

TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH BOARD

# Retrospective, Perspective, & Prospective of Transit- Oriented Development

**February 25, 2021**

**@NASEMTRB**  
**#TRBwebinar**

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# Learning Objectives

1. Identify impacts of TOD on travel behavior, real estate prices, residential location, urban form, and community life
2. Discuss how to further develop TOD policies

**#TRBwebinar**



# Review of TOD research achievements, planning tools, and challenges

Anna Ibraeva, CITTA research center,  
University of Coimbra (Portugal)



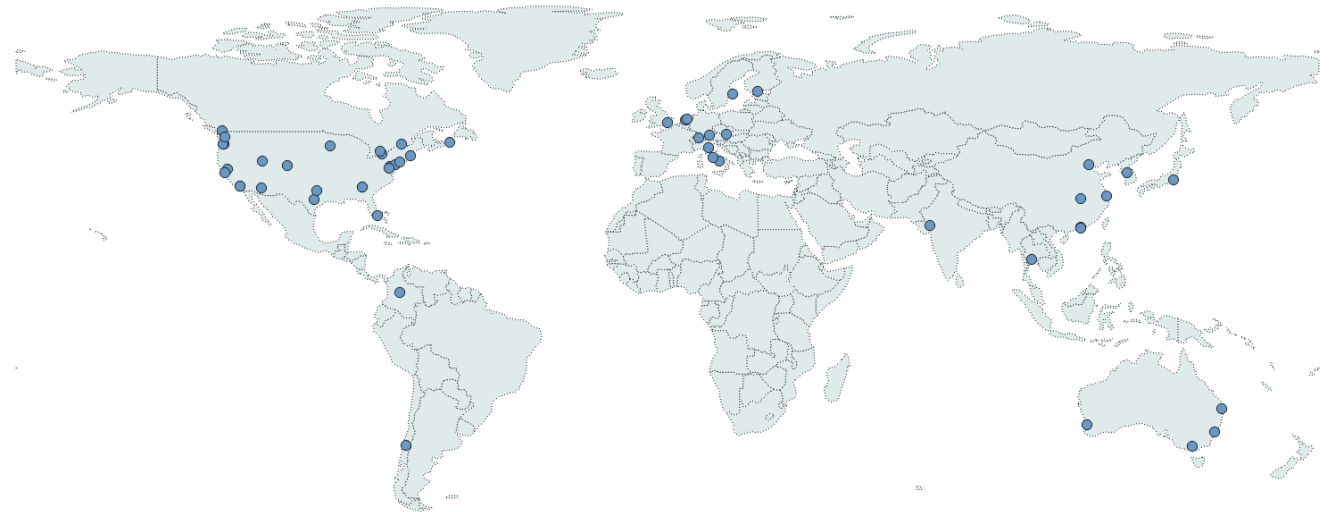
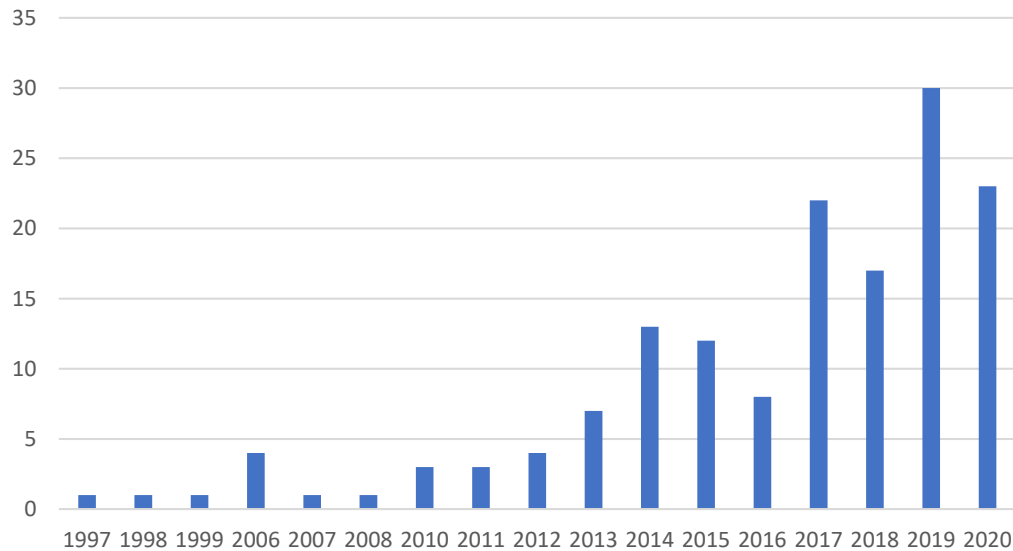
# Contents

- TOD and Travel Behavior
- TOD and Self-selection
- TOD and Real Estate prices
- TOD and Gentrification
- TOD and Urban Form
- TOD and Urban Planning



# TOD: RELEVANCE

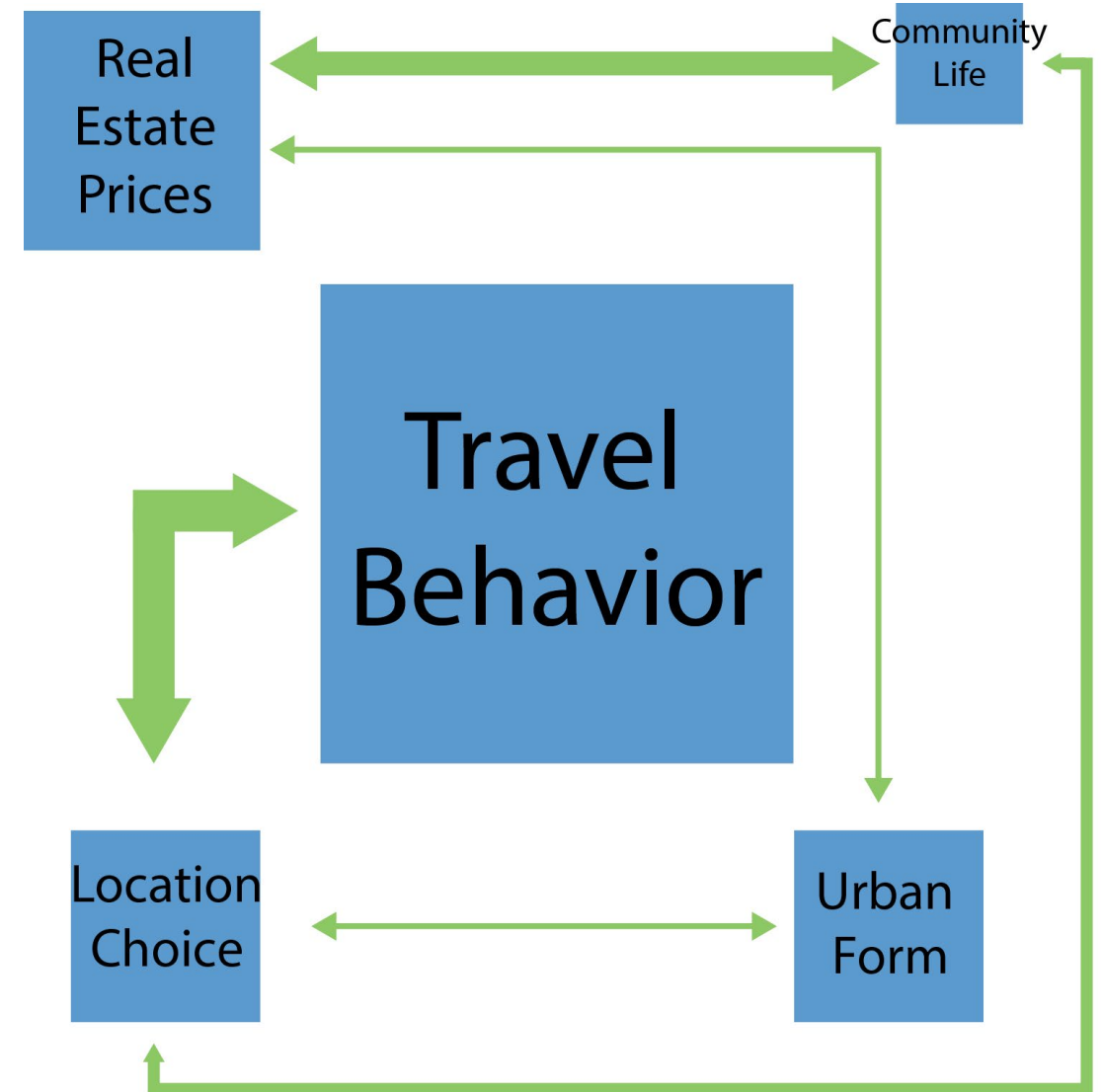
Number of articles (Web of Science)



