An Equity Agenda for Transit-Oriented Development

Planning for Sustainable Growth in Los Angeles' Inner City

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Executive Summary

Transit-oriented development aims to create sustainable, mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly urban

order create innovative policy at the local level. The community plans, therefore, act as an effective vehicle for implementation of a TOD equity agenda that addresses transit inequity, inadequate housing and economic development in Los Angeles' inner city neighborhoods, specifically in Westlake, a low-income inner city neighborhood directly west of downtown Los Angeles.

Westlake is one of Los Angeles' most vibrant yet severely underserved inner city neighborhoods. Westlake has many community assets, such as substantial commercial development, pedestrian-oriented activity, a large, public recreational space, MacArthur Park, and an extensive transit infrastructure. However, Westlake suffers from severe public and private disinvestment, resulting in unsanitary streets, inadequate transit facilities, and a severe shortage of affordable housing. Residents are furious about the unsafe conditions for pedestrians, the substandard and ineffective sanitation services, the rapidly decreasing affordable housing options, and the lack of transit equity. The lack of funding for bus services has resulted in cutting bus lines and increasing fares, which further results in overcrowding, unsafe and unsanitary transit stops, and an appalling lack of bus benches and shelters.

Los Angeles' New Community Plan Program provides an opportunity for the City to reinvest in Westlake and raise the substandard living conditions in which many local residents currently endure. However, many residents fear the onset of gentrification and residential displacement that often accompany investment in and development of urban neighborhoods. Not surprisingly, gentrification is one of the main concerns with the implementation of TOD in the inner city.

This study, therefore, proposes a TOD equity agenda, which not only lends itself to the building of sustainable communities, but addresses deeply-rooted transit equity and access issues

prevalent in the inner city. Specifically, this study outlines five essential components that compose a preliminary TOD equity agenda:

- Safety, Shelter and Sanitation at Transit Stops and Stations
- Affordable Housing and Anti-Displacement Measures
- Pedestrian-friendly Design and Zoning
- Investment in Local Businesses and Mixed-Use Projects
- Reduction of Parking Requirements and Maintenance of Green Space & Public Parks

Chapter 1: Introduction – Transit-Oriented Development in Urban America

Imagine an energetic streetscape alive with pedestrians and cyclists passing by shops, restaurants, grocery stores, schools, apartments and houses all within proximity to a wide range of transit options. Although this vision rarely typifies urban neighborhoods in the United States, American planners and community members are starting to discuss the importance of developing strategies for smart and sustainable growth. In order to combat the adverse effects of post-war suburbanization and urban sprawl on the sustainability of ,’’NwNfrgI,4LH3qf gB’,w,5Hwq3Lfq43ftgBI,L’I5Ifhg

TOD can repair the schism between housing, jobs and

and higher density that translates into a consumer market with sizeable purchasing power.[8] America's inner city, therefore, offers a very conducive setting for TOD.

The greatest challenge facing TOD in the inner city, however, is strengthening the economic development and transit infrastructure in urban neighborhood without gentrifying them. Although TOD seeks to establish sustainable neighborhoods that raise the quality of life for the surrounding community, often the demographics of the surrounding community shift from low-income to middle- and high-income as TOD projects usher in economic development and more attractive residential options. Ultimately, America's TOD movement has yet to define its social and economic equity agenda, which should not only orient Americans away from their

space."[9] TOD has the potential to address these community concerns and create livable, walkable

however, many experts are starting to agree that TOD has the potential to increase the mobility of inner city residents by providing access to transit and thus access to jobs and services.[12]

In Hess and Lombardi's 2004 literature review of barriers to TOD in the inner city, they claim that the lack of literature and research surr

outcomes.[15] Without standards, argues that successful TOD is "the result of clever exceptionalism, and beyond the reach of most communities or developers."[16]

Furthermore, in Loukaitou-Sideris's 2000 Delphi survey[17] in which she sets out to identify the goals of and barriers facing TOD in the inner city, the first round of questions resulted in an extremely wide range of responses from a panel of TOD experts. The initial variety of responses regarding the goals of TOD demonstrates that the concept of TOD is "loaded with a variety of expectations" that include:[18]

Economic goals (generate revenue for the transit authority, the developer, the community)

Environmental goals (air quality, sustainability, reduction of sprawl, energy conservation)

Social goals (transit/housing choices, mobility, accessibility, social interaction)

Planning/transportation goals (land-use/transportation coordinationI,L'q3qf gB',qLNI'Nfgg5,'q3Lfag4,''

resident and workers to travel by transit, bicycle or foot.[19] TOD design configurations and land uses "emphasize a pedestrian-oriented environment and reinforce the use of public transportation." [20]

Although Calthorpe outlines the fundamental ideas underlying TOD, his definition describes the TOD vision rather than prescribing specific methods and techniques regarding the execution this type of development. The lack of comprehensive guidelines and goals is clearly one of the TOD movement's greatest weaknesses.

