

PROSPERING

in PLACE



Prospering in Place: Linking Jobs, Development, and Transit to Spur Chicago's Economy

**PREPARED BY
THE CENTER FOR NEIGHBORHOOD TECHNOLOGY
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COVER: BERWYN, IL *Photo by reallyboring/Flickr*

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PLACES MATTER. But for decades our region disregarded its historic, compact, transit-served neighborhoods in favor of urban sprawl with its dependence on cars and cheap gas. When the economy was growing, the cost of this shift was less apparent, but stagnant incomes, high unemployment, and historic fuel prices have exposed the long term folly of this development strategy.

The answer to this problem is location efficiency: our legacy development pattern with its respectful use of scarce land and energy, its appreciation for interaction and community, and a high esteem for the mass transit system that served it so well. In this “back to the future” scenario, we live closer to where we work; take transit, rather than drive; strengthen walkable neighborhoods that meet needs locally; and celebrate the vitality of compact, diverse communities linked together by fast, convenient, and affordable transit.

Prospering in Place is CNT’s call to action. It embraces the goals of the Chicago region’s *GO TO 2040* plan and translates them into a place-based blueprint for prosperity. It shows how to restore location efficiency and create new jobs and economic vitality based on our unique assets and advantages:

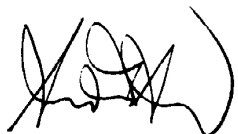
- The most robust freight rail network in the country,
- The second largest passenger rail system in the country,
- Ample land adjacent to both systems available for development, and
- A culture that increasingly values a vibrant urban lifestyle.

A prosperous regional future depends on our ability to target investments, both private and public, to the specific places with these assets. *Prospering in Place* uses quantitative and qualitative analysis to identify those priority locations that can accelerate the region’s economic development and concludes with five key recommendations:

1. **Identify Priority Areas:** Designate as Priority Development Areas (PDAs) the places in the region that are ready for investment and have the ability to energize the region around *GO TO 2040* goals.
2. **Align Government Initiatives:** Align investments by state, regional, and local agencies with a special focus on PDAs.
3. **Invest in Priority Areas:** Establish a \$1 billion competitive Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP) Sustainable Communities Initiative that awards capital grants to implement projects in PDAs.
4. **Expand Transit:** Put a permanent new revenue source in place to fund a large-scale expansion and upgrading of the region’s transit system.
5. **Fund Pre-Development:** Make dedicated funding available to underwrite the most difficult-to-fund phase of development: predevelopment costs such as land assembly and environmental remediation.

This scenario faces one major obstacle: an unwillingness to make strategic development choices. The easy path is to spread limited resources evenly across the region to make every community happy. But this approach will squander the historic opportunity to target resources where the conditions are right for development and where the benefits to the region as a whole are greatest.

Prospering in Place calls for investment in the places with the best chance of success. It takes the risk of identifying the specific communities, the CTA and Metra stations, the intermodal rail yards, and the industrial areas that can create the greatest value, strengthen the regional economy, and produce the largest number of jobs. We invite you to work with us to bring this economic development strategy to life.



Scott Bernstein, President



Kathryn Tholin, CEO

Development Patterns Put Prosperity at Risk

Bold transportation investments built the economy and communities of northeastern Illinois. Investors constructed the Illinois & Michigan Canal while public officials platted towns like Joliet and Lockport to handle the coming traffic. Nine railroads came together to select the site of the Chicago Stockyards, and working class communities sprung up around it. But this link between transportation, land use, and the economy became severed in the second half of the 20th century.

During this period, the Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS) and the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC) developed separate land-use and transportation policies that fostered unbridled suburban expansion. Federal and state transportation agencies came to see their transportation investments as maintaining capacity and flow, rather than strengthening connections and trade. New communities began to grow at the expense of old ones. People and jobs drifted apart from each other.



A Growing Divide Between People, Jobs, and Transit

The movement of jobs away from historic transportation hubs has made highways the best, in some cases the only, way for employees to get to work. The number of jobs within a 10-minute walk of rail stations dropped over the last decade. Between 2002 and 2008, the seven-county region of north-eastern Illinois—including Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will counties—added a net 110,314 jobs. Yet the number of total jobs within one-half mile of transit declined by 5,555. Low and moderate income workers, already burdened by the cost of driving, felt this drop most acutely. The number of jobs paying less than \$40,000 per year located within a half-mile of transit declined by 119,683, or 16 percent. This gave fewer working households a choice between car and public transportation options.

The trend had a bigger impact on blue collar jobs but did not spare white collar jobs. More than a quarter of the loss of manufacturing jobs in the Chicago region—17,000 in all—came from firms within a 10-minute walk of a train station. Highly skilled “knowledge workers” have been shown to have among the highest transit ridership rates for their commutes. However even here, the Chicago region posted a decline of 19,469 knowledge jobs within walking distance of transit between 2002 and 2008. Only four sectors of the economy experienced modest growth in the share of jobs

near transit: management of companies, arts and entertain-ment, accommodation and food services, and government.

The development patterns that separated workers and employers now threaten Chicago’s economy. Strapped households unwittingly foot the bill for higher transportation costs associated with longer commutes and daily errands, both of which increasingly require a car. Businesses pay the price in employee turnover as they try to woo workers to suburban locations that lack housing affordable to the full range of open positions and that sit just beyond the reach of reliable public transportation. Local governments pick up the tab as they overextend themselves for roads, lights, sewers, and water mains in new communities, while existing ones with this infrastructure already in place go begging for development.

In sum, the Chicago region is suffering the consequences of past development decisions in the form of dollars leak-ing from our economy. Looking toward the future, CNT estimates that accommodating 50 percent of our population growth through 2040 in compact mixed use developments rather than low density, single use developments will save the region an additional \$1.5 billion per year in household transportation costs alone. Dollars siphoned from our economy for unnecessary transportation costs is but one measure of what ails our region.

TABLE 1
Change in jobs by earnings,
2002 - 2008

Sources: *Center for Transit-Oriented Development TOD Database, Center for Neighborhood Technology*

Geography	<\$15K	\$15K - \$40K	\$40K+
Northeastern Illinois	-11%	-9%	24%
Half Mile Transit Areas	-15%	-17%	23%

Chicago's Economy Lags Behind the Nation's

Chicago has long prided itself on having a diverse and robust economy. But an examination of employment change in 25 of our largest manufacturing, specialized knowledge, and service sectors reveals that Chicago is outperforming the nation in only five: converted paper products, food production, employment agencies, higher education, and security firms. Industry sectors like manufacturing, freight, logistics, finance/insurance/real estate (FIRE), hospitals, and pharmaceuticals—hallmarks of our economy—all lag behind national performance.

Moreover, Chicago is losing its cachet among investors and developers surveyed as part of the Urban Land Institute's 2012 *Emerging Trends in Real Estate* report. Chicago fails to warrant a mention as one of the top prospects for gateway

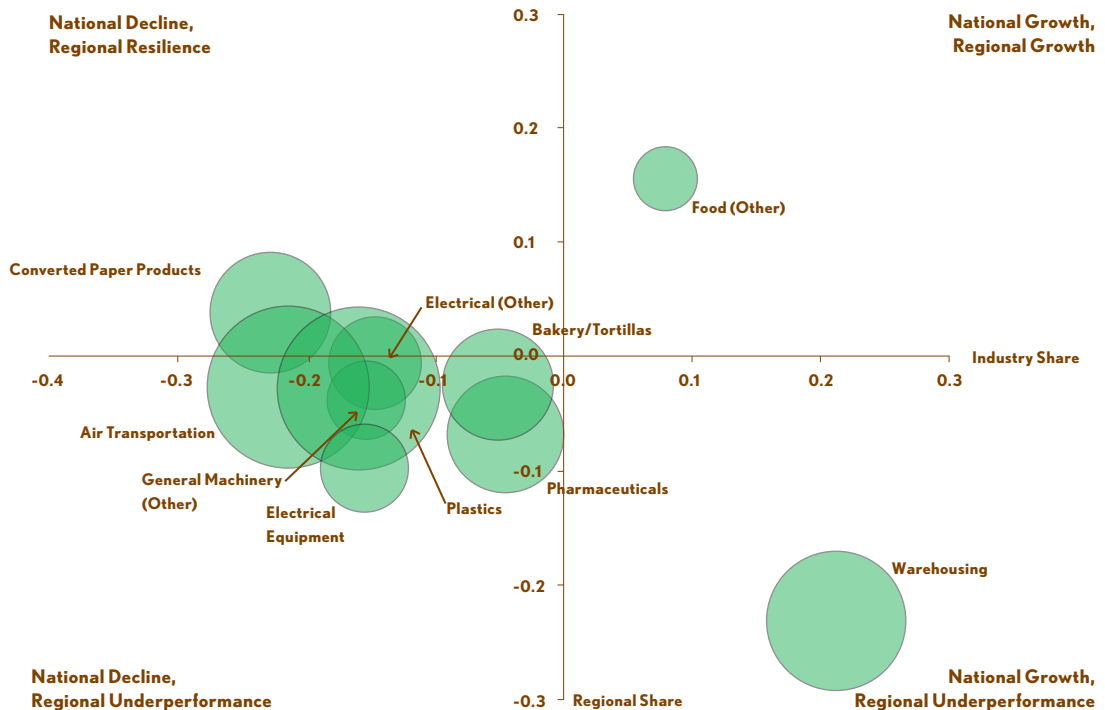
cities, jobs centers, or cool towns with vibrant, walkable residential and entertainment districts, in spite of being the third largest urban area in the country and having the second most extensive public transportation system. In fact the report states, "Chicago's heyday may be over—its ratings have slipped more than any other 24-hour market over the past decade . . ."