- Growing number of publications
- Growing number of TOD projects worldwide
- Urbanization trends that urge cities to implement sustainable growth strategies

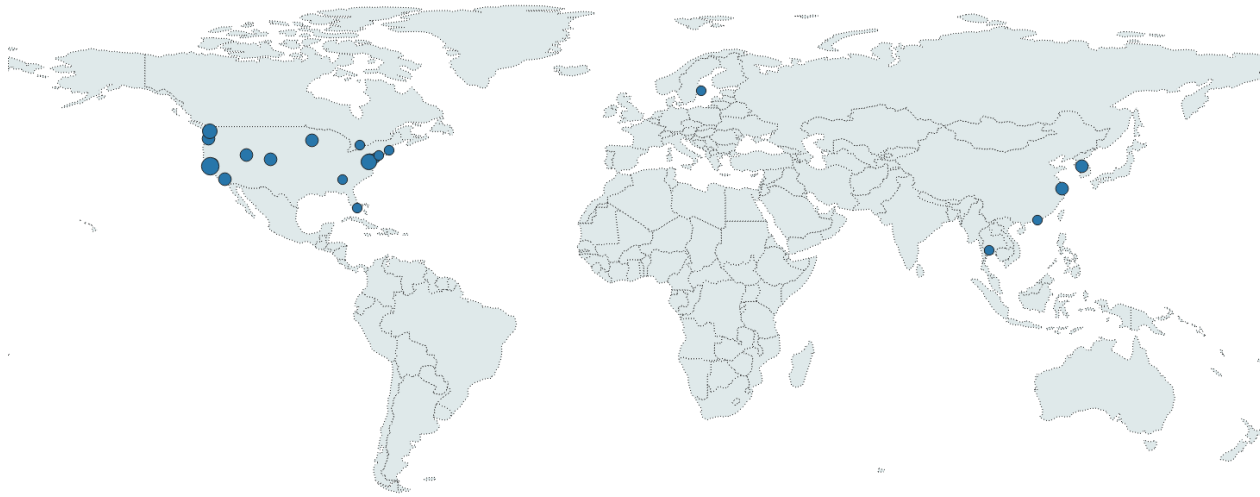
# TOD: COMPLEXITY

- Various TOD issues are interconnected
- TOD is a place that allows people to reach various destinations, ideally being a destination itself (place for work, relax and living)
- A place that can easily be reached by various sustainable modes (PT, walking, cycling), multimodal node
- An affluent place with high land value, but with affordable housing and low levels of car ownership/car use
- “The ideal TOD is inviting and attractive to many types of users, acknowledging that people have different standards and different reasons for using the same space.” (Jacobson and Forsyth, 2008)

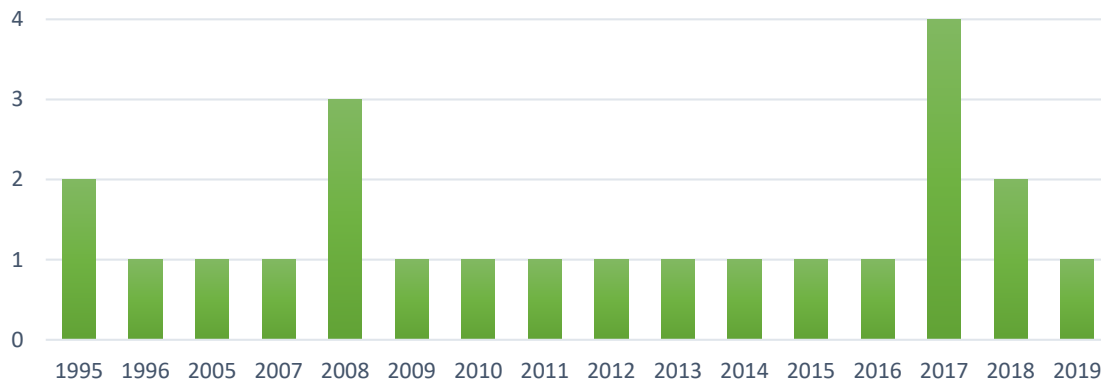




# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR: article selection



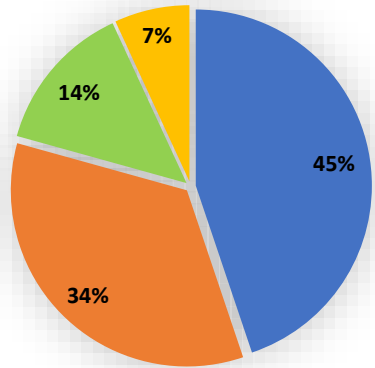
Number of articles per year



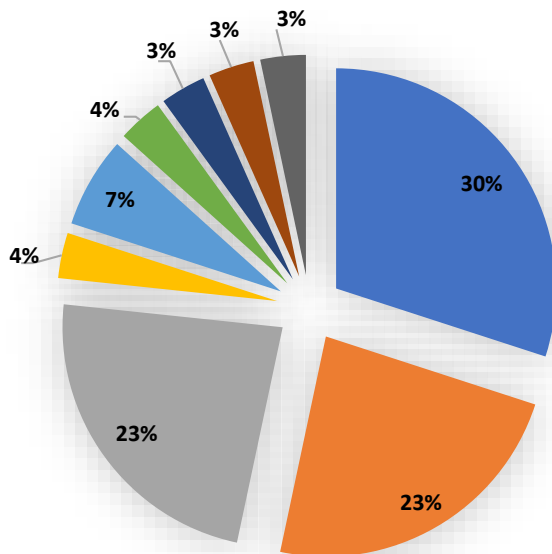
Total of 23 articles selected by:

- Keywords: TOD, travel behavior, mode choice
- Number of citations
- Attempting to widen the geographic scope
- Varied methodology
- Publication year to provide a comprehensive storyline

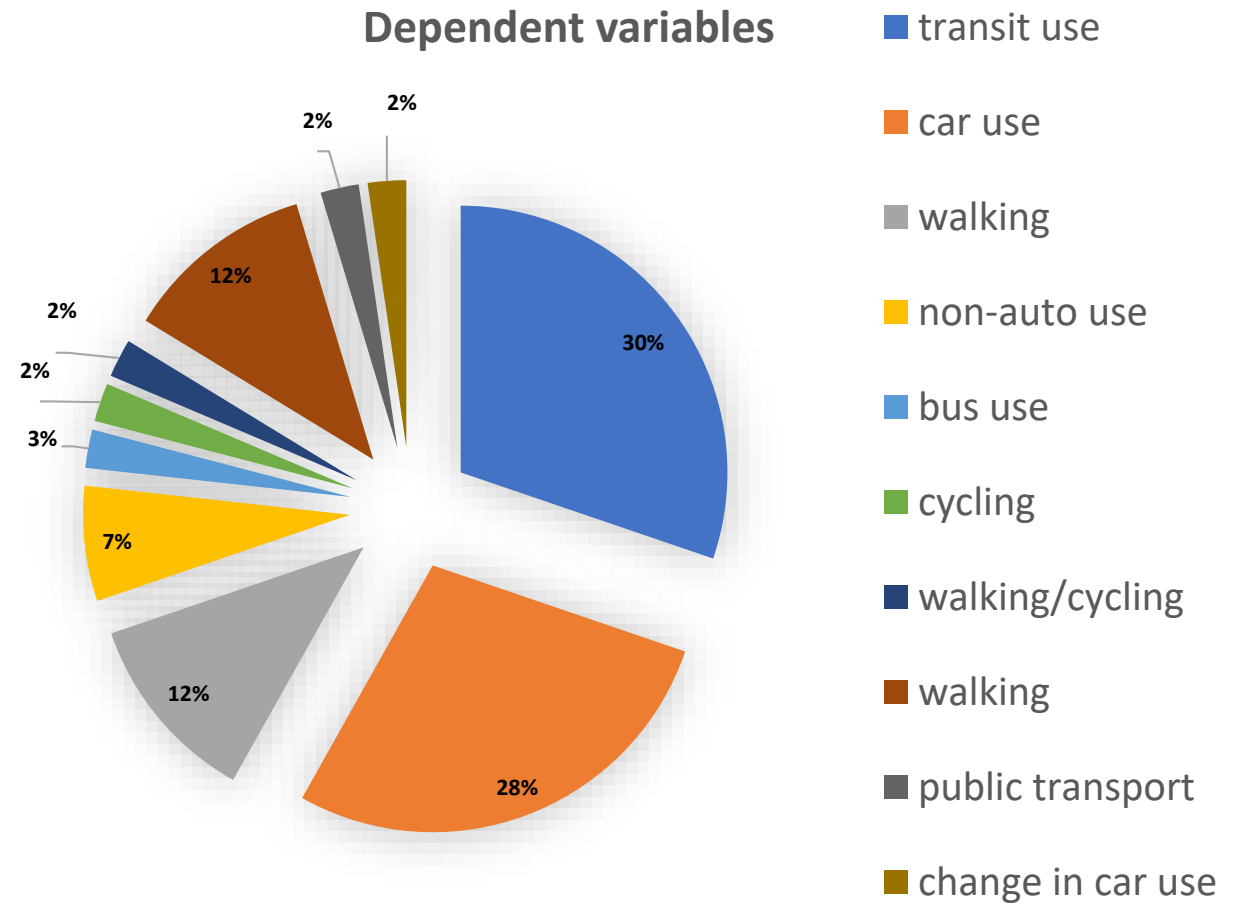
# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR



■ all   ■ work   ■ non-work   ■ transit access



■ OLS  
 ■ Descriptive statistics  
 ■ DCM  
 ■ Instrumental variable  
 ■ Multilevel modelling  
 ■ SEM  
 ■ Direct demand model  
 ■ GLM  
 ■ Panel SEM



# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR



\*(D) – destination      \*ST - station  
 \*TTR – travel time ratio      \*HH - household  
 \*nb – neighborhood      \*Activity density - № of residents +  
 № of jobs/area)

statistically significant at  $p \leq 0,05$

# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR

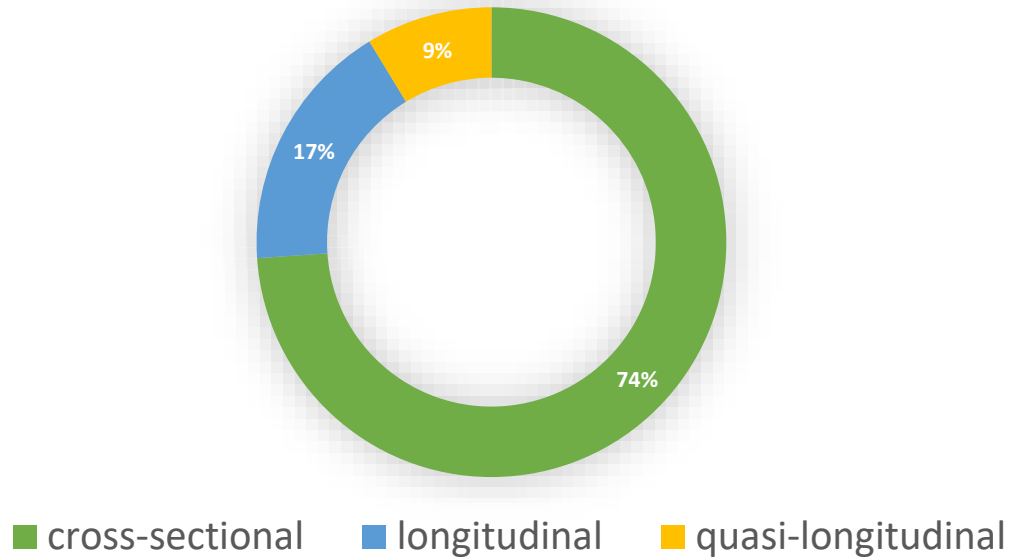


\*ST - station  
\*HH - household  
\*Activity density - No of residents +  
No of jobs/area)

