development.pdf>. A more extensive discussion of the eTOD model is provided in the book *New Transit Town: Best Practices in Transit-Oriented Development*, edited by Hank Dittmar and Gloria Ohland <https://community-wealth.org/content/new-transit-town-best-practices-transit-oriented-development>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

First, as we noted earlier in the Housing +Transportation cost analysis (Section I.C.3, Table I.4), approximately two thirds of households in the Corridor are renters. And for renter households housing costs surpass transportation costs in all station areas, making up the balance of H+T costs that exceed 50% of income. While strategies to raise incomes and reduce transportation costs may help many households cope with high housing costs, projects to ensure affordable housing will be necessary to allow many lower-income households to remain in the community as housing costs rise.

Second, renters are particularly vulnerable to the changes that occur as a community upgrades its housing stock. While some homeowners may find difficulty in paying property taxes as housing values rise, they will see appreciation in the value of their property assets. Renters, in contrast, will see no direct benefit from rising property values. Their rents will probably increase with market pressures. When rental buildings are demolished or thoroughly rehabbed so that owners can take advantage of market conditions, tenants are likely to be displaced by construction and possibly unable to pay the rents for improved buildings.

Third, while data from Phoenix area sources on the general conditions of housing and land use in the Corridor have not yet become available to CNT, present indications are that deterioration is widespread. As part of Valley Metro's "Alternatives Analysis" leading to the award of federal funding for the S. Central Corridor LRT, the Valley Metro staff conducted a windshield survey of property conditions in the Corridor's station areas to determine its "Redevelopment Susceptibility". Properties were rated on a four-point scale, in which included:

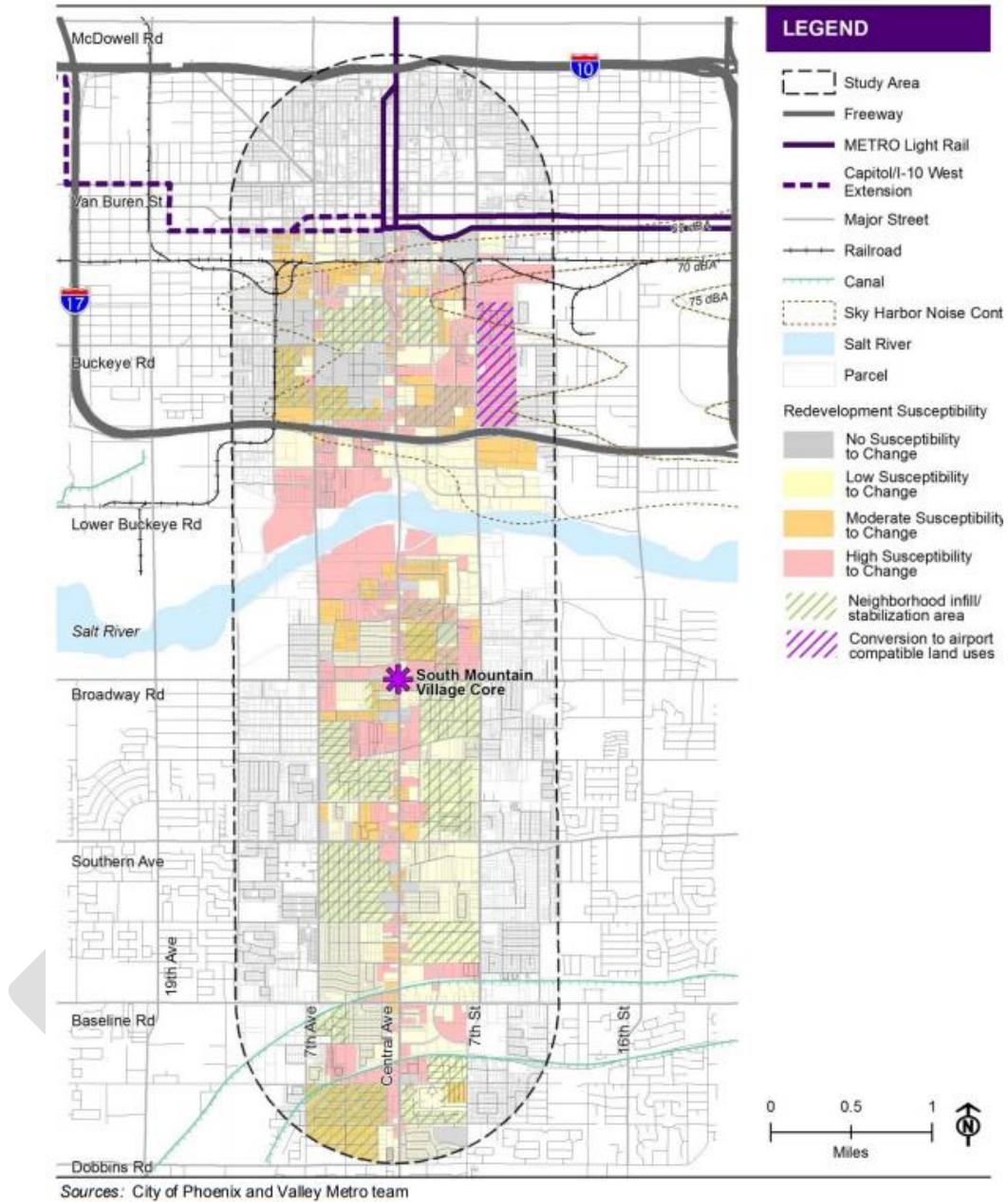
- "Moderate susceptibility to change: Includes partially vacated or deteriorated parcels/buildings, and lots marginally used."
- "High susceptibility to change: Includes vacant, underutilized or deteriorated parcels/buildings."<sup>14</sup>