Fortunately for our region, the cautionary statement of investment managers everywhere that past performance is no guarantee of future results gives hope that our trajectory can change. But it is imperative that we act and act soon. CNT believes that *GO TO 2040* can represent a break from this past. It stands as Northeastern Illinois' most ambitious regional plan since Daniel Burnham's day, setting the stage

FIGURE 1
Shift-share analysis of specialized manufacturing sectors, 2003-2010

Only two of the 15 largest manufacturing sectors in the Chicago region outperformed the nation: food and converted paper products. Industries like warehousing and general machinery, generally acknowledged to be cornerstones of our manufacturing economy, lost market share when compared to the nation as a whole.

Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Current Employment Statistics, 2003-2010*



Northeastern Illinois' Economy Depends on Place-Based Action

for a new age of economic prosperity: more compact development along the region's transit corridors and in existing communities, a chance for residents to more easily access jobs and build wealth, a greater mix of transportation options, and a more efficient allocation of resources that taxpayers can afford. In October 2010, the plan won unanimous support from Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP) board members representing all seven counties.

But, strong as it is, the plan focuses on policies to the exclusion of places. It discusses economic development in terms of clusters and workforce but does not specify where it does or should occur.

GO TO 2040 offers the prospect and opportunity to break the patterns just described. Yet the Chicago metropolitan area will not thrive and grow unless the *2040* blueprint is translated into a more detailed framework that prioritizes specific places and projects and reconnects people to jobs. *Prospering in Place* is intended to complement *GO TO 2040* and other economic development plans by making explicit how better spatial efficiency can help achieve stronger economic growth. Location-efficient communities offer a range of stores, offices, and jobs—all within walking distance or a transit ride of more densely developed residential districts. Location-efficient communities are more sustainable because they enable residents to meet many daily needs with fewer cars, which are the single biggest transportation cost factor at the household level.

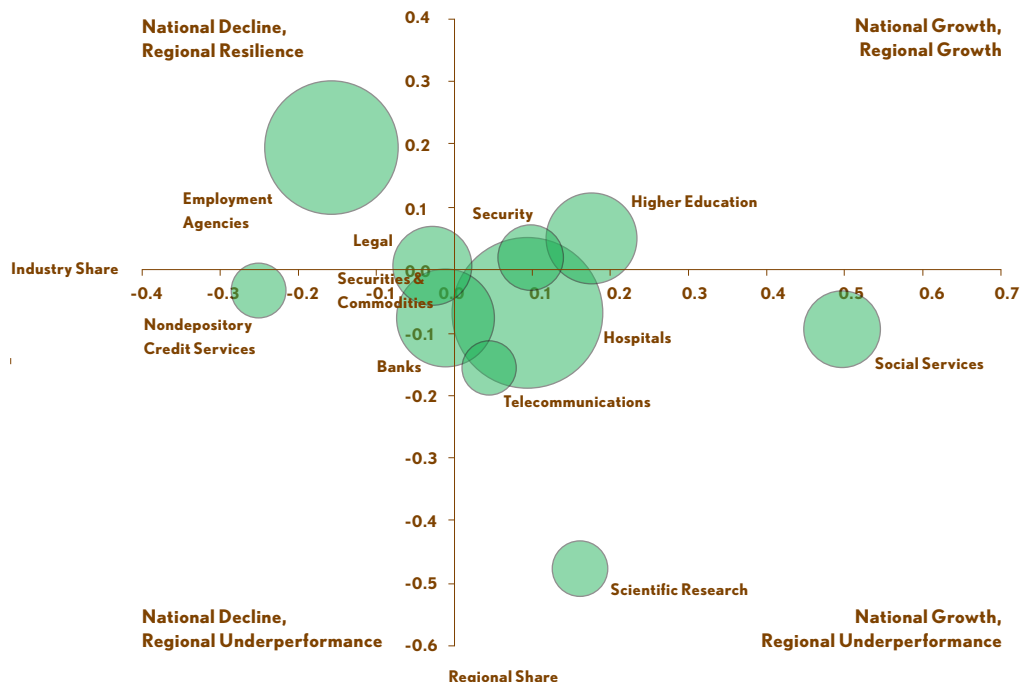


FIGURE 2
Shift-share analysis of specialized knowledge and service sectors, 2003-2010

Among the largest specialized knowledge and service sectors, only employment agencies, higher education, and security firms in the Chicago area did better than their counterparts in other US regions.

Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Current Employment Statistics, 2003-2010*

Four principles should guide public and private decisions to ensure that strategic investments lead to greater sustainability, better communities, and a stronger economy for the region:

Development and transportation investments should reduce our reliance on petroleum and lower the cost of living and doing business in our region.

Expansion of the region's freight and logistics sectors must focus as much on ensuring the efficient use and re-use of land surrounding our freight transportation corridors as it does on speeding the movement and growing the goods-handling capacity of the system.

Investments in our economy must span the diverse sectors and employment corridors that have helped our region grow and prosper—manufacturing, finance/insurance/real estate (FIRE), freight, legal services, engineering, management consulting, entertainment, and tourism—and deliver investments in the world-class transportation network essential to their continued economic growth so that the Chicago region can recapture its competitive edge.

Public, as well as private, investments in the region need to meet a rigorous Triple Bottom Line standard of economic vitality, positive environmental impact, and equitable distribution of benefits.

Prospering in Place adds to the public discussion by linking transit-oriented developments, cargo-oriented developments, and new transit connections to suburban employment centers—three key strategies for which CNT has long advocated—to the priority places where they should occur. These strategies are consistent with the 2040 plan. By reinvesting in and around the legacy rail assets that sparked the development of our region in the first place and enhancing/extending transit service to the most significant employment centers in the region, the Chicago region can institute a place-based approach to the implementation of the *GO TO 2040* plan.

Transit-oriented development (TOD) can play a key role in helping households lower the combined cost of housing and transportation. As the preferred form of development for capturing new growth, TODs will bring more people and jobs closer to transit and improve sustainability. Families that live in TODs can use transit to get to work and can



walk and bike to schools, retail, and entertainment, thereby reducing car ownership. Cities like Evanston, Palatine, and Western Springs that have approved TODs have attracted new businesses, experienced increased activity, and seen tax revenues grow. Older suburbs that grew up around rail stations were designed and built as TODs with higher densities, a greater mix of uses, and a mix of incomes but have suffered due to disinvestment and dispersed growth.

GO TO 2040 did not establish targets for the percentage of population and job growth to be captured within transit zones. CNT calls for a transit-zone capture rate of 50 percent of all regional development, which can set the region back on the path to sustainability. CNT's action plan prioritizes short-term, affordable housing and long-term TOD opportunities from among the 343 stations located outside Chicago's central business district. This categorization and ranking of stations focus the region's near-term TOD efforts on the most viable markets and the communities with the greatest demand for affordable housing, while cultivating the prospects for TOD in weaker settings.

Triple Bottom Line Performance Measures in the San Francisco Bay Area

The tightening supply of capital dollars requires the Chicago region to focus on the transportation improvements and programs that deliver the highest “triple bottom line” returns of economic development, environmental improvement, and social equity at the lowest relative cost. Northeastern Illinois cannot risk falling any further behind other regions that have elected to invest in transportation on the basis of objective performance measures.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) ranked each project in its Transportation 2035 long-range transportation plan by its benefit-cost ratio. It compared that ratio to overall project benefit and qualitative performance in the “Three E’s: Economy (reduced delays, improved maintenance, and better emergency preparedness), Environment (reductions in vehicle miles traveled and emissions), and Equity (reduced transportation costs for low- and moderate-income households). MTC’s board uses the measures to evaluate funding for one category of investments against another.



FIGURE 3
Project performance assessment



Source: US Federal Highway Administration



SAN FRANCISCO, CA
Photo by iandeth/Flickr

Four of the region's eight largest job centers—Chicago's central business district, Evanston's downtown, Hyde Park, and Niles—can all be reached by public transportation. Job growth must continue to be directed to these centers and transit service enhanced and modernized to improve regional sustainability.

Photo by vxla/Flickr



Many Chicago area communities have already embarked on this TOD journey; they should stay the course and improve upon what's already been accomplished. Others have yet to join but need to if they are concerned with their own and the region's future vitality.

Cargo-oriented development (COD), the freight sector's counterpart to TOD, brings industrial and logistics firms to communities with the freight assets to support them and the workforce to fill newly created jobs. CMAP identifies freight and logistics as a priority sector for the region's economy in the *GO TO 2040* plan and reports that the freight and logistics sector combined with freight-dependent industries account for 34 percent of private-sector employment in the region and provide \$93 billion in personal income for metropolitan residents. The Bureau of Labor Statistics expects national employment for cargo and freight agents to grow by 24 percent between 2008 and 2018, considerably faster than the average for all other occupations.

Over the last 10 years, four major logistics and intermodal centers encompassing thousands of former greenfield acres have been built at Chicago's urban fringe adjacent to new intermodal terminals. By identifying scattered infill sites in proximity to existing facilities as substitute locations, COD offers a clear alternative development strategy to meet demand for these facilities. *Prospering in Place* ranks COD opportunities within the region, showing that the most critical of these opportunities are located in minority communities with high rates of unemployment in Chicago and south Cook County that have not enjoyed the same economic growth as the rest of the region. The imperative to pursue these opportunities stems as much from the region's commitment to social justice as from its economic and environmental objectives.

Five COD projects should be financed and under construction in the first five years of the *2040* plan while land assembly and remediation activities lay the foundation for 20 additional projects to advance through the COD pipeline.



Strategic and accelerated transportation investments that better connect both urban and suburban businesses with the region’s diverse and talented workforce via public transportation will increase metropolitan Chicago’s competitiveness. As employers followed expressways to communities outside of the urban core, they have often moved to places with fewer transportation options and higher housing costs. These business location decisions require families trying to save for the future to invest in a depreciating asset—an automobile—and limit the employment options of those that can’t afford one. “Last mile” connections between existing transit stations and employers can connect more modestly priced housing to jobs centers and lessen that transportation cost burden. The right investments in our existing transit infrastructure will make the system more reliable and give businesses and workers the confidence to count on it for work commutes.