statistically significant at  $p \leq 0,05$

# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR: longitudinal approach

Time span of the studies

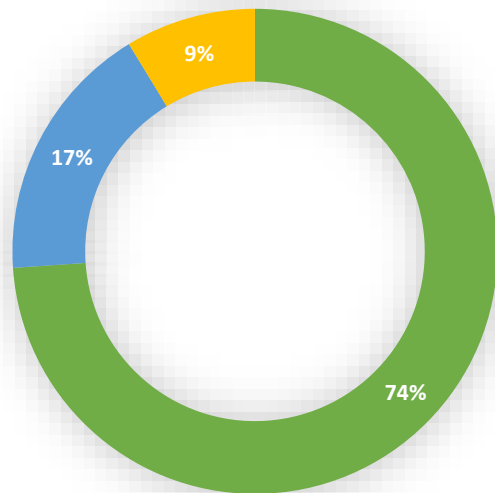


## Highlights:

- **Built environment is important** even after accounting for travel attitudes and socio-demographic controls (Handy et al., 2005, Cao et al., 2007)
- an **increase in accessibility** and **increase in safety** are associated with either a **smaller increase** or a **larger decrease in driving** (Handy et al., 2005)
- **attractiveness, safety, physical activity options, and socializing** are associated with **increase in walking** (Cao et al., 2007)
- “**supportive attitudes have limited power in the face of an unsupportive environment**” (Brown and Werner, 2008)
- Travel behavior is quite **stable over time**: past values largely explain current values. Moving away from a station is associated with ever greater car use (Van de Coevering et al., 2016)

# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR: longitudinal approach

Time span of the studies



■ cross-sectional ■ longitudinal ■ quasi-longitudinal

## Benefits:

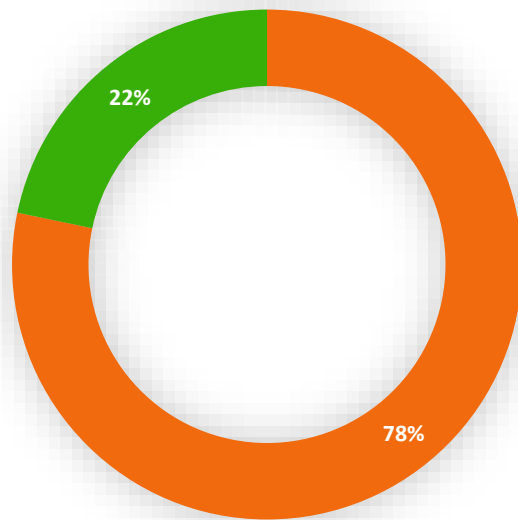
- Under certain assumptions, can reveal **causality**
- Demonstrates the **evolution over time** of travel attitudes and habits (that normally do not change easily or quickly)
- Accounts for **previous mode share** distribution

## Drawbacks:

- **Data availability:** hard to find, especially panel data, especially for longer time intervals with same variables/same units of analysis
- **Self-selection** is hard to address at a census tract level (people relocate, frequently we do not have information where they are coming from or where they go)
- **Anticipation problem:** easier when service did not exist before, but harder when dealing with an already mature network and new stations are coming
- **Station maturity:** differentiate between older and newer stations
- **“Natural experiment” setting is rare** since many cities already have abundant transit service

# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR: origin-destination

Studies accounting for destination



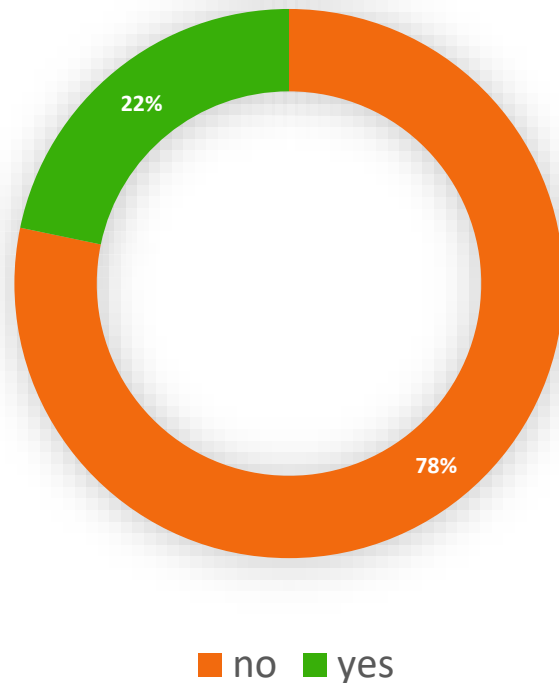
no yes

## Highlights:

- Trip with TOD at either origin or destination has higher probability of transit/walk/bike choice, but the **magnitude** of effect is greater for trips with TOD at destination (Nasri and Zhang, 2019)
- Links with “**university**” at one of the trip ends is positively associated with transit use (Cervero and Radisch, 1996; Choi et al., 2012)
- Presence of **large or medium shopping malls at a destination** is associated with an increase in transit ridership (Pan et al., 2017)

# TOD and TRAVEL BEHAVIOR: origin-destination

Studies accounting for destination



## Benefits:

- It is not only origin that matters, but also the **accessibility and characteristics of the destination**
- By differentiating between characteristics of the origin and destination we may know where interventions are more likely to produce desired result and which **links** are likely to benefit from TOD interventions
- Allows to determine **activity space**

## Drawbacks:

- **Data availability:** hard to find, mobility surveys may be limited in terms of details for privacy considerations, cell phone data may not disclose trip mode and personal/HH characteristics, smart card data is limited to PT users, etc.



# TOD and SELF-SELECTION

## Highlights:

- **Built environment influences travel choices even after accounting for self-selection** (Mokhtarian and Cao, 2008; Cao et al., 2009)
- **Not only the travel attitudes influence** residential location, but **also residential location influences** travel choices (Van de Coevering et al., 2016; Brown and Werner, 2008; Kamruzzaman et al., 2021)
- **Destination matters:** workplace within a mile of a rail station induces HH to reside near transit (Cervero, 2007). Moreover, LU characteristics of workplace and residential location are often similar (Gang and Wang, 2020)
- **The interaction between residential location, travel attitudes and long-term choices (like kids or car ownership) is simultaneous and very complex** (Gang and Wang, 2020)
- Over time, **TOD dissonants become consonants at a faster rate** than vice versa (Kamruzzaman et al., 2021)

## Gaps:

- Account for the reciprocal influences between BE and travel attitudes
- Longitudinal research design, before/after studies
- Anticipation problem: can people relocate to a place, anticipating a job relocation?
- Why some people become TOD consonants faster than others? Why some TOD consonants become TOD dissonants?