2.2 Benefits of, Challenges Facing and Primary Players in Today's TOD Movement

In May 2002, the California Department of Transportation released a comprehensive study of TOD that outlines its overall potential benefits. According to this study, TOD:[21]

- Provides a variety of mobility options
- Increases transit ridership and thus reduces rates of vehicle miles traveled
- Reduces air pollution and energy consumption rates
- Conserves resource land and open space by encouraging dense growth
- Increases households' disposable incomes by lowering transportation expenditures
- Contributes to more affordable housing
- Increases public safety by creating active and busy streets; and
- Plays a role in economic development.

Furthermore, the Washington D.C.-based Transit Cooperative Research Program published a comprehensive overview of TOD in 2004 with leading TOD researcher Robert Cervero as its

[19] Peteee3NB4,H''qwfPgBC''4Lw34eeeace

principle author. The report argues that TOD is a necessary tool to curb sprawl, reduce traffic congestion, increase profits for land and business owners near transit stations, and "[revitalize] declining neighborhoods."[22]

In Peter Calthorpe's foreword to

TOD literature asserts that the current challenges and barriers facing TOD reflect the

2.3 TOD in the Inner City

Although the Delphi survey concluded that TOD should be a means to "combat inner city decline and bring about positive change,"[36] studies have shown that the mere presence of a transit line does not necessarily facilitate economic development, housing options and job opportunities into depressed, inner city neighborhoods. Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee's 2000 study of the Blue Line, which connects Los Angeles and Long Beach and passes through some of the most neglected, low-income neighborhoods in Los Angeles County, concludes that establishment the Blue Line alone was not enough to bring about positive change in the inner city communities along the transit corridor, especially since the line is situated along an abandoned rail line that traverses across large industrial areas with low density. The authors argue that it takes more than the construction of a transit line to spur economic development in the inner city; it takes strategic placement of station areas in dense, pedestrian-friendly locations, comprehensive design plans for station areas, institutional commitment from the private and public sectors, and community involvement to combat inner city decline with TOD.[37]

Despite these barriers, the inner city provides many advantages to investors and developers that are not present in suburban communities. TOD in the inner city has immense potential for success due to the naturally higher concentration of residents, jobs and other business amenities and services all within proximity to one another. Hess and Lombardi argue that "TOD is less likely to succeed in places with few amenities to claim as a locational advantage, which further strengthens arguments for urban locations (with higher densities and mixed land use) over suburban locations." [38] Although building transit corridors in suburban

avoids connecting already existing activity centers to transit and contributes to the fragmentation of America's cities.

2.4 TOD's Missing Equity Agenda

The challenges facing TOD in America's inner city demonstrates the lack of focus on social and economic equity in today's TOD movement. Although the expansive amount of TOD literature provides a comprehensive overview of the current status of TOD in the United States, community interests, class/race dynamics and transit equity issues are largely absent from the literature. Although the California Department of Transportation mentions an increase of affordable housing as a component of TOD, it neglects to discuss direct economic and social benefits that TOD can have within the surrounding community. Furthermore, the 2004 Transit

and most other current TOD literature excludes urban, low-income communities

3.1 History of TOD and Transit Equity in American Cities

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, streetcar lines and interurban rail replaced walking and horse-drawn carts as the primary modes of transportation. These new transit systems greatly increased the physical boundaries of most major American cities and gave rise to new opportunities for mobility and community development.[48] Along the transit corridors, private developers built retail and recreational amenities to serve commuters and local communities. Streetcar sw

3.2 Transit Inequity in the Inner City

"All transit is not created equal," says transit equity expert and advocate Robert Bullard argues,[58] In his 2003 article, "New Routes to Transportation Equity," Bullard describes how class and racial segregation within America's public transit system explains the relative abundance of public investment in urban rail systems and the lack of spending on the improvement and expansion of inner city bus systems:

> Most transit systems have tended to take their low-income and people of color "captive riders" for granted and concentrated their fare and service policies on attracting middle-class and affluent riders out of their cars. Moreover, transit subsidies have tended to favor investment in suburban transit and expensive new commuter bus and rail lines that disproportionately serve wealthier "discretionary riders."[59]