Prospering in Place builds on *GO TO 2040* and pushes its policies forward by identifying a discreet number of communities where steps can be taken now to accelerate the plan’s implementation. This target list of communities and projects is but a starting point. The region must have more TODs—everywhere, by the hundreds—if the metropolitan area is to become more affordable and sustainable. Land must be recycled and put back into productive use on a broad scale to guarantee our stewardship of Chicago’s economy and environment and to promote greater equity within the region. Existing job centers must be strengthened by directing future economic enterprises to them, building homes with more varied pricing nearby and making public transportation connections more readily available. Though not comprehensive, these three strategies demonstrate the concept of location efficiency and the opportunity costs associated with recent development trends. These strategies, however, will not yield area-wide benefits without broad regional commitment.

Getting Started

The next five years of *GO TO 2040* must provide the much-needed impetus towards *2040*'s ambitious regional goals of lower transportation costs, better transit access, acres of redeveloped land, lower unemployment, and greater economic growth by launching specific residential, commercial, and industrial development projects that will generate the strongest economic, environmental, and social justice returns. This triple bottom line should be the standard of CMAP's implementation of the plan because an economic justification alone may not pencil out in the poorest communities with the least local capacity and, potentially, the greatest environmental risk. The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) award of \$4.25 million to fund CMAP's Local Technical Assistance program affirms the region's vision for 2040 and gives the metropolitan planning organization 10 new staff members to implement the plan in individual communities.

Because land use decisions continue to be made by local communities, and transportation decisions are forged through regional consensus, CMAP cannot unilaterally change the status quo. But like other metropolitan planning organizations, it can establish policies that direct its own resources to places where redevelopment can have a catalytic impact, giving communities an incentive to think more sustainably about how they and the region should grow. The success of the *2040* plan will also depend upon engaging the diverse set of stakeholders who represent the disciplines and jurisdictions necessary to implement these redevelopment plans. Cooperation from local, state, and federal agencies, as well as the development community, is essential to reaching a critical mass in the implementation of TOD, COD, and transit service to existing employment centers.



Capturing 50 Percent of Our Growth in TODs

In contrast to communities and investors in other US metropolitan regions that have embraced TOD as a development strategy, this region has been slow to grasp its impact on neighborhood affordability, the vitality of town centers and transit corridors, congestion, and the tax base. *GO TO 2040* acknowledges the importance of our extensive public transportation assets—390 stations spread across six counties and 18 transit corridors—to our economy. The rail and bus system makes the region attractive to workers and businesses alike by providing 633 million rides a year. In 2007, over 500,000 workers used the system as their primary means of transportation to work. As a region, however, Chicago has not taken full advantage of our massive investment in public transportation—failing to concentrate people, jobs, services, and stores that are a part of daily life

along these transportation corridors and specifically within half a mile of their stations.

GO TO 2040 emphasizes the need to exploit opportunities for TOD but does not identify the locations that offer the best prospects. The plan also ambitiously aims for the redevelopment of 20,000 acres of underutilized land by 2015 but fails to prioritize where, among the region's vast supply of vacant and underperforming properties, that development should occur. CNT has evaluated the communities in the region with rail stations to bring specificity to *2040's* TOD, affordable housing, and infill development objectives and ground them in specific places. To achieve more sustainable development, the region must think big—directing at least 50 percent of our growth within a 10 minute walk of CTA and Metra stations.



Scanning for Transit-Oriented Development

Transit-oriented development reconnects communities. Residents of all incomes can find better work via transit and walk or bike to the grocery store or the day care center after hours. Taxpayers save money as governments spend less money on new roads and water and sewer infrastructure. These savings add up to big benefits for households, employers, and governments.

To identify the places to be prioritized for investment over the next five years, CNT used its Optimizer tool to rank half-mile station areas around 343 CTA and Metra stations outside Chicago's central business district for their performance in four categories of variables: transit connectivity, jobs, land use, and housing.

Station area rankings were divided into quintiles to identify key targets. The top performers in all four categories of variables emerged as short-term priorities. The affordable housing priorities surfaced from a field of 343 stations in compact, transit-served communities that are close to jobs but that have high housing costs. Long-term priorities emerged from a scan of 321 station areas and consist of those with compact land use and good transit service but weak or no market for development.

The small number of city stations on the list of short-term priorities is largely a function of the fact that the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA) has funded dozens of suburban TOD plans but fewer than 10 in Chicago over the last decade. As a result, the list does not include many city station areas with interest from private developers, like the Ravenswood station on the Union Pacific North line.
Image secured from the Office of 47th Ward Alderman Ameya Pawar



SHORT-TERM TOD PRIORITIES

The Regional Transportation Authority (RTA) has funded approximately 73 TOD plans in the last 13 years with 12 more underway. Because these communities have already reached consensus on developing their station areas more intensely and with a greater mix of uses, CMAP, the RTA, local governments, and the private sector should focus their energies and resources on the immediate market opportunities among them. CNT's short-term development scan focused on communities with RTA plans to identify 24 station areas in 12 municipalities with a clear intention to foster TOD within their borders and strong enough markets to be the region's best prospects for near-term development.

These top prospects share a mix of stable to strong property values, walkable business districts, transit service, and a critical mass of consumers to support retail. They include older communities like Blue Island, Elgin, and Elmwood Park that grew along commuter lines in the first half of the 20th century before the advent of the automobile; this urban form primes them for redevelopment in the 21st. Already-strong station areas represent the quickest opportunity for TOD and the clearest path to build momentum for TOD as

a development product and sustainability strategy. Where the supporting infrastructure already exists, more households can save more money on transportation costs, more vacant and underutilized parcels of land can be brought into productive re-use, and more redevelopment can occur.

High priority short-term TOD opportunities vary greatly from one another. Some candidates emerged as locations for new housing units, while others can support more commercial development and job creation:

Berwyn and Oak Park stand out on this list for having three stations each that rank in the top tier; Elgin follows closely with two stations in this upper echelon.

Blue Island, Evanston, and Oak Park are in a class unto themselves as suburbs because they have such high levels of transit service. Oak Park has redeveloped much of its Lake Street public transportation corridor as a pedestrian-friendly TOD and just approved a 20-story retail/residential development at a central location in the corridor.

Elgin and Waukegan rank highly as satellite cities with significant population and business concentrations. Historically, the region's satellite cities contributed significantly to the metropolitan economy; the region should recover and strengthen the economies of these urban outposts.

In Chicago, the area surrounding the Berwyn stop (on the Red Line) has experienced substantial planning to lay the foundations for TOD.

TOD planning along the Milwaukee West Metra line on the City's West Side will lay the foundation for the creation of industrial businesses and high paying jobs near dependable transit service.

For the Chicago region to be more sustainable, the top tier transit stations must see substantial housing growth. The next five years must break with past trends of outward growth and accelerate and intensify development in transit districts to build a lasting regional commitment to more compact, mixed use, and mixed income neighborhoods. The RTA's TOD Implementation Technical Assistance Program was established in 2011 to help former Community Planning grantees implement their TOD plans by updating zoning codes, streamlining the development review and approval process, and recruiting interested developers.

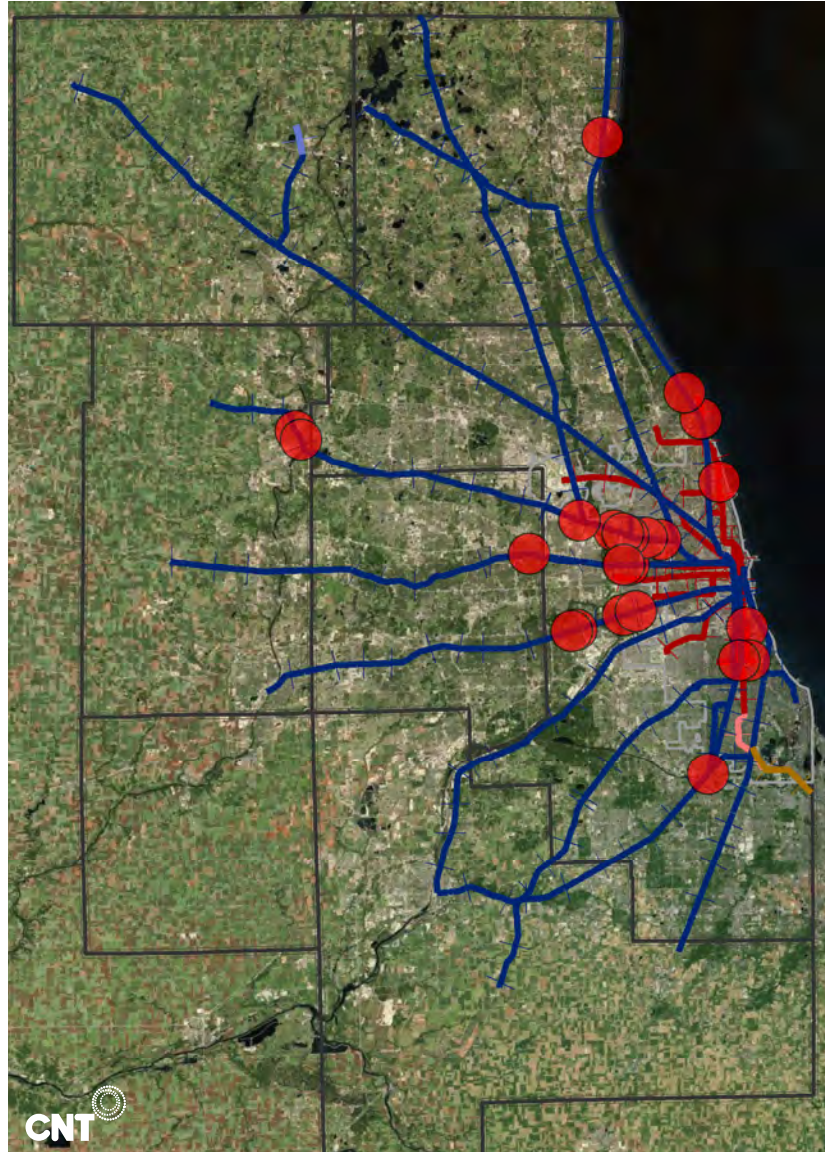
FIGURE 4
Short-term TOD priorities

Although the RTA has completed approximately 73 plans for TOD over the last decade with 12 additional plans underway, the most immediate opportunities are in 24 denser station areas with a mix of uses and access to jobs.