# TOD and REAL ESTATE PRICES

## Approach:

- Hedonic price analysis
- Stated preference vs revealed preference (what respondent says vs what respondent does)
- Spatial spillover from a station

## Highlights:

- Effects depend on the **type of transport infrastructure** (heavy rail or light rail)
- **Property type** (commercial or residential)
- Neighborhood **income level** (Bowes and Ihlanfeldt, 2001; Hess and Almeida, 2007)
- **Service** coverage and attainable **destinations** (Kay et al., 2014)

Even though higher densities often negatively affect home values, in station areas this is unlikely to happen; on the contrary, **property prices in station areas with permissive zoning tend to be higher** (Duncan, 2011)

# TOD and COMMUNITY LIFE

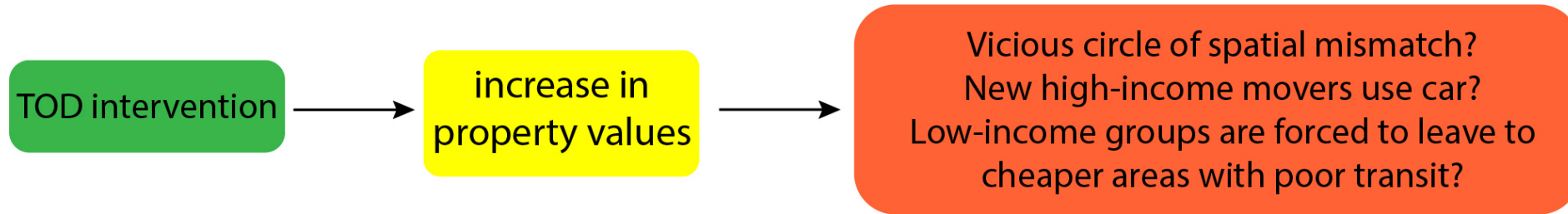
TOD initially aims to create **mixed-use, lively and safe neighborhoods**, so it is potentially helpful in creating/reinforcing community life and social networks.

However, as TOD is likely to provoke increase in property values, **gentrification** becomes a concern.

## Highlights:

- Walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods are associated with higher levels of social capital and social interaction (Kamruzzaman et al., 2014), yet higher densities may compromise these interactions as social trust is negatively affected by higher densities. Mixed-use is essential to compensate for that.
- Kahn (2007) spotted uneven gentrification: manifested in some cities (Washington, D.C. and Boston) and near some stations (“walk & ride”) but was not noticeable in others.

# TOD and COMMUNITY LIFE



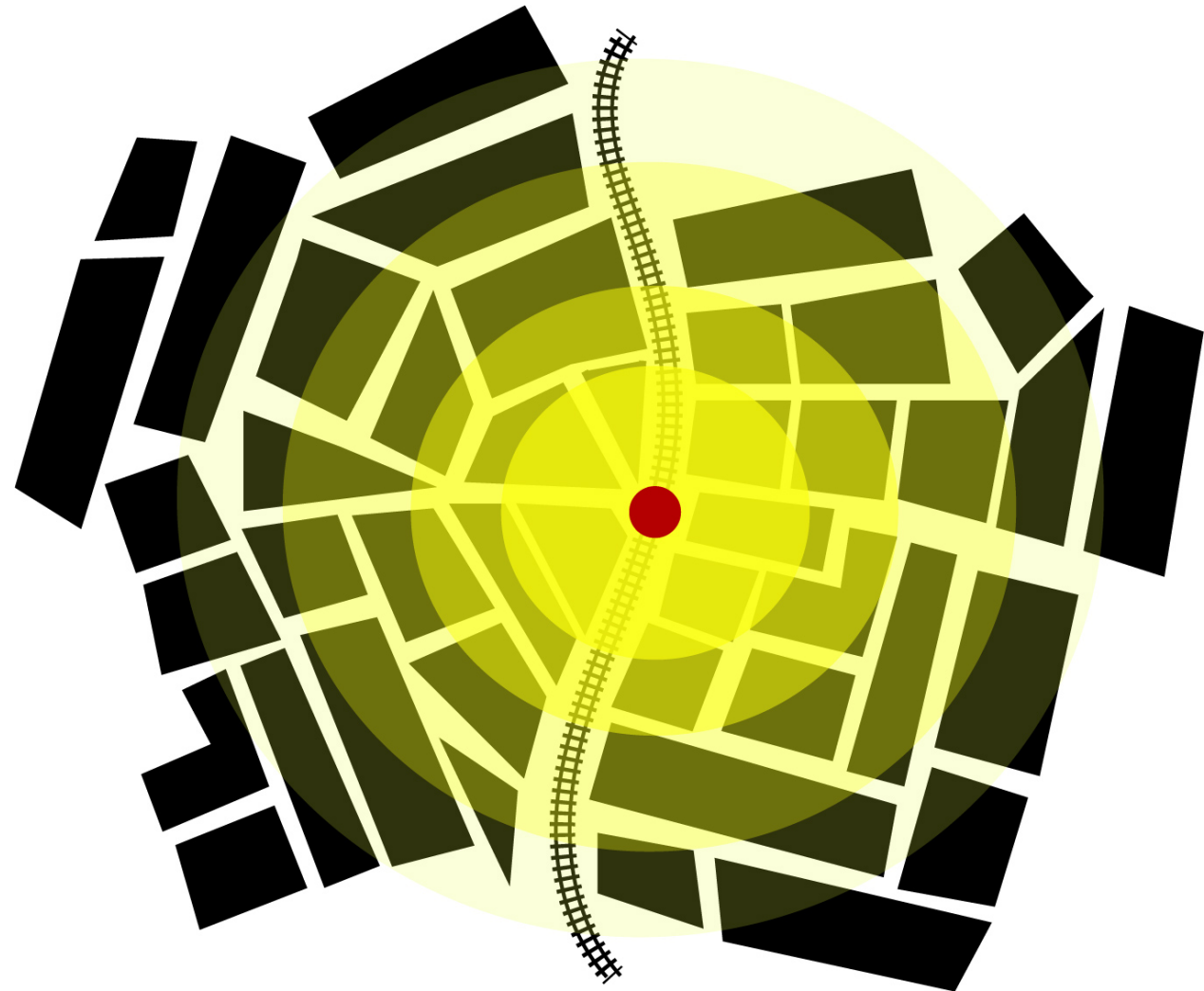
- Transit provides access to CBD during the day, while low-income groups often have different travel needs, will they actually benefit from transit? (Fan, 2012; Bardaka and Hersey, 2019)
- Shares of transit use in market-led neighborhoods are lower than in low-income areas (Bardaka and Hersey, 2019)
- Both gentrifiers and old residents favor metro use if their destination is within walking distance from the station (Chava et al., 2018)