Bullard and many other transit equity authors argue that public funding for transit is aimed at attracting these "discretionary riders" (i.e. middle- and upper-class Americans who are not dependent on public transit but occasionally choose to use it) away from the freeways rather than on improving the already existing transit infrastructure for America's "captive riders"(i.e. low-income, nonwhite, inner city residents largely dependent on public transit). As a review of TOD

highways and 20% for public transit.[60] This unequal allocation of federal transportation funding clearly supports America's auto-users and neglects its inner city transit-users. The fact that transportation is the second largest household expenditure in America (behind housing) and disproportionately burdens low-income and poor population compounds this unfair distribution of federal transportation funding. Furthermore, starting primarily in the 1950s and 1960s, city planners and road builders constructed major highways through low-income, nonwhite, urban communities.[61] By building physical barriers through residential neighborhoods, federal dollars

Chapter 4: Los Angeles – A Transit-Oriented Metropo

4.1 An Original Transit Town

Beneath Los Angeles' infamous network of freeways lies the remains of an expansive rail system. In the early 20th century, the Pacific Electric Railway Company established the region's wide-ranging transit system connecting all of Southern California's major urban centers. Since the rail lines were the region's primary mode of transportation, interurban transit became embedded in the region's landscape. At its peak, the rail lines were running 6,000 streetcars a day on 115 routes spanning over 1,000 miles of track.[68] By 1910, the Pacific Electric Railway was the largest interurban system in the country, m

periphery of the city's urban core. In order to boost the value of his newly obtained land, Huntington built transit corridors connecting his suburban property to downtown Los Angeles. Huntington not only raised the land value on the metropolitan fringe, but created suburban communities deeply reliant on transit for mobility and access to the urban core. In

suburban communities took even more funding away from urban bus services. In addition to the shift of investment from bus to rail, many factors led to the decline of the city's bus service, including ever-present auto-oriented transportation planning choices and social and cultural factors that stigmatize the bus as transit for the poor and "[create] a climate of vulnerability and fear for bus riders."[82] Since Los Angeles' bus riders are a majority low-income, nonwhite inner city residents, as Eric Mann describes in several essays on transit inequity in Los Angeles, the disinvestment in the city's bus system reveals institutionalized racial discrimination against minority transit users. Mann argues that buses have become an avenue of last resort for Los Angeles' inner city residents, and as the city's urban poor becomes increasingly nonwhite, so does bus ridership.[83] Los Angeles' low-income, nonwhite urban residents, therefore, bear the greatest burdens from the recent investment shift from bus to rail.

Although the "bus versus rail" debate only recently came to light in the late 1980s and 1990s, the establishment of the Los Angeles County Transportation Commission (LACTC) in 1976 as a complementary yet essentially competitive agency to the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) institutionalized the city's early transit dichotomy. MTA was responsible for the oversight of bus services, while LACTC was primarily responsible for rail lines. With two agencies handling the same pool of funding for public transit in Los Angeles, the allocation of public dollars be

institutionalization of "bus versus rail" led to divergent and disproportionate funding between low-income, nonwhite communities and more affluent, white, suburban communities.[84]

Today, MTA, recently renamed Metro, plans, constructs and operates public transit across Los Angeles County.[85] (Each incorporated city in the County has its own separate bus service in addition to Metro's transit system.) Even though bus services and rail lines are now under one umbrella, Metro has recently shifted funding from bus to rail in order to attract middle-class auto-users away from the roads and onto the trains. Consequently, Metro has cut a number of bus lines and increased fares, leading to longer wait times and overcrowding of bus lines. Additionally, many bus stops have limited lighting and no type of shelter, often attracting crime.[86] The favoritism of rail lines and neglect of buses disproportionately isolates and hinders the mobility of inner city residents. In 1996, the community-based Bus Riders' Union settled a lawsuit against Metro for racial discrimination against Los Angeles' nonwhite, urban residents by funding new rail lines while discarding many bus services. [87] Although the case established a precedent for transit equity in American cities, Metro still favors the development of new rail over the maintenance and growth of its bus system.

The recent development of rail, however, has ushered in a region-wide interest in TOD. As mentioned in previous chapters, planners and developers embark upon TOD projects around

TOD directly into the City's General Plan, and more specifically, into its local Community Plans.

growth patterns while balancing the unique character of individual communities.”