Source: *Regional Transportation Authority, Center for Neighborhood Technology, Center for Transit-Oriented Development TOD Database*

RTA Plans Highly Ranked by CNT's Optimizer

- 43rd Street - Green Line
- 63rd Street - Green Line
- Berwyn - Berwyn
- Berwyn - Harlem Avenue
- Berwyn - Lavergne
- Berwyn - Red Line
- Blue Island - Vermont Street
- Chicago - Galewood
- Chicago - Grand/Cicero
- Chicago - Hanson Park
- Chicago - Mars
- Chicago - Mont Clare
- Evanston - Purple Line/UPN at Davis Street
- Elgin - Chicago Street
- Elgin - National Street
- Elmhurst - Elmhurst
- Elmwood Park - Elmwood Park
- Franklin Park - Franklin Park
- King Drive - Green Line
- LaGrange - Stone Avenue
- Oak Park - Green Line
- Oak Park - Green Line/UPW at Harlem
- Waukegan - Waukegan
- Wilmette - Wilmette



AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN TODS

As housing and jobs have dispersed, a geographic divide has emerged between affordable, market-rate housing and the location of low- and moderate-wage jobs. Around the Richton Park Metra station in the south suburbs, for example, workers earning between \$15,000 and \$40,000 per year in 2008 traveled a median distance of 16 miles just to get to work—a financial burden for those who own an automobile and a barrier to employment for those who don't. Because the residential densities, mix of destinations, and ready access to jobs and transit associated with TODs can deliver some of the lowest household transportation costs in a region, every transit zone should include housing units affordable for a range of incomes to ensure equitable participation by working families. The affirmative provision of lower cost housing in these locations is justified by the substantial public investment in transit service that benefits developments built within half a mile of train stations.

Over the last decade, the Chicago region has brought numerous TODs on line, very few of which include affordable units targeted to moderate-income households. Because strong

markets often lack an adequate supply of workforce housing to begin with, ensuring a range of price points within transit districts is particularly important if households at all income levels are to share in the financial benefits associated with TOD. CNT's analysis scanned 343 station areas and ranked them to identify those near employment centers with the most pressing need of affordable housing.

While proximity to growing job centers can offer substantial economic opportunity to low- and moderate-income families, many municipalities in Cook County's north and northwest suburbs have discouraged multifamily and subsidized housing developments. Affordable housing is needed in these same communities—all of which are home to or near employment centers with significant concentrations of low- and moderate-income jobs. The widespread failure to permit construction of subsidized multifamily housing in suburban Cook County can be found in eight years of data from the Illinois Housing Development Authority, which shows that between 2001 and 2008, only a handful of affordable workforce housing developments were constructed in suburban job corridors along I-90 and I-88. All too often,

High property values and a college within walking distance can help Elmhurst attract additional development to its compact and walkable downtown. An affordable housing component can ensure that residents have ready access to jobs in downtown Chicago, Lombard, and Oak Park.

Photo by CNT



Densification has reshaped and revived Evanston's downtown. Because few, if any, affordable housing units were added, low- and moderate-income residents have not directly benefitted from this building boom.

Photo by kluehirschSnowpine/Flickr



municipalities perpetuate the jobs-housing mismatch by refusing to permit the construction of multifamily housing within their borders, making workers travel longer distances to area employment centers.

Our region must see additional affordable units constructed in the following communities to alleviate the jobs-housing mismatch:

Both the Red and Brown Lines count nine north side stations among the highest ranking stations for affordable housing. Workers at all income levels experience some of the shortest commutes in the region when boarding trains at Armitage, Belmont, and Wellington. However, gentrification has reduced the number of lower cost units.

Although downtown Evanston saw tremendous development over the last decade, all units were market rate. New affordable units would ensure equitable access for minority and moderate wage households to CTA and Metra's overlapping service.

Deerfield's stations do not possess the pedestrian environment of a case study TOD, but more than 4,500 low- and moderate-wage workers employed in the area have few options for living within walking distance.

Although the housing burden in Berwyn and Blue Island is not as high as some other communities, there are at least a thousand low-income jobs in their downtowns and frequent connections to many more in neighboring communities.

To ensure a more equitable distribution of affordable units for families, local municipalities in the Chicago region, like their counterparts in the City of Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area, should insist on an affordable housing component as an element of all market-rate housing developments. Diversifying housing types can give low- and moderate-income residents an equal opportunity to live near work or commute by transit, thereby saving money on both housing and transportation.

The City of Chicago's Affordable Housing Ordinance represents one approach to the creation and preservation of affordability. It requires a 10 percent affordable set-aside in any development receiving city land or a zoning change and a 20 percent set-aside in developments receiving any public financial assistance, including Tax Increment Financing (TIF). In Chicago, stations along the Red, Brown, and

Blue CTA Lines represent critical opportunities to preserve affordable housing because frequent transit service connects many walkable neighborhoods to the Loop—the second largest job center in the nation.

Some suburbs have recently formed housing collaboratives to develop strategies for addressing this jobs-housing mismatch. Participating municipalities should be encouraged to build affordable housing in the most efficient locations—transit zones—to reduce transportation costs for residents and increase their access to services, stores, jobs, and transit. Unfortunately these collaborative efforts are limited to Cook and Lake Counties. Comparable efforts are also needed in DuPage County, which is home to three of the five largest employment centers in the region and is a net importer of low-wage workers.

Other towns have developed a toolbox of strategies to facilitate the development of more affordable housing. Highland Park, in particular, has been very proactive in affordable housing development and recently opened its land trust to neighboring communities to address the region's affordable housing challenge more broadly. Targeting technical assistance and housing subsidies to these priority communities can make additional mixed-use, mixed-income development and new affordable housing units possible but only if municipalities prioritize doing so.

FIGURE 5
Northeastern Illinois
Employment Access Index,
2009 jobs

- Very High
- High
- Moderate
- Low
- Very Low

Employment access for regional workers depends greatly on where they live. Job accessibility is high on the north side of Chicago and around O'Hare where housing affordable to low- and moderate-income workers is in short supply.

Source: *Center for Neighborhood Technology, Local Employment Dynamics*

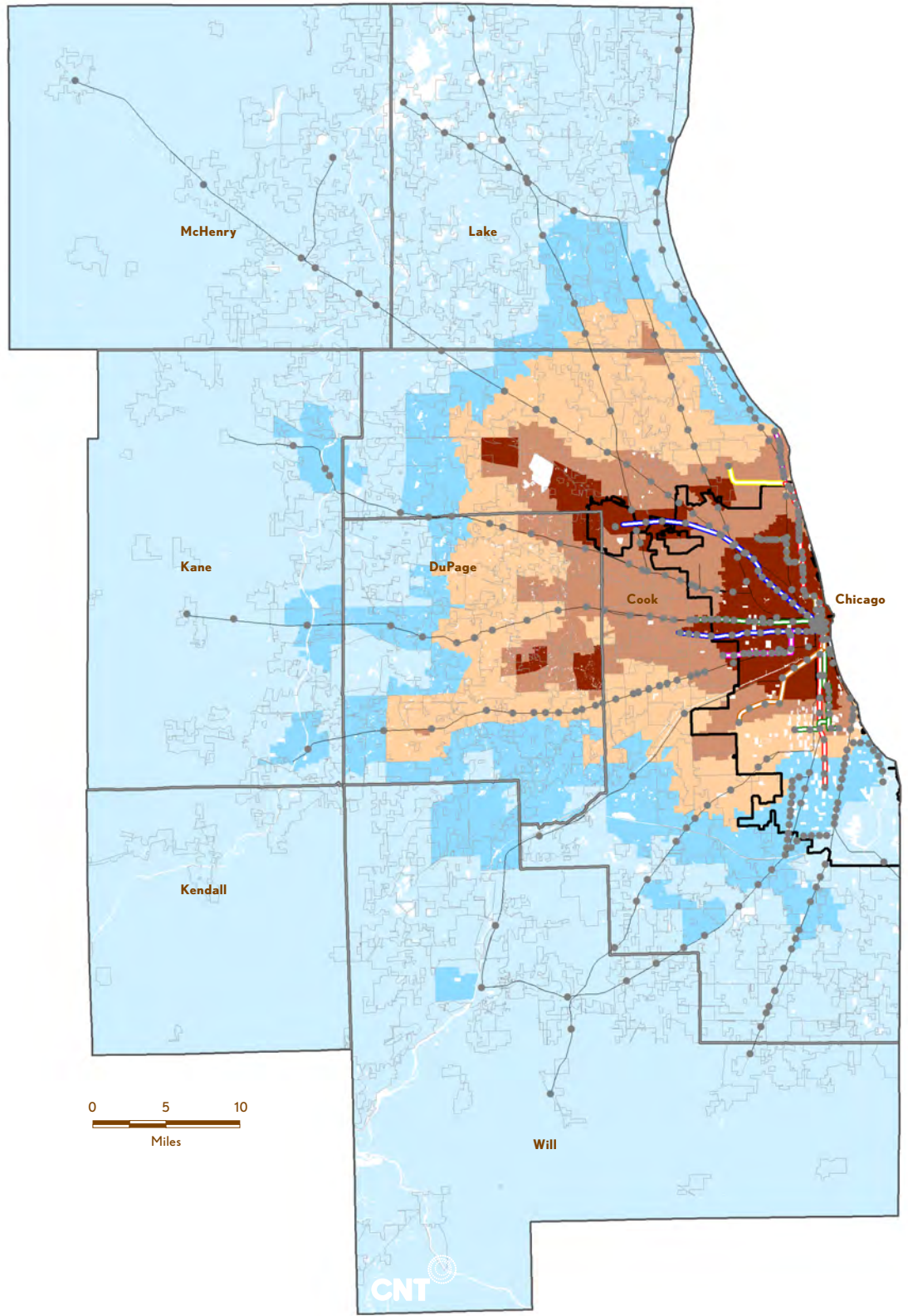


FIGURE 6
Affordable housing TOD priorities

CTA and Metra stations in the northern and western parts of the region connect to more jobs with lower transportation costs than those to the south and southwest. More affordable housing is needed in these areas to place more low- and moderate-income households within easy reach of nearby employment centers.