The survey categorized large parts of the Buckeye, Audubon, Broadway, and Roeser station areas as in Moderate or High Susceptibility, and some sections of every station area in both of these conditions.

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<sup>14</sup> Valley Metro, Alternatives Analyses, South Central Corridor, Locally Preferred Alternative Report, Redevelopment Susceptibility, pages 13-15, April 2014

## VALLEY METRO REDEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS MAP



**Map 2:** Source: Alternatives Analyses, S. Central Corridor, Locally Preferred Alternative Report, Redevelopment Susceptibility, pages 13-15, April 2014 downloaded 11/06/18

### *Mobile Home Consideration*

Another component of the current residential community that requires special consideration within the Corridor should be the occupants of motor homes. Approximately 1,100 mobile home units exist in the Corridor today, concentrated in its southern station areas. While data on the ownership of these mobile units and the land they occupy is not currently available to CNT, information on these points should be gathered and studied. In a TOD in which higher density housing throughout the station area was clearly indicated, a need to replace this form of housing would be assumed. However, in station areas with

relatively low residential density that is likely to remain low for years to come, such as those in the southern portion of the Corridor, a more considered and possibly creative strategy should be considered. Mobile homes are relatively inexpensive housing stock; in model cases they have been organized in attractive neighborhoods, with higher density than single family homes on the same acreage. They may also offer a path to home ownership that is less steep than ownership in conventional building construction. For these reasons, quality mobile home park development in the southern station areas of the Corridor might be considered as an eTOD strategy.

#### *Partnership with Experienced Phoenix Not-for-Profit Developers*

As need and opportunity for large-scale affordable housing development in the Corridor is apparent, it is fortunate that the Phoenix area possesses a vigorous not-for-profit development sector with organizations experienced in affordable housing development, strongly capitalized, and committed to equitable TOD. The Phoenix region's Sustainable Communities Collaborative (SCC), with 35 member organizations, has provided a forum, expertise, and capital for eTOD. Outstanding members of SCC include the Phoenix chapter of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), a leading national organization in not-for-profit development, and Raza, a Phoenix-based community development corporation and Community Development Financial Institution (CDFI). In their collaboration SCC, LISC, and Raza, with local community partners, have invested approximately \$30 million in a revolving fund to leverage over \$375 million in private investments and execute 24 projects along Phoenix's first LRT line. These projects have built over 2,100 apartments in a mixture of affordable and market rate units and over 200,000 square feet of community building commercial space including health clinics, retail stores, restaurants, and day care services.<sup>15</sup>