5.1 Methodology

In order to gain a comprehensive picture of the diverse perspectives regarding the implementation of TOD in Los Angeles' urban neighborhoods, particularly in Westlake, research for this study included both qualitative methods, including interviews and photo documentation, and quantitative methods, including the collection of 2006 U.S. Census data as to explore the relationships between transit corridors and transit ridership in Westlake.

Formal interviews with representatives from Metro, the Los Angeles Department of City Planning, the Central City Neighborhood Partners, the Department of Urban Planning at the UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research, as well as several informal interviews with community members and residents of Westlake at community meetings and at the street level occurred between January and March of 2008. (See Appendix C for a comprehensive summary of the primary interview questions.) On March 3, the Los Angeles Department of City Planning held an Environmental Impact Report scoping meeting as part of the community plan update process at the MacArthur Park Recreation Center. Although the meeting was designated to a relatively specific component of the community plan, Westlake community members and residents shared a plethora of important issues that they think are crucial to address in the Westlake Community Plan update, much of which appears in the following case study.

5.2 Westlake Community Profile

Located directly west of downtown, Westlake is one of Los Angeles' most vibrant yet severely underserved inner city neighborhoods. As the 1997 Westlake Community Plan describes, the area contains many assets, including substantial commercial development, pedestrian-oriented activity and a large, public recreational space, MacArthur Park. Due to perceived risk and stigma

surrounding development in the inner city, however, Westlake suffers from severe public and private disinvestment. As a result, Westlake residents are forced to cope with unsanitary streets, inadequate transit facilities, and a severe shortage of affordable housing.

Lifelong Westlake resident and community advocate, Evelin Montes, says, “People see Westlake as blighted, but it’s because we aren’t getting serviced proportional to density.” Although Westlake occupies less than 1% (approximately 3.17 square miles[95]) of the land in the City,[96] the total population is 117,884, resulting in the most densely populated neighborhood in Los Angeles, with a population density of 37,237 people per square mile.[97] According to the Los Angeles Department of City Planning, over 95% of Westlake residents are nonwhite: 77.56% Hispanic/Latino, 12.82% Asian, 4.02% Black and 1.41% other races.[98] Like many inner city

primary transportation option. Until the installation of Los Angeles' freeway infrastructure in the 1950s, Westlake remained a popular recreational area and weekend destination for the city's middle- and upper-class residents. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Westlake's "turquoise lake and colorful rowboats" in MacArthur Park symbolized the area as an urban oasis.[101]

In conjunction with many other inner city neighborhoods in Los Angeles, including Wilshire Center (now Koreatown) and downtown's Bunker Hill district, the dismantling of Pacific Electric's streetcar system and the construction of Los Angeles' network of freeways triggered the flight of Westlake's affluent, white residents to West Los Angeles and other suburbs. Consequently, the lack of access to transit and jobs isolated Westlake's low-income, nonwhite community in Los Angeles' increasingly str

exemplifies an inner city neighborhood wrought with transit inequity, and thus a lack of access to many services and amenities. In response to the “deplorable and unfair” living conditions, a member of the Los Angeles community-based advocacy group asserts, “Westlake needs to plan for housing, jobs and transportation amenities that serve already existing residents,” rather than drawing in affluent outsiders with the development of attractive housing and transit options. Another resident agrees, “We need to plan for the future of current Westlake residents. We want to see development and better living conditions, but we want to be the ones receiving the benefits.” eB3’,q5NwfagBL,’3I53fNDiF#5 gB’,qLnftgBI,L’4H4frgI,4Lw4Lfa8ogB’,5Hwq3Lft33k

In Los Angeles County, the Metro (the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transit Authority) bus system serves 30,093,689 monthly riders.[108] In Westlake, three separate agencies currently provide bus services: Metro, LADOT (the City of Los Angeles' Commuter Express and DASH), and Foothill Transit. In total, these agencies provide 37 fixed-route bus lines (29 Metro, 4 LADOT and 3 Foothill Transit routes) to the Westlake Community Plan Area.[109] Assistant Planner Rony Giron claims that the biggest challenge to improving Westlake's transit infrastructure is "[coordinating] between the different transit agencies

Westlake and Pico Union, most bus stops in Westlake have only the requisite sign, while only about one third (36%) have a bench and only one fifth (19%) have a shelter. Where benches do exist, many are made of hard concrete and often get too hot and unsanitary to use. Community members also feel that "bus stops are unsafe, lack lighting, and are dirty with trash and graffiti."[111] Ultimately, the current state of bus stops in Westlake "make residents feel that the City and [Metro] do not respect them enough to create stops that are at a minimum functional, and better yet, comfortable."[112] Since residents use buses to go to work as well as run daily errands, such as going to the grocery store, it is unacceptable to have substandard bus stops without shelters or even benches.