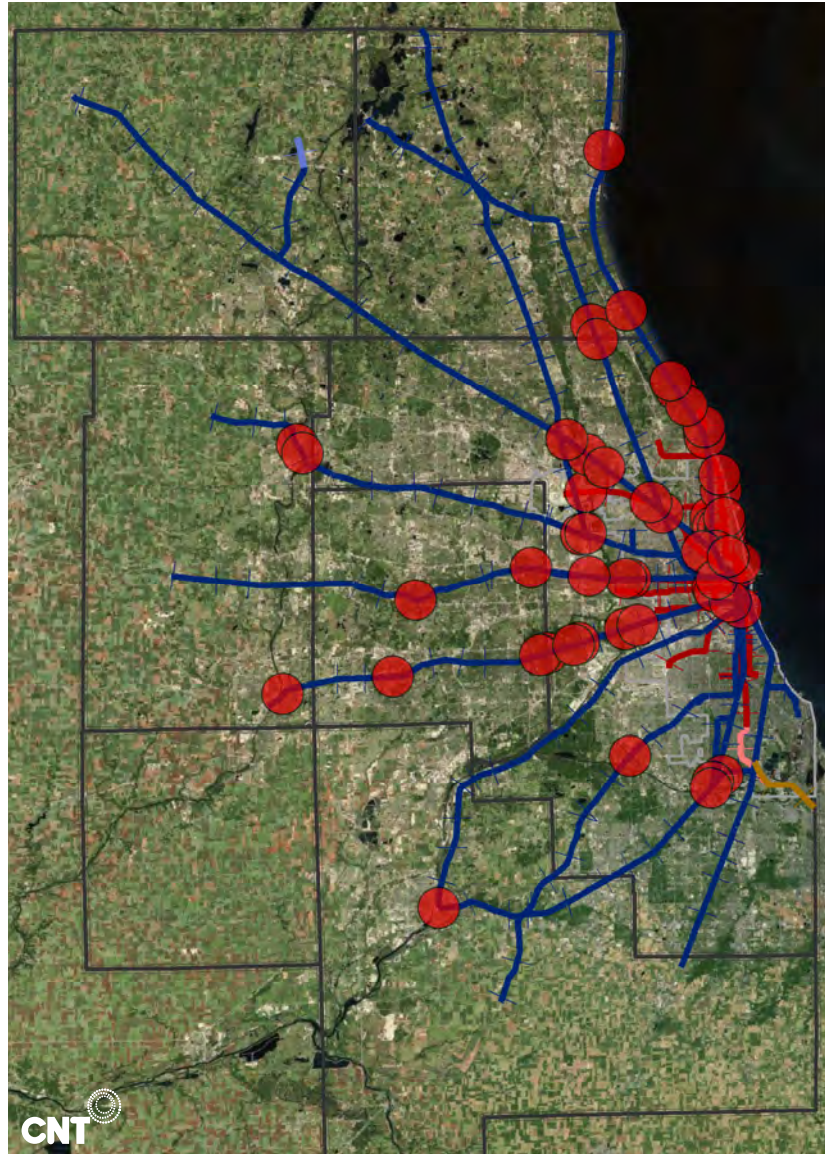
Source: *Center for Transit-Oriented Development TOD Database, Center for Neighborhood Technology*

Urban Priorities

- Addison - Brown Line
- Addison - Red Line
- Armitage - Brown/Purple Lines
- Ashland - Green Line
- Belmont - Purple/Red/Brown Lines
- Bryn Mawr - Red Line
- Cermak/Chinatown - Red Line
- Chicago - Blue Line
- Chicago - Brown/Purple Lines
- Clark/Division - Red Line
- Clybourn - UPN/UPNW
- Damen - Blue Line
- Davis Street - Purple Line/UPN
- Dempster - Purple Line
- Diversey - Brown/Purple Lines
- Division - Blue Line
- Foster - Purple Line
- Fullerton - Purple/Red/Brown Lines
- Grand - Blue Line
- Halsted - BNSF
- Harlem - Green Line/UPW
- Illinois Medical District - Blue Line
- Irving Park - Brown Line
- Jefferson Park - Blue Line/UPNW
- Loyola - Red Line
- Mayfair - MDN
- North/Clybourn - Red Line
- Oak Park - Green Line
- Paulina - Brown Line
- Polk - Pink Line
- Racine - Blue Line
- Sedgwick - Purple/Brown Lines
- Sheridan - Red Line
- Southport - Brown Line
- UIC/Halsted - Blue Line
- Wellington - Brown/Purple Lines
- Western - Blue Line

Suburban Priorities

- Aurora - Aurora
- Berwyn - Berwyn
- Berwyn - Harlem Avenue
- Berwyn - Lavergne
- Blue Island - Prairie Street
- Calumet Park - Ashland Avenue
- Deerfield - Deerfield
- Deerfield - Lake Cook
- Des Plaines - Des Plaines
- Elgin - Chicago Street
- Elgin - National Street
- Elmhurst - Elmhurst
- Franklin Park - Franklin Park MDW
- Franklin Park - Franklin Park NCS
- Highland Park - Highland Park
- Hinsdale - Highlands
- Hinsdale - Hinsdale
- Joliet - Joliet
- LaGrange - LaGrange Road
- LaGrange - Stone Avenue
- Melrose Park - Melrose Park
- Naperville - Naperville
- Park Ridge - Dee Road
- Park Ridge - Park Ridge
- Rosemont - Blue Line
- Waukegan - Waukegan
- Wheaton - Wheaton
- Wilmette - Wilmette
- Winnetka - Indian Hill
- Winnetka - Winnetka
- Worth - Worth



LONG-TERM TOD PRIORITIES

Other station areas in the region possess the density and infrastructure for TOD, but years of disinvestment have so weakened their economies that they require significant public subsidies to turn them around. Some suburban communities have lower median incomes, few staff, and smaller tax bases, and, consequently, they have less capacity to implement TOD. Chicago's recent budget cuts leave fewer staff to address the full range of community development demands. To help prioritize the places where resources could strengthen market fundamentals, CNT identified 63 station areas spanning 25 municipalities with long-term redevelopment prospects and a great need for affordable, transit-served communities with a low cost of living and a low median income. Even after prioritizing these station areas, the scale of the need and its concentration in certain corridors are overwhelming.

Urban and suburban locations alike deserve strong commitments to achieve successful redevelopment:

Bronzeville is a community along the Green Line and Chicago's boulevard system that has historically significant architecture and possesses the assets to be walkable and sustainable once again.

A typical household living along the many Red Line stations between Wilson and Howard pays only a third of its income on combined housing and transportation costs.

Bungalows in Maywood are not far from stronger housing markets in Oak Park and River Forest and are near medical and judicial institutions with high employment levels. HUD recently awarded \$22.9 million to the five west suburban communities of Bellwood, Berwyn, Maywood, Forest Park, and Oak Park to help stimulate demand for TOD housing here.

The city's south, west, and far north sides possess all the fundamental assets to make them sustainable places to live: a high frequency of train service and bus connections, a low combined cost of housing and transportation, and a compact block size that makes it easy to walk to destinations such as schools and grocery stores. The highest-ranking long-term station areas in Chicago are primarily low income, ranging from a high of \$35,527 (Howard) to a low of \$14,103 (Indiana) in 2000.

Years of decline in these communities have led to the underutilization of many existing transit lines. On the south and west sides, for example, the Green Line remains in sound structural condition, surrounded by walkable neighborhoods. But as these neighborhoods struggled and investment migrated elsewhere, residential and commercial structures became vacant. Underutilized buildings and vacant land have led to declining CTA ridership and the listing of eight Green Line stations as long term TOD priorities.

Sustained public and private investments that build on stronger, neighboring markets can focus redevelopment activities on a more manageable list of stations and help some of these city neighborhoods capture a greater share of development and population growth. For example, the Ashland Green Line station sits at the edge of the burgeoning West Loop, while the Garfield Green Line Station is just a fifteen minute walk to Hyde Park and the University of Chicago. Development will not occur in these places until the market improves and a concerted effort is made by the institutions with a stake in their futures.

Bronzeville's historic housing stock and walkable blocks can make it an affordable and sustainable place to live.

Photo by samuelalove/Flickr



FIGURE 7
Long-term TOD priorities

City and suburban stations to the south and west of downtown enjoy the transit service and urban form that can help keep household transportation costs low, but they will need more attention and public investment to spark private development. This scan includes every station area in the region without a strong RTA-funded TOD plan.