**Where is the balance between market-led and affordable housing that supports transit ridership?**

# TOD and SPATIAL SPILLOVER

- “The treatment effects increase as the percentage of directly treated neighbors rises” (Bardaka et al., 2018, about housing values and gentrification)
- TOD registered not only higher property prices than non-TOD station areas, but also showed significant spillover effect (beyond 800m walking distance), probably associated with commercial activity (Yu et al., 2018)

**What determines the gradient length and intensity?**



# TOD and URBAN FORM

TOD as a way to:

- **Channel/organize urban growth** (Papa et al., 2008, Ratner and Goetz, 2013; Schuetz et al., 2015)
- Stimulate **infill development/urban regeneration** in urbanized areas
- Improve **regional accessibility** by promoting growth around transit-served areas and providing transit to dense areas

However:

- Developments in central areas risk to become mostly commercial/office, in suburbs they struggle to achieve mixed use
- In already dense central areas little land is available for development
- The balance requires multi-actor cooperation and participation

# TOD and URBAN PLANNING

	Local authorities	Developers	Transit agencies	Residents
Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Accomodate and organize urban growth;</li><li>Promote an area;</li><li>Better accessibility;</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Satisfy market demand for mixed-use walkable environment;</li><li>Benefit from higher property prices in station proximity;</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Increase in transit patronage</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Mixed</li></ul>
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>NIMBY;</li><li>Reputational loss;</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Density limitations;</li><li>Green areas/walking infrastructure increase costs;</li><li>Uncertain demand for office/commercial areas in some places;</li><li>Affordable housing limitations;</li><li>Risk that infrastructure project will be revised;</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>High initial investment costs (either service improvement, new lines or right-of-way acquisition);</li><li>Uncertain demand;</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Marginalisation of the station area;</li><li>Densification;</li><li>Parking limitations;</li></ul>

## **TOD and URBAN PLANNING: CHALLENGES**

- How can local authorities **gain support** for the project from the residents?

Greenfield development, community engagement, introduction of public facilities like schools and parks in the plan, creating an identity for a project. Note: might increase project cost for developers.

- How can developers overcome **the high financial costs** of a project?

Adaptive reuse and higher densities. Note: adaptive reuse might be costly and density increase may provoke local opposition.

- How can transit agencies compensate for **high investment costs**?

R&P mechanism, ground lease, tax exemptions, using station parking lots as “land banks”. Note: might not work in cities with low transit ridership levels.



**THANK YOU**



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**Review of transit's role in urban development  
& best practice recommendations for TOD  
in the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

**Professor Richard D. Knowles**

University of Salford, Manchester, UK &  
University of Huddersfield, UK

TRB Webinar on Transit-Oriented Development  
25<sup>th</sup> February 2021

# TOD Research Team

This TOD research was undertaken by:

- **Professor Richard Knowles** <sup>1&3</sup>
- **Dr Fiona Ferbrache** <sup>2</sup>
- **Dr Alexandros Nikitas** <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> University of Salford, Manchester, UK; <sup>2</sup> University of Oxford, UK;

<sup>3</sup> University of Huddersfield, UK

# TOD Research Method

- Synopsis of the systematic literature review
- Empirical evidence approach outlined in Knowles et al. 2020

## Reference:

Knowles R.D, Ferbrache F. & Nikitas A. (2020) Transport's historical, contemporary and future role in shaping urban development: Re-evaluating transit oriented development. *Cities*, 99, 102607

# Transport Shaping Space

- Transport plays a key role in ‘shaping space’ (Knowles 2006)
- Seismic change during the industrial revolution from small compact walking towns to expanded star-shaped cities following horse-drawn, steam-powered and electrified transit routes
- Transport is ‘a maker and breaker of cities’ (Clark 1958; Hall 1992)
- Strong relationship between transport and both urban development & post-industrial urban regeneration

# Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)

- TOD is the process of focusing housing, employment, retail & leisure activities, education facilities & public services around rapid transit stations or stops: *rail, light rail (LRT), or bus (BRT)*
- TOD was first defined by Calthorpe (1993), but the process has existed since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century



# Three Eras of TOD

**Historic suburbanisation:** mid C19<sup>th</sup> to early C20<sup>th</sup>  
: captive transit traffic

**Planned suburbanisation:** mid C20<sup>th</sup>  
: low car ownership & largely captive transit traffic

**Contemporary: Urban Development or Regeneration**

(Knowles et al. 2020)

# Historic TOD

Private sector urban development along railway (*suburban, metro or subway*) and tram (*streetcar*) routes: mainly in Europe and North America

- **Streetcar suburbs:** e.g. Boston, Copenhagen, Glasgow, Leeds & Melbourne
- **Railway suburbs:** e.g. New York (North Manhattan, Brooklyn & Bronx); Manchester to Altrincham UK from 1849
- **Star shaped city:** Chicago - classic example
- **Metroland:** London 1920s/1930s

# Growth of Manchester

## Manchester: world's first industrial city

- **Pre 1845:** compact 'walking city': Manchester & Salford
- **1845-1905:** joined up along tram and railway routes with small neighbouring towns: Altrincham, Stockport, Ashton, Oldham etc
- **1905-1950:** infilling between radial routes