In June 2007, local community organizations CCNP, Livable Places, Coalition LA and Collective SPACE organized a Westlake "Walk About," in which they engaged a group of community members in "creating systematic change" to make Westlake a healthy, walkable place to live and work. By walking the main commercial and transit corridors, community members assessed the streets in terms of pedestrian-friendliness. Specifically, they assessed the presence and absence of crosswalks, the potential for accidents between cars and pedestrians, and the appropriateness oHw4fsgB3,HNwINHwq3Lfgg5,3HLwLfrg4,''Hq43fwHg',3'45HNfbgBfsgB3,HNwIN

and cyclists avoiding dangerous roadways.[115] Additionally, many community members commented on the lack of landscaping, lighting, green space in addition to eroding sidewalks and deteriorating building facades, making Westlake "often unpleasant to walk around."

Pedestrians traversing Beverly Blvd without crosswalks and other pedestrian-friendly amenities [Photo courtesy of]

Unsanitary and unsafe alley contributing to the poor aesthetics and pedestrian-unfriendly environment in Westlake [Photo courtesy of]

Westlake resident and community advocate Evelin Montes concludes that Westlake is "unique, because it is highly pedestrian-oriented, but not pedestrian-friendly." Although Westlake contains an extremely high volume of daily pedestrian traffic, as the Westlake Walk About revealed, conditions for pedestrians are not particularly safe or aesthetically enjoyable. Since almost every intersection and boulevard is also a major thruway into downtown, Montes argues, pedestrians take a backseat to automobile traffic traversing Westlake every day. Westlake's heavy amount of automobile traffic poses high risk to and unfavorable conditions for local pedestrians.

[115] Jennifer Allen and Stephanie Taylor, , 6.

Westlake/MacArthur Park Metro Red Line Station

Opening in January 1993, the Metro Red Line subway now connects downtown Los Angeles to North Hollywood and traverses Westlake along the Wilshire commercial corridor. The Red Line has a total of 3,361,425 monthly boardings, which accounts for nearly half of Metro rail ridership in Los Angeles County.[116] The Westlake/MacArthur Park station, located directly across from the park on Alvarado Street betwe’3ftgBI,L’qLL’I5IfogB’,5If g’t we’3ftgBI,L’qLL’I5IfogB’,qwLI’3ffogB’,5If

as part of the community plan update process at the MacArthur Park Recreation Center, a prominent community landmark in Westlake, drawing numerous and diverse residents, each with their own stories. As resident after resident stepp

development, and the community meetings held as part of the community plan update process provide a venue in which community members can express their concerns.

After living in Westlake for over 15 years, an elderly woman has recently noticed “whites moving in and Latinos moving out.” Many residents fear that future development improvements are only going to serve those currently moving into Westlake rather than already existing residents “because we are slowly in the process of

availability of housing options has severely impacted Westlake residents. At March's community meeting, Evelin Montes tried to dispel the stigma surrounding affordable housing by describing that it is not about housing for poor people, but about building a sustainable and equitable community. Instead of living in "slum conditions," affordable housing increases the disposable incomes of renters, which they re-invest into the community. As Matthew Valdez at the LA Housing Partnership commented, "We need to redefine affordable housing and create incentives to build affordably by providing tax credits to developers."

In addition to Westlake's lack of affordable and healthy housing options, residents sought to address the unfriendly conditions for pedestrians. At March's public meeting, residents raised the idea of narrowing the streets and expanding green space in order to increase the walkability of Westlake. Additionally, as some community members at the meeting suggested, the City needs to mitigate the daily influx of motor vehicle traffic by designating different street types, such as creating bus only lanes, and changing zoning, which currently favors the automobile. These measures prioritize the pedestrian and thus reflect and serve the needs of the current Westlake residents.

Local residents also urged the City to address the issue of parking, which "plagues" by shifting the focus away from the pedestrian and toward automobile-oriented zoning. We don't need any more parking, more parking brings more cars," says a Coalition LA member. "Instead, we need to think about creating walkable, livable communities." By investing in a livable Westlake, as Allegra Padilla with Homies Unidos describes, "we are celebrating the diversity of the neighborhood."