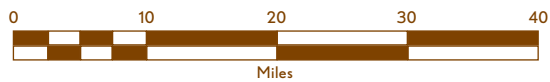
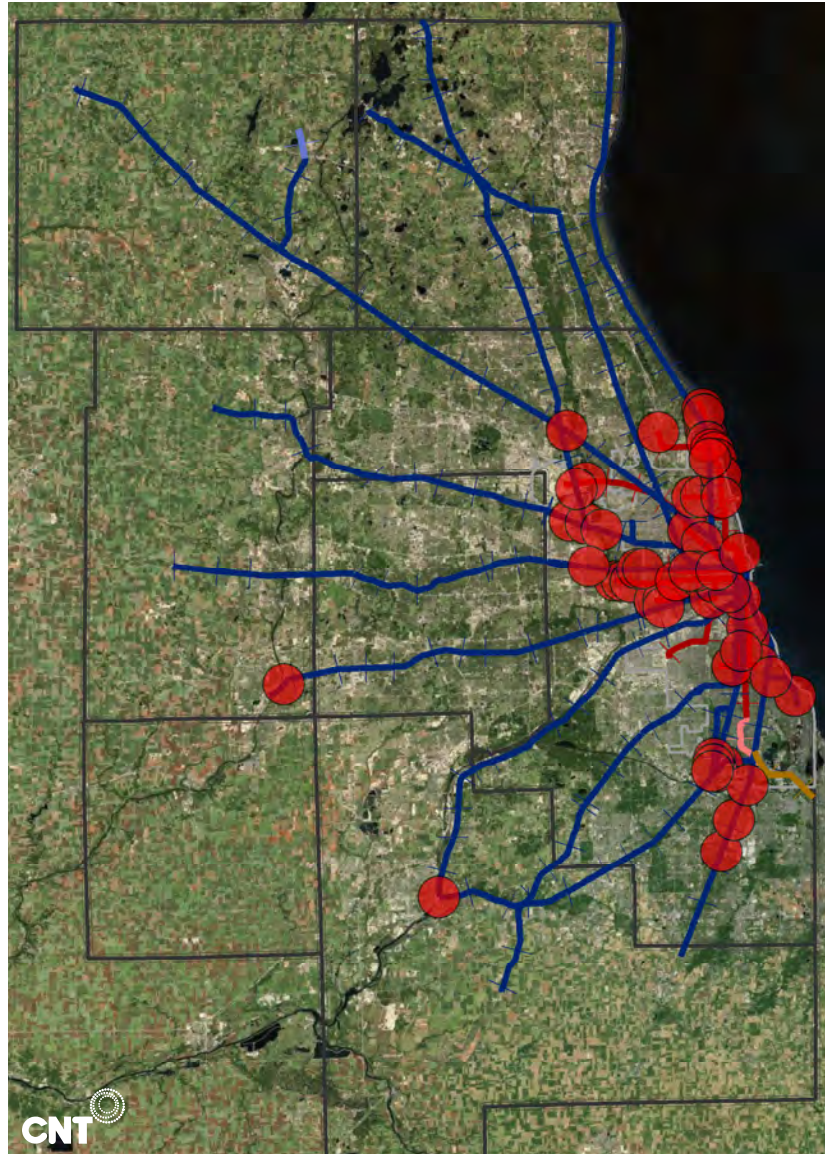
Source: *Center for Transit-Oriented Development TOD Database, Center for Neighborhood Technology*

Urban Priorities

- 47th Street - Green Line
- 83rd Street - ME
- Addison - Red Line
- Argyle - Red Line
- Ashland - Green Line
- California - Green Line
- Cermak/Chinatown - Red Line
- Clark/Division - Red Line
- Cottage Grove/E. 63rd - Green Line
- Damen - Pink Line
- Clybourn - UPN/UPNW
- Damen - Blue Line
- Francisco - Brown Line
- Garfield - Red Line
- Halsted - Green Lines
- Halsted - BNSF
- Howard - Red Line
- Illinois Medical District - Blue Line
- Indiana - Green Line
- Jarvis - Red Line
- Kedzie - Green Line
- King Drive - Green Line
- Logan Square - Blue Line
- Mayfair - MDN
- Morse - Red Line
- Polk - Pink Line
- Pulaski - Blue Line
- Racine - Blue Line
- Rogers Park - UPN
- Stony Island - Metra Electric
- Thorndale - Red Line
- UIC/Halsted - Blue Line
- Western - Blue Line
- Western - Blue Line
- Western - Brown Line
- Wilson - Red Line

Suburban Priorities

- Aurora - Aurora
- Berwyn - Laverne
- Blue Island - 119th Street
- Blue Island - 123rd Street
- Blue Island - Burr Oak
- Blue Island - Prairie Street
- Brookfield - Congress Park
- Calumet Park - Ashland Avenue
- Des Plaines - Des Plaines
- East Hazel Crest - Calumet
- Elgin - National Street
- Elmhurst - Elmhurst
- Flossmoor - Flossmoor
- Franklin Park - Franklin Park NCS
- Harvey - Harvey
- Highwood - Highwood
- Ivanhoe - Ivanhoe
- Joliet - Joliet
- Mannheim - Mannheim
- Maywood - Maywood
- Melrose Park - Melrose Park
- Naperville - Naperville
- North Chicago - North Chicago
- Park Ridge - Dee Road
- Park Ridge - Park Ridge
- River Grove - River Grove
- Riverdale - Riverdale
- Robbins - Robbins
- Rosemont - Blue Line
- Rosemont - NCS
- Schiller Park - Schiller Park



The City of Chicago invested TIF funds to build 98 units of senior housing, 80 affordable one-, two-, and three-bedroom apartments, a Target, an Aldi, and 10 smaller retail spaces in a pedestrian environment at Wilson Yards in Uptown.

Photo by CNT

Sustained public commitments can help encourage investment in downtown Joliet, especially after high speed rail service begins there in 2014.

Photo by pasa47/Flickr



Communities in south and west Cook County enjoy comparable assets for TOD, but face the same challenge of weak economies. Around the Metra Electric station in downtown Harvey, for example, a typical household earning the Area Median Income paid only one third of its income on both housing and transportation in 2000. In Cicero, passengers disembarking at the 54th and Cermak station can reach 3,635 jobs within a 10 minute walk. In both cases, a declining tax base limits resources to plan and invest strategically around rail infrastructure.

CMAP has already partnered its Local Technical Assistance (LTA) services with existing planning programs like the RTA's Community Planning program; now CMAP and the RTA should bring their resources into line with the priority TODs identified in this report. Such resources can help municipalities turn their transit assets into development. Assistance in long-term community areas must address the capacity and financial constraints essential to improving their development potential. Over the next five years, the region must form vertical and horizontal partnerships capable of marshaling the financial and organizational resources necessary to stimulate new TOD development.

As the municipality with the most rail stations—190 in all—Chicago has the most to gain from a concerted TOD strategy. The Chicago Climate Action Plan, the Transit Friendly Development Guide, and the Mayoral Policy Directive on TOD commit the City of Chicago to TOD. But many of these plans were approved in a poor economic climate for private developers. So far very little has happened. Cities around the world have concluded that transportation and transit improvements, including the redevelopment of land around that transit, are critical to their development strategies. They are deploying resources and prioritizing their development plans accordingly, but in Chicago, TODs are still one-off propositions. The region and Chicago must accelerate implementation of this essential strategy as the real estate sector recovers to make our economy more competitive.

Best Practices in Regional TOD Planning

Transit corridors tie bedroom communities, employment centers, schools, universities, and other destinations together into a regional network. A cohesive transit corridor gives people transportation choices for many kinds of trips and amplifies the economic benefits of TOD. The Chicago region can look to these other regional examples for planning for TOD at the regional level.

In Portland, Metro created a TOD Strategic Plan to guide its future land use investments, maximize the impact of catalytic projects, and most effectively leverage outside resources. As part of the planning process, Metro created a TOD implementation typology to determine which types of implementation strategies will be most effective for any given location. For every half mile station area served by Metro, planners weighed the real estate market strength of community against its transit orientation to identify seven different categories of opportunities. Metro will use this implementation typology to systematically determine where its involvement will be most effective and deliver the greatest return on its investment.

The Denver Regional Council of Governments created a “TOD Information Exchange Program” to provide relevant and timely information that can help policymakers, business leaders, and the public make informed decisions about TOD. The TOD Information Exchange includes:

- A website that provides resources such as case studies, reports, interactive maps, station area plans and profiles, and information on development activity around current and planned station areas;
- “The Planner Idea Exchange,” where local agency staff can share their experiences with planning and implementing TOD, and learn about topics of interest from experts. In 2010 this program was renamed the “Metro Vision Idea Exchange,” and became a best practices workshop series on regional topics of interest for members of the public and private sectors;
- A study entitled “Who is TOD in Metro Denver?” that benchmarks how the attitudes, perceptions and behaviors of businesses, employees and residents are changing as TOD takes root.



PORTLAND, OR
Photo by Clint Bautz

Bringing Jobs to Workers Through Cargo-Oriented Development

Cargo-oriented development (COD) is the freight rail counterpart of transit-oriented development. It is a strategy particularly well suited to the Chicago region given that all six Class I freight railroads converge here and terminate at and/or intersect with 21 rail-to-truck intermodal facilities. COD involves the integration of logistics and industrial businesses in areas with excellent access to multiple modes of freight transportation, concentrations of complimentary enterprises, and, optimally, a ready logistics workforce. COD creates jobs in a high-growth industry, establishes a compact pattern of industrial development, reduces truck traffic, and improves the overall efficiency of the national freight transportation system for export as well as import freight movements. The BlueGreen Alliance estimates that every billion dollars of freight rail investment creates 7,800 new jobs, many of them in CODs.

In 1990, the City of Chicago drew attention to the value of industrial land with ready access to freight rail lines, switching yards, intermodal terminals, and highways when

Facilities like CN's Gateway Intermodal Terminal connect Chicago communities to global markets through deepwater ports like Prince Rupert, British Columbia, and Halifax, Nova Scotia.
Photo by rails4me/Flickr



it enacted the first Protected (now Planned) Manufacturing District (PMD) ordinance to protect businesses, properties, and jobs on Goose Island from encroaching, incompatible residential and retail uses. Chicago eventually established 15 PMDs and 24 Industrial Corridors recognizing that the transportation assets essential to the movement of raw materials and finished products could not easily be re-created in a new location simply because market forces were displacing companies from legacy industrial districts. A recent survey of 1,000 industrial businesses revealed that nearly two-thirds operate in Chicago because of its air, truck, rail, and intermodal connections; the remainder cite the strength of the metropolitan workforce for their decision to locate in the region.