Papers III and IV of these series present strategies for eTOD community development and supportive public policies. In these papers the City of Phoenix and the community organizations of the Corridor are advised to seek partnership with SCC and its members to plan and implement affordable housing development and local small business development on the largest possible scale.

### 3. Walkable Streets and Green Infrastructure in Corridor eTOD Communities

Walkability within the half-mile radius TOD area is an essential component of eTOD. Without this capacity most residents would be unable to use transit, support local businesses or otherwise take part in the life of the community. But walkability in Phoenix is challenged by its extreme weather conditions, exacerbated by the heat island effect that causes the urban infrastructure to absorb and reflect heat.

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<sup>15</sup> This paragraph summarizes information from a number sources including the web sites of the: Sustainable Communities Collaborative, <http://www.sustainablecommunitiescollaborative.com/> ; LISC in Phoenix, <http://www.liscphoenix.org/our-work/affordable-housing/housing/> ; JP Morgan Chase in support of Raza, <https://www.jpmorganchase.com/corporate/Corporate-Responsibility/document/adelante-phoenix-case-study-2017.pdf> ; and stores from the business press, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/lisc-raza-development-fund-pledge-30-million-to-spur-transit-oriented-development-in-low-income-communities-300131915.htm> |



Fortunately, environmental engineers have developed a number of practical measures, involving the green infrastructure of living plants, to decisively mitigate the urban heat island effect while making Phoenix streets attractive and pleasant places to walk. Systematic adoption of green infrastructure measures on station area streets is recommended in the strategies discussed in Paper III of this series.

Sustainability in eTOD is not limited to the streetscape but can be applied to the construction and maintenance of real estate. These include measures to conserve energy, manage Phoenix's downpour-and-drought rain cycles, and take advantage of the community's transit-orientation to avoid overbuilding parking. Besides making contributions to the environment and the community's quality of life, these measures will provide important enhancements to the affordability of housing and the cost control of commercial buildings. They are also recommended in the strategies for sustainable community development in Paper III.

#### 4. Local Small Business Support in Corridor eTOD Communities

The opposition that some local businesses posed to development of the Central Corridor LRT is understandable. In an environment in which few neighbors walk through the heat to local establishments and bus riders do not seem to be a numerous clientele, these business owners understood that most of their customers arrive by car. When they felt that a transit service might reduce their drive-by customer base, they were alarmed. But local business owners and residents in an eTOD community need to appreciate their interdependence.

Even during rush hours, over 55% of the trips American households make each week are not for commuting but trips for routine shopping, personal services, recreation, visiting friends -- the regular business of life. Most of these trips are "chained".<sup>16</sup> We pick up a quart of milk after dropping the child at school and going by the post office. We fill a prescription and buy a birthday card on our way home from work. We spend Saturday morning going to the gym, having a latte to recover, stopping at the bank, finding the parts at the hardware store we need to fix the sink. We make these trips in sequence to save time in our busy lives. To the extent that these trip chains can be made in the community by walking or by very convenient transit in the next community, the environment, our health, and our community are all better off. For trip chains to stay in the community and the transit network, it is important to have as many destinations as possible in the transit station area commercial nodes of the Corridor. So, helping local businesses supply these needs becomes a vital part of eTOD community building.