5.5 Westlake: An Opportunity for Equity in TOD

With Los Angeles' expanding population and housing crisis, as Los Angeles-based TOD expert Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris asserts, "we need to think about new models of development in which we build new housing near public transit…But TOD [projects] don't come together over night, especially in the inner city." TOD requires private and public partnerships in which nonprofits have an equal voice to government agencies and developers. Loukaitou-Sideris explains that the construction of transit lines does not necessarily attract development. "And if developers do come," she adds, "it's not like they want to build affordable housing." For this reason, the public sector is in the best position to implement TOD and affordable housing by providing incentives to developers and investors. If the public sector requires a certain percentage of affordable housing, then TOD can be beneficial to inner city neighborhoods. Loukaitou-Sideris argues if the public sector requires a certain amount of affordable housing, then Westlake can continue to house its current residents, deflect gentrification and uphold its diverse cultural fabric.

James Rojas confirms that one of the greatest disadvantages and challenges to TOD in the inner city is residential displacement and gentrification. Evelin Montes agrees that although TOD is beneficial to urban communities because it spurs much-needed economic development, "TOD also spurs urban revitevdet4,''wI4flgBI,L'I5IflgBwq3Lf gB3',q5NwfHlLNqqNfag4,''Og',q3qf gB',qL5HHwfsg

back to the city. Westlake's favorable location and assets puts the community at risk of gentrification and residential displacement. In order to curb these trends, Rojas suggests that planners and developers employ strategies to mitigate the risk of gentrification, such as "[examining social activities on the streets and in the community." For instance, "building into the [community] plan" would directly reflect the local Westlake community in the

2000 Delphi Survey argues, the essential components for successful TOD in the inner city include public-private partnerships, a proactive planning department, community support and financial support and commitment from local government.[123] Many studies, including Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee's 2000 study of Metro's Blue Line, have shown that "even in good economic times, a transit line cannot, by its mere presence, catalyze a miracle in the inner city."[124] The public sector, therefore, plays a vital role in the successful implementation of TOD in inner city neighborhoods. In addition to providing financial support for the offsetting of development costs in the inner city, the public sector is necessary in creating a more balanced playing field through land-use policy and subsidy programs so TOD in urban communities can compete with suburban development, which is "perceived as having lower risks and costs."[125] Since the Los Angeles community plan process relies on the partnership between local community members and public agencies in the crafting of local public policy, the Westlake Community Plan Update provides a timely and important vehicle for the successful implementation of TOD.

Although the Metro Red Line holds the potential to activate TOD and lead to public and private reinvestment in Westlake, the Red Line does not play as significant a role in the daily lives of residents as do its main bus lines. Since Westlake residents do not necessarily rely upon the Red Line in comparison with the bus system, the City needs to think about new models of TOD, such as developing around the main bus stops in addition to developing around the Westlake/MacArthur Park Red Line station. The September 2006 CCNP Transportation Plan argues that the intersection of Wilshire and Alvarado, which contains a Metro Rapid Bus service and local Metro and DASH bus lines in addition to the Westlake/MacArthur Park station,

[123] Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Transit-Oriented Development in the Inner City: A Delphi Survey," 90.
[124] Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Transit-Oriented Development in the Inner City: A Delphi Survey," 91.
[125] Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Transit-Oriented Development in the Inner City: A Delphi Survey," 93.

provides an excellent opportunity for TOD. With the intersection's "steady stream of pedestrian traffic and easy access to rail and bus transit systems,"[126] this area contains an already existing infrastructure within which to build TOD.

The City Redevelopment Agency (CRA) and Metro recently submitted a $40 million proposal for a mixed-use development at the Westlake/MacArthur Park station, which includes 199 affordable housing units, a 434 space parking structure and 50,400 square feet of retail space.[127] While this proposal provides a significant number of "affordable" housing units, the construction of a massive parking structure does not reflect community interests or reflect the need to create a more transit-oriented and pedestrian-friendly Westlake. Instead, as the CCNP argues, development at the Wilshire and Alvarado intersection should aim to create a "transit village," which would direct investment toward the improvement of transit facilities as well as enhancing pedestrian linkages between bus stops, the park, shops and restaurants. TOD at the Wilshire and Alvarado intersection would also address streetscape safety and aesthetics by improving sidewalk and street paving, landscaping, street lighting, and the sanitation/comfort of transit stops.[128]