In 2003, Chicago commissioned Reebie Associates to quantify the economic and job impacts to the city of intermodal facilities and adjoining industrial properties. The Reebie study concluded that retaining such facilities in their present locations while rationalizing the rail network and encouraging redevelopment (COD) would add \$1 billion per year to the Gross Regional Product and 8,000 new jobs by 2020.

Similar subregional planning focused on suburban freight transportation assets was instituted by CNT in 2004 in Blue Island and Harvey. This effort has since evolved into the Green TIME (Transit, Intermodal, Manufacturing and Environment) Zone, a collaborative effort of the 42 municipalities of the South Suburban Mayors and Managers Association (SSMMA) intent on leveraging their assets to foster TOD, COD, and green manufacturing. Since 2009, comparable planning has been underway with the West Central Municipal Conference (WCMC) in west Cook County.

The benefits of COD can be optimized if projects can overcome the challenges of infill development to locate in mature industrial communities that already have the necessary freight transportation infrastructure and workforce in place. Given Chicago's assets as the nation's



largest inland port, few regions are better positioned to support and benefit from COD. Yet other freight centers in the country are challenging Chicago's preeminence in this arena. Our advantage is slipping.

Between 2002 and 2010 the Chicago region's competitors have actively invested in intermodal shipping and gained warehousing jobs as our region stagnated. Had local businesses experienced the national rate of warehousing employment growth since 2002, the region would have added a net 5,935 jobs and retained them as recession took hold. Instead, the Chicago metropolitan area lost 504 jobs. By comparison, Indianapolis added 2,843; Columbus, Ohio, added 5,142; and the Inland Empire in California added 11,386 jobs over the same period. These regions achieved this growth by investing in freight and intermodal infrastructure on the metropolitan fringe. In Columbus, for example, local and state governments, business organizations, and developers partnered to develop the Rickenbacker Inland Port in an active Foreign Trade Zone and delivered job growth that endured as the economy worsened. But because land around many Chicago yards sits underutilized and often polluted, complimentary businesses have had fewer opportunities to locate near our valuable infrastructure. With COD, the Chicago metropolitan area has the chance to distinguish itself as a freight transportation center by demonstrating the viability and advantages of infill industrial, logistics, and freight development.

A MODEL FOR PLACE-BASED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

COD distinguishes itself from modern intermodal terminals and logistics parks in that it occurs on an infill basis near existing facilities. It seeks to redevelop underutilized industrial land by assessing and remediating contaminated properties thus returning them to local tax rolls and stabilizing municipal finances. By operating in a COD district, a company can cut unneeded truck miles from freight routes and realize fuel savings that reduce the cost of goods, while

creating jobs that workers can easily access. Distribution facilities in Chicago and in south and west Cook County could have a competitive edge because they are closer to market than large-scale freight developments at the suburban fringe. Infill CODs can also reestablish the balance between housing and jobs by bringing new businesses to densely populated communities that have not seen economic development commensurate with the rest of the region.

COD demonstrates how a place-based approach to planning creates jobs: it maximizes the region's freight infrastructure; it leverages a wide variety of public resources across regional, state, and federal agencies; it creates jobs near transit in communities with high unemployment; and it can help Chicago regain its logistics edge.

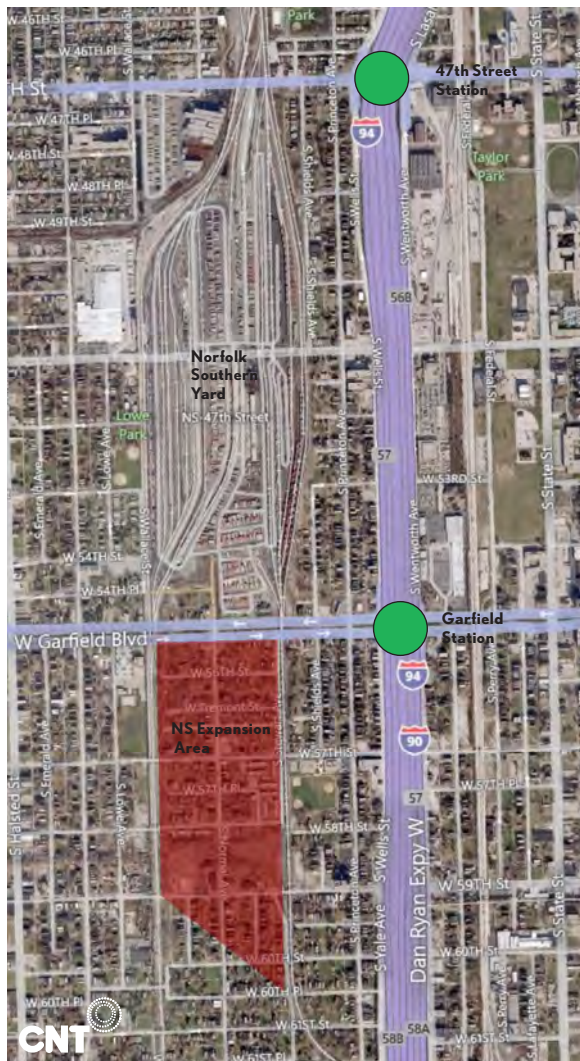
Absent concerted local planning efforts like those already described, developers of warehousing and logistics space will continue to default to new intermodal terminals attached to vast logistics parks on the exurban fringe, lengthening the trip to work for employees, requiring costly new infrastructure, and overwhelming the region's highways with longer distance truck movements to shipping destinations. In the Chicago area alone, CenterPoint has opened intermodal centers in Elwood (2002), Rochelle (2003), and Joliet (2010), perpetuating the region's unsustainable pattern of outward growth. In 2007, Chicago Metropolis 2020 identified five other proposed facilities planned for far flung places like Crete, Kankakee, Morris, and Wilmington. A regional commitment to COD will ensure that it becomes an accepted, replicable, and viable alternative development strategy for growing northeastern Illinois' freight sector. To identify the most desirable sites for COD, CNT scored 92 sites larger than 20 acres in south and west Cook County.

FIGURE 9

Proposed Norfolk Southern expansion in Englewood

Norfolk Southern (NS) plans to expand its 84-acre freight facility in Englewood to a 140-acre rail-to-truck intermodal terminal by extending it south to 61st Street. The railroad has purchased empty lots and homes in the surrounding Englewood neighborhood, many of which sit vacant due to disinvestment and the foreclosure crisis. NS directly connects Englewood to deepwater Atlantic ports expected to see increased container traffic after the widening of the Panama Canal. As this proposal demonstrates, the opportunities for expanding COD and pairing it with TOD are not limited to Chicago's suburbs.

Source: *Chicago Tribune*



BALANCED YET SUSTAINABLE GROWTH IN CHICAGO

The City's assessment of its industrial policy affirms the wisdom of establishing Industrial Corridors and Planned Manufacturing Districts as a strategy for protecting industrial areas from incompatible uses. Of 24 corridors, Local Employment Dynamic (LED) data from 2005 and 2009 confirm that five PMD/Heavy Manufacturing Districts maintain more than 67 percent of their employment base in traditional manufacturing sectors, while another 12 corridors have retained enough of their manufacturing character and/or added jobs in affiliated industries like transportation and warehousing to justify preserving and growing the logistics and manufacturing profile of these corridors.

Seven corridors stand out as centers of new job growth in sectors other than logistics and manufacturing, including knowledge sectors. These corridors raise the question of whether more flexible zoning policies are warranted in the portion of each corridor where office and knowledge jobs are locating. The Ravenswood Corridor, at 38 jobs per acre, has the highest job density of any employment corridor in Chicago outside of downtown Chicago. The *Chicago Sun-Times* described it as a place where brainy knowledge jobs in the technology sector have replaced the brawny jobs of its industrial past. The City's designation of the Ravenswood Industrial Corridor prevented the area from becoming residential—a trend that had begun in the late 1980s—and preserved the land and buildings for its eventual transition to light manufacturing and knowledge jobs.

Finally, two new industrial corridors have been proposed. The first is a new growth corridor along Northwest Highway where small, flexible one-story warehouses support small businesses linked to the logistics and manufacturing supply chain around O'Hare. The second corridor will run along the Dan Ryan Expressway to encompass Norfolk Southern's expanded 47th Street intermodal terminal, which is repurposing historically residential land for intermodal freight movements.

FIGURE 8
Chicago Industrial Corridors

Chicago's Industrial Corridors depend upon a rich network of freight rail and 15 rail-to-truck intermodal facilities. Some retain a heavy manufacturing base, while "New Growth" corridors have experienced growth in knowledge industries even as they preserve their manufacturing character.