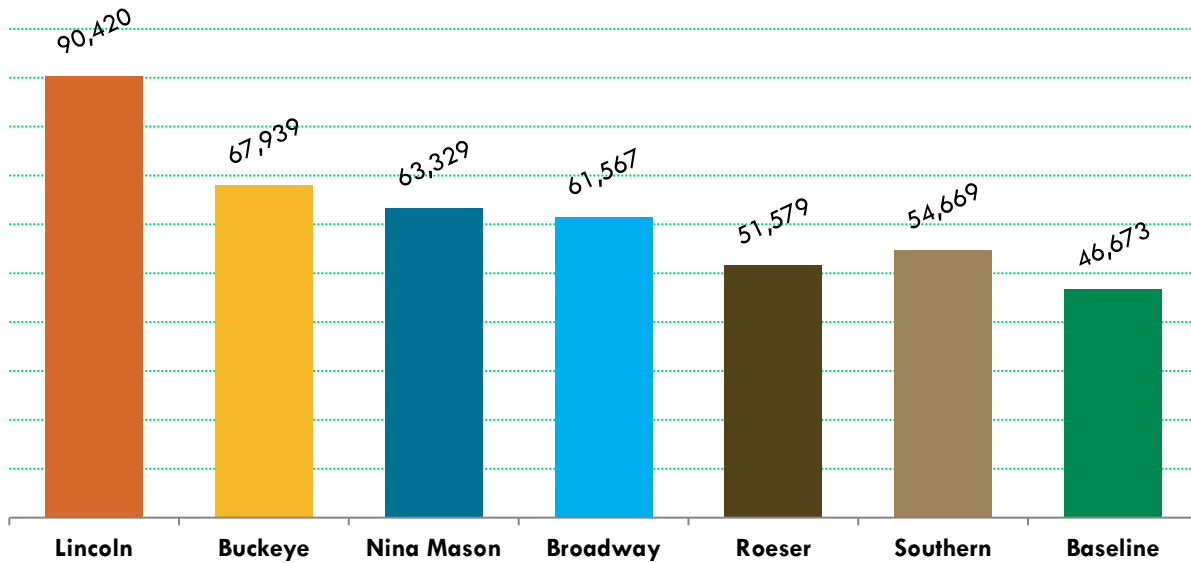
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<sup>16</sup> US Department of Transportation, *National Household Travel Survey Briefs, Who is Traveling During the Peak*, August 2007. <https://nhts.ornl.gov/briefs/Congestion%20-%20Peak%20Travelers.pdf>, and *Frequently Asked Questions, Trip Chaining* <https://nhts.ornl.gov/2001/pub/TripChaining.pdf>

A critical early step in the business support effort will be minimizing disruption to Corridor businesses during the LRT construction process. This involves close coordination between Valley Metro, the City, contract builders, local businesses, and the community, which local business support organizations are in a key position to support. The experience of other business communities that have worked through this type of construction, shows that the process can be managed smoothly. For example, in the construction of Portland, Oregon, streetcar, local business leaders explained the benefits of the new transit system to their peers and formed the coordination committee.<sup>17</sup>

One step in the support process is helping businesses appreciate the scale of the opportunity available to them through transit connectivity. Earlier in this paper we noted the scale of job opportunities available to corridor workers within a half hour trip on transit (Section C.3, Chart I.3). Similarly, the number of potential customers who can travel to a business within a half hour by transit should be thought provoking to a business owner; these figures are provided in Chart I.6. Some of the strategies presented in Paper III are directed to helping local businesses in the center of an eTOD district capture part of this potential business through collective as well as individual actions.

### CUSTOMERS WITHIN 30 MINUTE TRANSIT COMMUTE



**Chart I.3.** Source: AllTransit™ + ACS 2016 5-year estimates . This chart shows the number of customers using existing transit systems within a 30-minute travel time frame.

Local community development corporations that are concerned with the overall development of an eTOD community can become the champions of that community’s small businesses. Supporting organizations can ensure that these businesses receive the technical support and financing they need to

<sup>17</sup> Gloria Ohland and Shelley Poticha, *Street Smart, Streetcars and Cities in the Twenty-First Century, The Business Point of View*, Michael Powell and Powell’s Books in Portland, pages 61-2.

make significant changes in their businesses -- such as upgrading to serve a clientele with more local customers, including new residents attracted to the life style of a TOD. Strategies for playing this role are also presented in Paper III and in Paper IV, to the extent that public policy also plays a role in local business support.