By implementing TOD in Westlake, the City can address community concerns regarding housing, walkability and aesthetics of the community. As an inner city neighborhood, Westlake is very suitable for TOD because it contains a highly transit-oriented infrastructure consisting of major transit corridors. Additionally, Westlake contains a very transit-dependent population, so it makes sense to provide housing near transit. However, Loukaitou-Sideris notes that it is important to uus tion to developing in the inner city; there are also possibilities for joint development projects, for instance, in which private-public

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partnerships fund in development, primarily around

Chapter 6 – Policy Recommendations: An Equity Agenda for TOD

In Joe Grengs' 2002 article discussing Los Angeles' transit equity movement, he posits, "Should transit get drivers out of their cars, or should it serve people who have few transportation alternatives?"[129] Likewise, should TOD provide high-rise condos and upscale shops and restaurants around rail lines to white, suburban Americans, or should it provide alternative transportation options and access to jobs, schools, grocery stores, healthcare facilities, parks and other services to low-income, nonwhite, transit-dependent urban communities? As the Westlake case s

space, the community plan is well equipped to implement TOD in the inner city. The following five elements compose a preliminary TOD equity agenda, which focuses on enhancing access to social wrd’Nfg5d34fwr3qflgBI,L’q3qf gB’,qLNINf gB’,qLNI’Nfcg4,’’H’q3Lfag4,’’wI5L4fcg4,’’H’3fogB’,5Hv

dependent on public transit. Additionally, community plan updates for Los Angeles' inner city neighborhoods can mitigate the risk of gentrification by implementing inclusionary zoning to raise the in-lieu fee and/or require on-site construction of affordable housing for developers.

TOD in both suburban and urban environments aims to create walkable communities. In its analysis of the relationship between TOD and the pedestrian, suggests, "If transit is inserted into a healthy pedestrian environment, then pedestrians can easily become transit riders."[133] The authors further argue that pedestrians will only become transit users if the area has some density and interconnected streets. Inner city neighborhoods, however, already contain high density, connected transit corridors a

development plan, specifically for the purpose of creating space for the vendors that remains within the community but out of the way of pedestrian traffic.

In order to preserve the uniqueness of the local community, TOD in the inner city and community plans needs to target local businesses, merchants and vendors rather than cater to outside business incentives. Additionally, by making local storefronts aesthetically appealing through mixed-use development, TOD enhances the walkability of the neighborhood and benefits local residents while preserving the character of the community.

2

Parking requirements, which require developers to provide a certain number of parking spaces per retail or residential unit, often deter developers from initiating TOD in the inner city. Many inner city residents agree that parking requirements are too high for urban areas that are already rich with transportation options. Since many inner city residents do not even use a car as their primary mode of transportation, as one inner city resident suggested in the Westlake case study, the City of Los Angeles needs to "phase out" surface parking on the street level. Instead of requiring the construction of parking lots and structures to accompany the development of housing and commercial amenities, the City needs to enhance the transit infrastructure to adequately reflect the needs and lifestyles of inner city residents and contribute to the sustainability of urban neighborhoods.

The reduction of parking requirements also provides more available land for public parks and green space in urban communities. Open space and landscaping improves the aesthetics of the surrounding built and natural environments and raises the pedestrian experience in the inner city. Since there is often a lack of open space in dense inner city neighborhoods, TOD can place

need for affordable housing with the need to diversify the city into economically integrated communities."[135] Cities cannot halt middle-class migration back to the urban core, nor do they wish to, but through community involvement in planning processes, municipalities can incorporate the voices of already existing residents into the planning strategies for the future growth for their neighborhoods. If planners frame TOD as a means to remedy inequities in the inner city rather than a means to serve a renewed middle-class affinity for urban rail, then the TOD movement will be able to develop and utilize an equity agenda in the inner city. By assessing and addressing the current conditions in Los Angeles' inner city neighborhoods, particularly in Westlake, including access to transit, affordable housing, jobs, schools, parks and services, the Los Angeles Department of City Planning can establish and execute an equity agenda in its low-income, transit-dependent community plan areas.