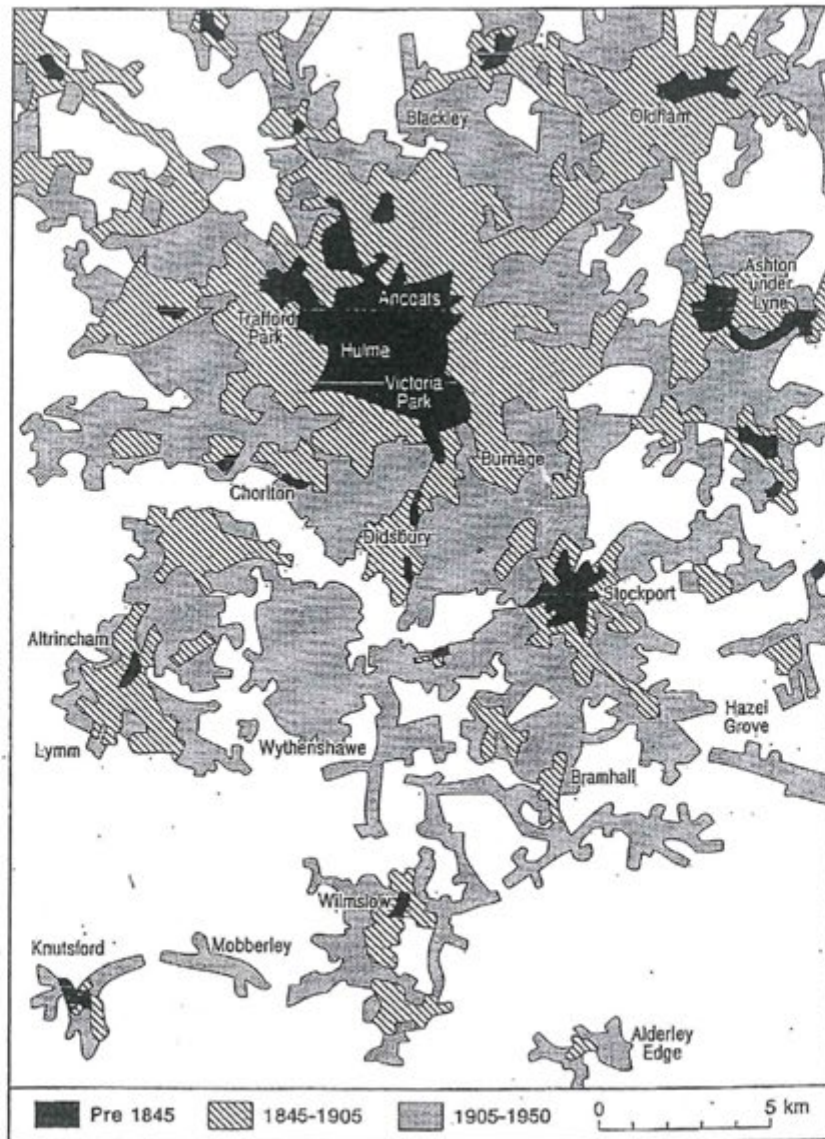


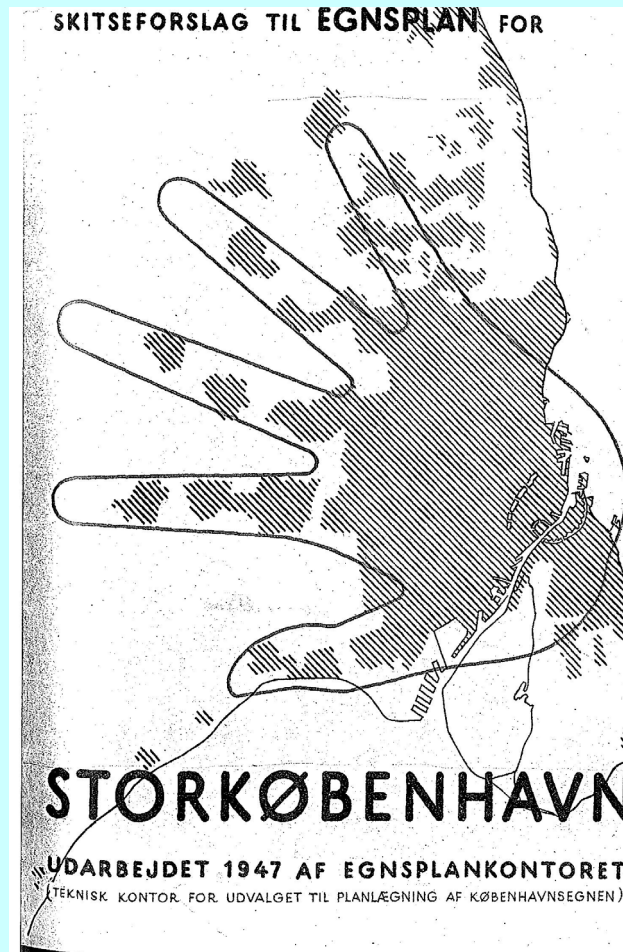
Figure 1 Manchester's development context

# Planned TOD

- Copenhagen 1947 Finger Plan
- Oslo 1950 Comprehensive Plan
- Stockholm 1952 General Plan
- Paris 1965 Regional Masterplan
- Singapore's 1971 Concept Plan

(Knowles 2012; Knowles et al. 2020)

# Copenhagen Finger Plan 1947



# Contemporary TOD: 6 'D's & High Frequency

- **Density**: high density – dwellings, population, jobs & activity sites
- **Diversity**: multiple forms of land use
- **Design**: dense urban grids & pedestrian friendly  
(Cervero & Kockleman 1997)
- **Distance** to transit
- **Destination** accessibility
- **Demand** management  
(Ewing & Cervero 2010)
- **High Frequency Transit**: rail, light rail or bus (BRT)  
(Knowles 2012; Knowles et al 2020)

# Contemporary TOD..

- requires supportive planning policies designed to create a relatively high density, compact and mixed urban form
- can create a distinct ‘sense of place’ and make an iconic impact on the urban landscape: ‘Grenoble Effect’
- accessed by sustainable transport: rail, light rail or bus transit; cycling & bike-sharing; walking
- a very important part of a broader ‘Smart Growth’ approach to urban development and regeneration

(Ferbrache & Knowles 2017; Knowles et al 2020)



# Contemporary TOD...

- **Minority of captive traffic** in Europe, North America etc.
- **Majority of captive traffic** in city states, East Asia & Less Developed Countries
- **Higher transit frequencies** & capacity to compete with cars
- **Speed**: wider catchment area for Rail than for Light Rail or BRT
- **Displacement**: increased accessibility raises house prices & rents – can force lower income residents out

# Contemporary TOD: REGENERATION

- Canary Wharf, London <sup>1&2</sup>
- Grenoble, Nice & Bordeaux <sup>1</sup>
- Portland (O) & Denver <sup>1</sup>
- Salford Quays & Media City UK <sup>1</sup>
- Vancouver <sup>1</sup>

1 Light Rail (LRT); 2 Heavy Rail

# MediaCityUK: Salford Quays



# Contemporary TOD: NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- Brisbane, Australia <sup>1</sup>
- Delhi <sup>2&3</sup>
- Dubai <sup>2</sup>
- Curitiba, Brazil <sup>1</sup>
- Hong Kong <sup>2</sup>
- Ørestad, Copenhagen <sup>3</sup>
- Ottawa, Canada <sup>1</sup>
- Seoul, South Korea <sup>2</sup>
- Singapore <sup>2</sup>