## 5. Land Use in eTOD Community Planning

In eTOD community planning, a valuable step is to systematically assess land use, including identification of all vacant or underutilized property. When this data is tabulated and mapped in a GIS system, it is possible to make quantitative assessments about the balance of current land uses, projections of development potential, and suggestions for planned development. Such data is also essential to the organizations that will work to monitor ongoing development and implement eTOD plans.

## G. Public Policy to Facilitate eTOD

The interrelated processes of building eTOD communities in the S. Central Corridor could be significantly accelerated by the Corridor communities endorsing and the City of Phoenix and other public bodies adopting a number of the policies suggested for consideration in Paper IV of this series. At this stage of analysis, CNT is presenting these policies for the information and discussion of the project team, although we think any measure described in Paper IV could have a beneficial impact on eTOD in the Corridor. The following comments describe how, in our view, some of these policies fit into the development process and may be especially useful to it.

### 1. Strategies for Equitable Economic Development

Policies under this heading may be adopted by the Phoenix Workforce Development and Job Creation Board, by the City of Phoenix, and in some cases by other public bodies. They may accelerate efforts to expand Corridor workers' access to jobs and small business development opportunities in areas that can readily be reached by transit, given LRT service, and within eTOD community areas. A consistent message about these measures that should be presented to policy makers is that the Corridor now faces an extraordinary opportunity and threat in regard to workforce and small business development. With the opening of the LRT a large group of workers -- including under-employed and unemployed workers -- will gain access to thousands of jobs that were practically unavailable to them before. Simultaneously, many of these same workers will come under pressure to increase their incomes in order to continue living in improving neighborhoods. In this context, policy makers should especially consider measures for:

- *Targeted Training:* Focusing training programs on candidates for paraprofessional and skilled trade jobs that are newly available to them, as discussed in Paper II
- *Community Benefits Agreements:* That may be negotiated for major employers entering the Corridor to benefit from its accessible workforce, access to the Phoenix CBD, and other assets
- *Equitable Contracting and Procuring:* Lowering financial barriers for local and MBE/DBE contractors, so that they might participate in the build out of their communities

- *Local and Targeted Hiring*: Potentially involving designation of a trained as well as local workforce that may be presented to employers as a public service
- *Special Service Districts*: That may serve as a means for business owners in eTOD commercial nodes to collaborate in upgrading their districts and conducting joint efforts to capture new customer blocks

## 2. Community Building Policies

The majority of the policy measures presented in Paper IV would accelerate the inclusive development process, allow the community to direct the process, strengthen efforts to build affordability into housing and small business development projects, and protect potentially vulnerable residents from displacement. Ways in which these policies may fit together in a sustained eTOD campaign are summarized in the following points:

- *Neighborhood Planning Districts*: Establishing such districts would provide a means for the community to fully consider and monitor the impacts of Form-Based Codes and Design Standards, a eTOD Overlay Ordinance and other measures.
- *A Land Bank*: Establishing a land bank would create a capacity currently absent in Phoenix to efficiently repurpose land and control its delivery to projects that will truly benefit the eTOD effort.
- *Development Tracker*: Creation of this tool would complement the operation of a land bank and strengthen the community's ability to influence specific development projects.
- *Targeting Funding for Affordable Housing Near Transit* (Possibly through further capitalization of the Sustainable Communities Consortium Fund), *Strengthening Affordable Housing Incentives*, *Establishing By-Right Zoning to Promote Affordable Development*, *Right Sized and Shared Parking*: Simultaneous adoption of these related measures would have a powerful impact in strengthening the capacity for affordable development.
- *A Property Tax "Circuit Breaker" Policy*: would provide a safety valve to protect residents from displacement if the development process were to get out of control.
- *Opportunity Zone*: While this program requires further analysis, it could provide substantial capital for eTOD.