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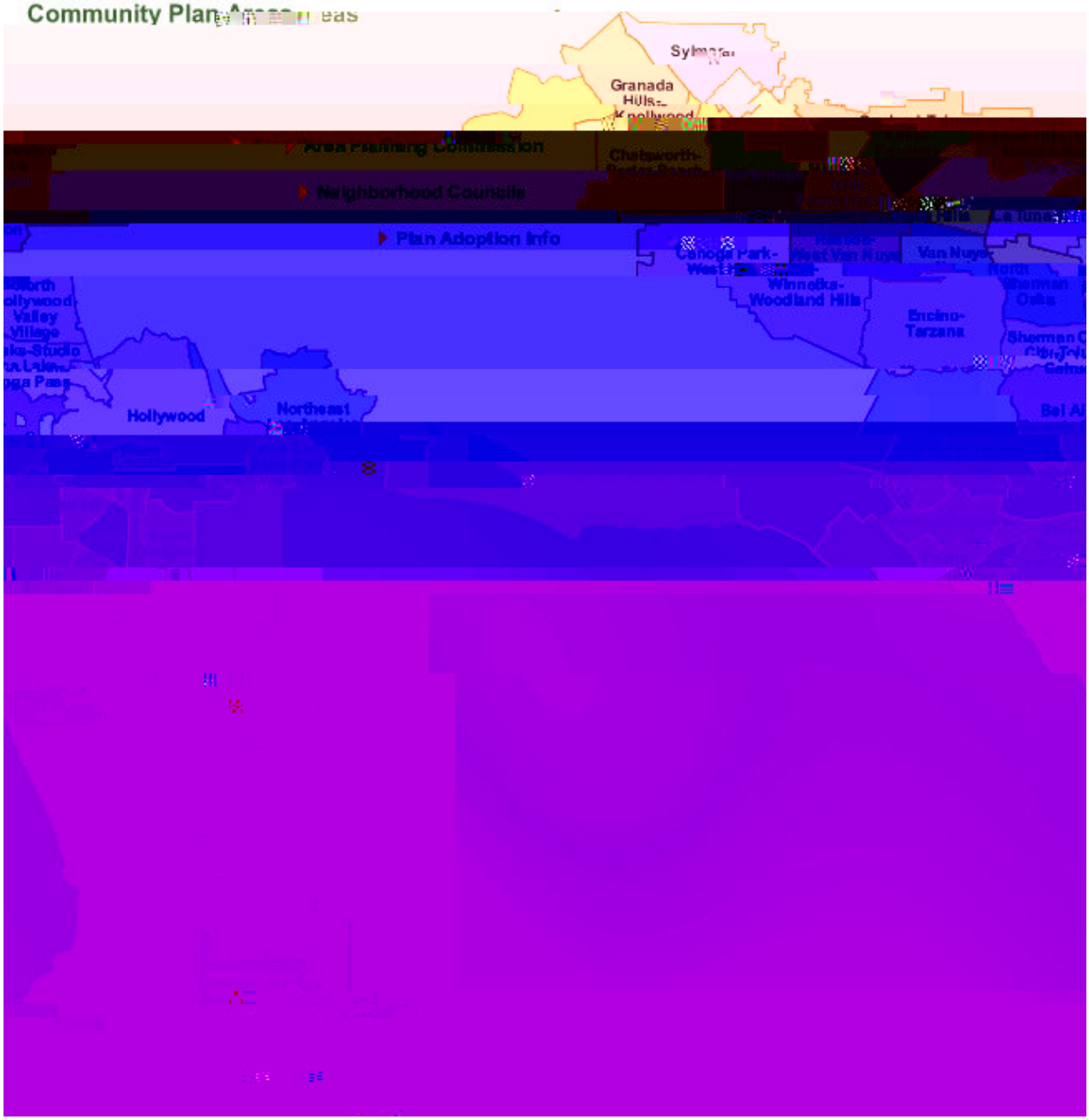
Appendix A – Los Angeles Community Plan Areas

Community Plan Area	Date of Last Update
Arleta - Pacoima	November 6, 1996
Bel Air - Beverly Crest	November 6, 1996
Boyle Heights	November 10, 1998
Brentwood - Pacific Palisades	June 17, 1998
Canoga Park-Winnetka-Woodland Hills-West Hills	August 17, 1999
Central City	April 21, 2005
Central City North	December 15, 200
Chatsworth - Porter Ranch	September 4, 1993
Encino - Tarzana	December 16, 1998
Granada Hills-Knollwood	July 10, 1996
Harbor Gateway	December 6, 1995
Hollywood	December 18, 1988
Los Angeles World Airport (LAX)	December 14, 2005
Mission Hills - Panorama City - North Hills	June 9, 1999
North Hollywood - Valley Village	May 14, 1996
Northeast Los Angeles	June 15, 1999
Northridge	February 24, 1998
Palms - Mar Vista - Del Rey	September 16, 1997
Port of Los Angeles	Not Available
Reseda - West Van Nuys	November 17, 1999
San Pedro	

Appendix B – Map of Los Angeles Community Plan Areas



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