1 Light Rail (LRT); 2 Heavy Rail; 3 Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)

# Ørestad New Town, Copenhagen



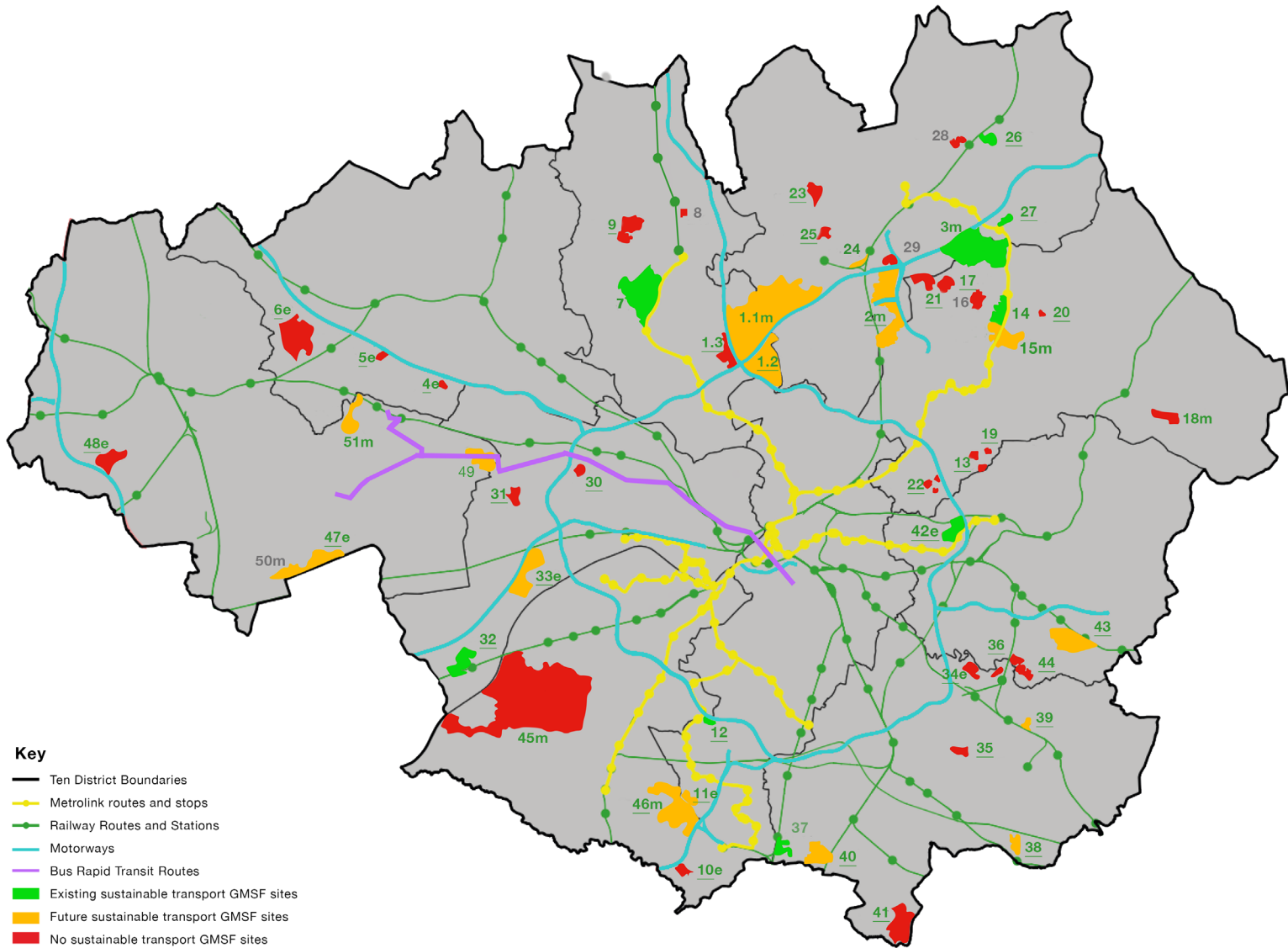
# Mismatch between Regional Planning and Sustainable Transport: GMSF2019

## Greater Manchester's 2019 Spatial Framework: environmental, sustainability & TOD objectives

53 strategic development sites:

- 9 (*green*) currently served by LRT or rail
- 16 more (*orange*) if transit investments are made in LRT, rail & BRT
- 26 remain dependent on cars (*red*) & 2 with low frequency transit

(Knowles 2021)

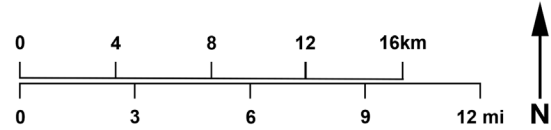


**Key**

- Ten District Boundaries
- Metrolink routes and stops
- Railway Routes and Stations
- Motorways
- Bus Rapid Transit Routes

- Existing sustainable transport GMSF sites
- Future sustainable transport GMSF sites
- No sustainable transport GMSF sites

- 1m Mixed use sites denoted by "m" after the site Number
- 1e Sites for employment only denoted by "e" after the site number
- 1 Green site numbers underlined indicate Wholly Green Belt sites
- 1 Green site numbers indicate mainly Green Belt sites
- 1 Black site Numbers indicate non Green Belt sites



# **Future TOD for the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

Closer integration with strategic planning

Promote the 15 minute city concept

Infrastructure financing: capture increase in land & property value created by higher accessibility



# Future TOD for the 21<sup>st</sup> century ..

‘Smart Growth’ ICT-led approach will develop & diversify – more remote working/telecommuting

Technical innovations may include:

- Car, ride & bike sharing

- Mobility-as-a-Service

- Autonomous Vehicles: driverless cars & transit

- Electrification of transport

- Hyperloop & unmanned aerial vehicle concepts

(Knowles et al. 2020; Nikitas et al. 2017)

# Best Practice Recommendations

- Supportive planning policies are essential to maximise the positive economic and urban (re)development impacts of urban transit investment
- Mixed land use to integrate homes with jobs, retail & leisure and minimise longer travel
- Boost City Image: liveable cities - open, green & attractive

# Best Practice Recommendations ..

- Mechanisms should be adopted to capture increase in land and property values
- Cost Benefit Analysis of transit investment proposals should be modified to place more emphasis on environmental, social and wider economic effects

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# THANK YOU!

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# ANY QUESTIONS?

# Today's Panelists

#TRBWebinar

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- Richard Knowles, *University of Salford (UK)*

Moderator: John Renne,  
*Florida Atlantic University*



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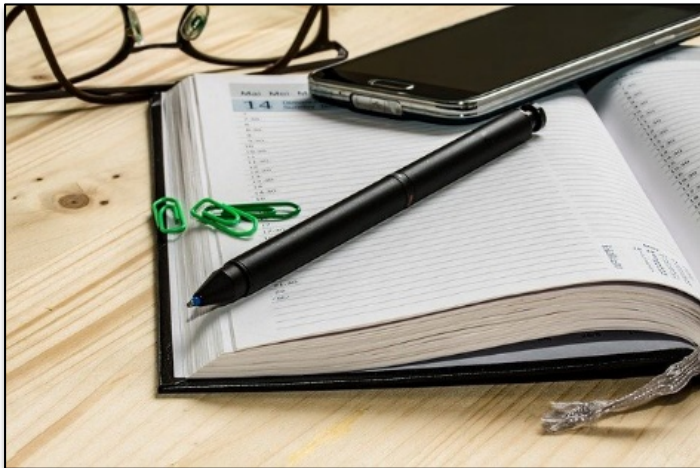
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