Sources: Chicago Department of Housing and Economic Development, Local Employment Dynamics

- Rail Yard
- Industrial Corridor Category
- PMD / Heavy Manufacturing
- New Growth
- All Others

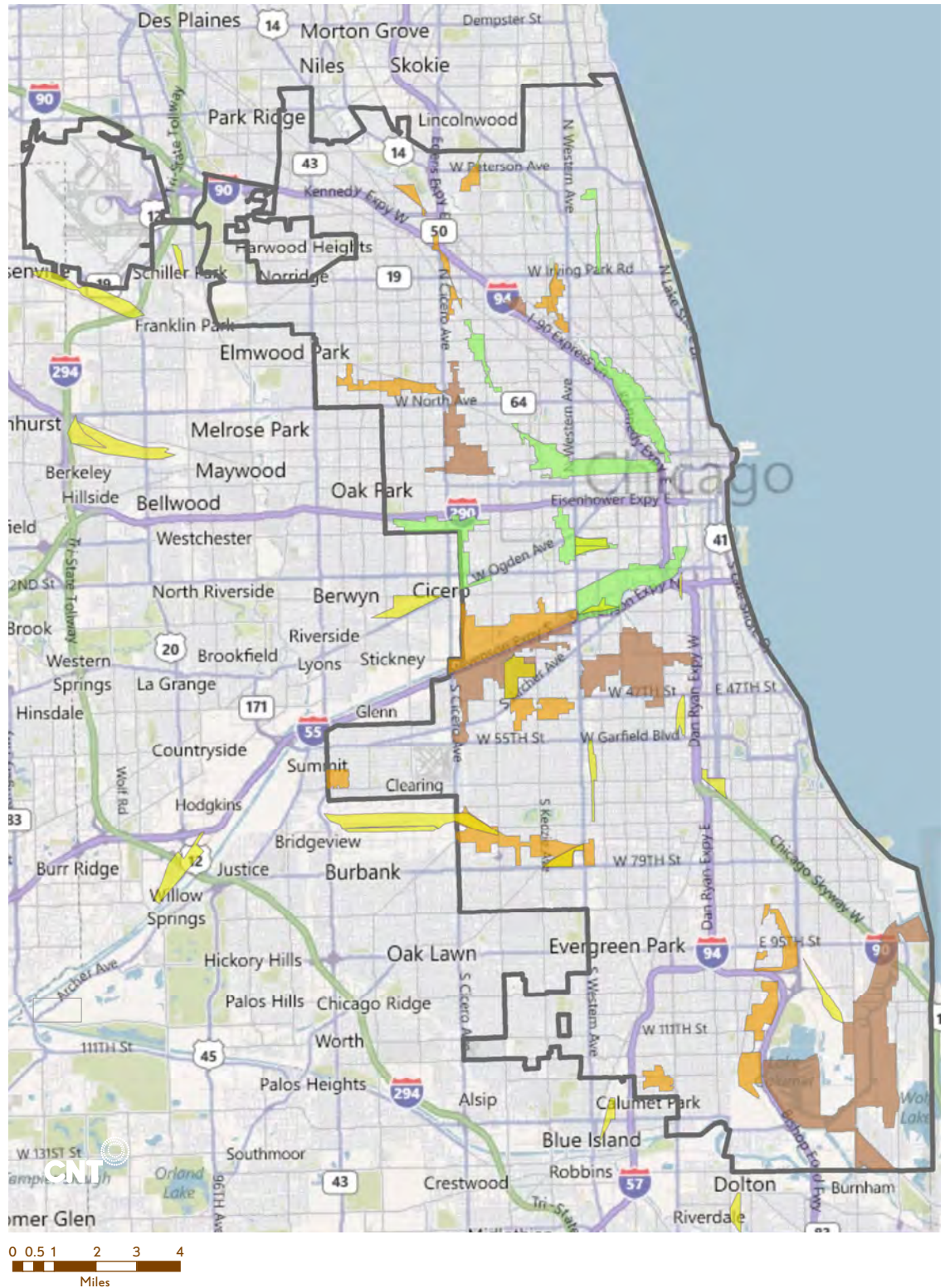
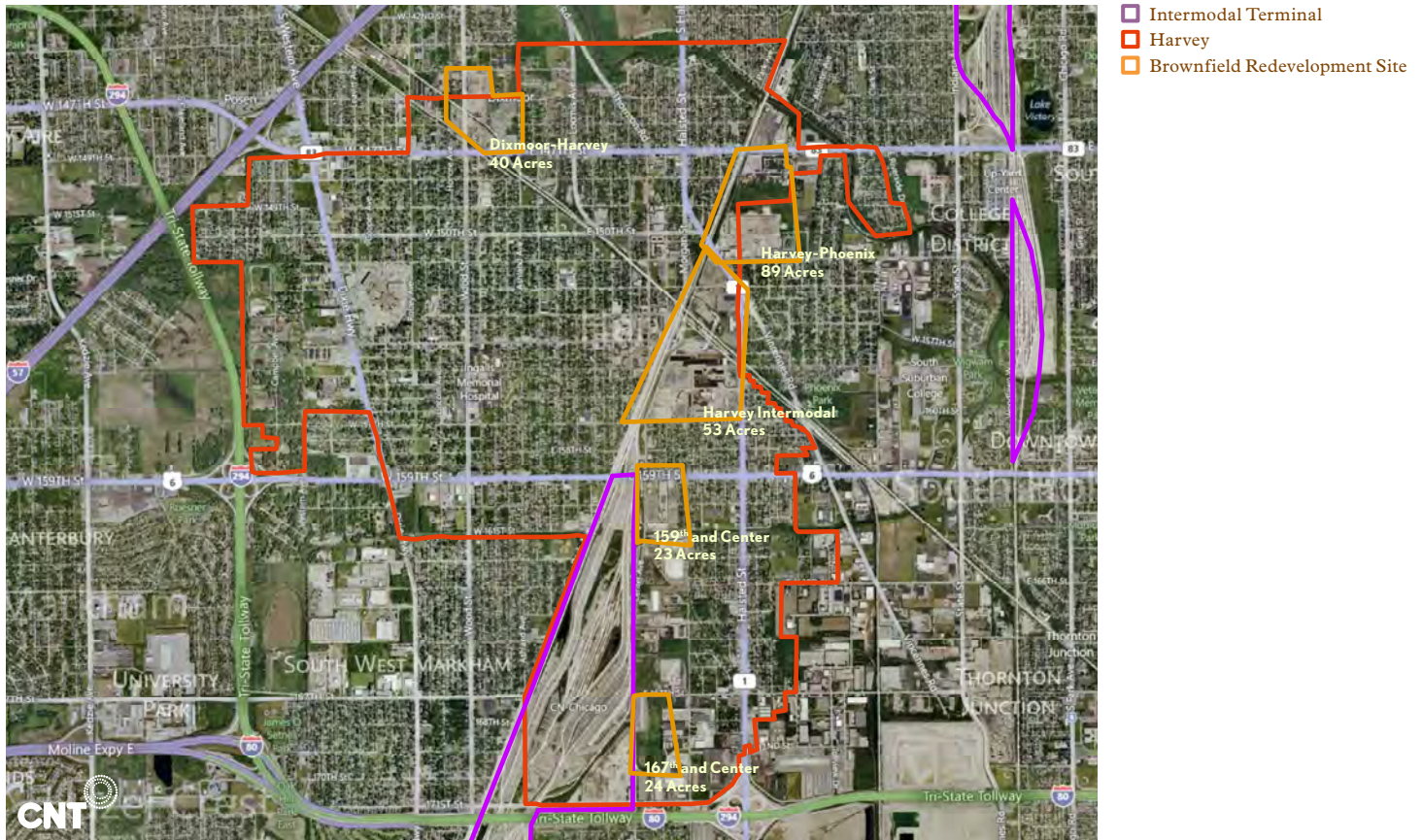


FIGURE 10
Harvey industrial development opportunities

In the south suburbs, Harvey represents the region's best chance to achieve combined economic, environmental, and social justice returns. The opening of the port of Prince Rupert along with Canadian National's purchase of the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern Railway and investments to increase the handling capacity of its Gateway Terminal have all combined to provide a private sector impetus for COD. That development, however, hinges on the assessment and remediation of brownfield sites and on the capacity of the truck routes that connect the terminal to the highway system to handle the traffic volume that a tripling of containers will attract.

Source: *Center for Neighborhood Technology*



**THE GREEN TIME ZONE:
 SUBURBAN CHICAGO'S COD PILOT**

Many of the largest COD opportunities in Chicago's south suburbs cluster around the Canadian National (CN) intermodal terminal in Harvey in the Green TIME Zone. The expansion of CN's Gateway Terminal constitutes the most significant market opportunity in the Southland in decades. Realizing these opportunities should be a top priority for stimulating the regional economy.

The deepest, ice-free international port in North America opened at Prince Rupert, British Columbia, in October 2007, offering the shortest, fastest, and lowest cost trade route with China. As the only rail carrier serving the port, CN connects Asia to Harvey and Harvey to Europe via the Port of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Plans to double the size of Prince Rupert by 2015 have prompted CN's proposal to

more than triple the number of shipping containers handled at its Gateway Terminal in Harvey by that year. These developments will stimulate demand for prime vacant and underutilized COD sites in nearby communities as demand for warehouse and distribution space in the Southland is likely to outstrip supply.

Coordinated investment and policy changes must occur to make Green TIME Zone COD sites competitive with greenfield development. Attractive infill COD sites often require assembly into larger parcels and prior environmental assessment and remediation to create a more level playing field with greenfield sites. Moreover, expansion plans for the CN terminal depend on improving Center Street and 167th Street to enable them to carry more trucks to and from the yard.



INFILL COD IN WEST COOK COUNTY

Suburbs in western Cook County also enjoy the freight infrastructure that supports COD. Cicero is the only opportunity in either south or west Cook County to benefit from COD accessible by CTA and Metra trains as well as Pace buses. Its COD opportunities have direct rail access and close proximity to several intermodal yards. Two of the largest sites are within a 10 minute walk of the CTA's Pink Line, which provides frequent service, and a third site is less than a mile from the Metra Burlington Northern Santa Fe (BNSF) Line's Cicero station. Good jobs created at Cicero CODs would be accessible to a wide workforce that spans city and suburban boundaries.

Cicero sites stand at a crossroads between logistics and retail uses. Developers see those COD sites as opportunities for additional big box retail. Despite its wealth of rail-served sites and proximity to the BNSF yard, the Cicero Avenue corridor has evolved into an automobile-oriented retail destination. Those stores generate revenue for Cicero but at the expense of neighboring towns and Chicago's west side.

At the regional level, retailers serve existing consumer demand—moving it from one location to another—rather than bringing new economic activity. By contrast, COD along the Cicero Avenue corridor would bring better-paying, full-time jobs adjacent to the Pink Line. Execution of this logistics vision, however, requires the coordinated actions of federal, state, and local stakeholders.

As TOD brings more Chicagoans closer to transportation alternatives, COD will ensure that a job is waiting somewhere along particular transit lines. But only coordinated public commitments will make that happen. Polluted land must be assembled, cleaned, and redeveloped. The Illinois Department of Transportation, CMAP, and Cook County must help these communities equip their local roads for heavier trucks. And improvements to the regional freight rail network will keep intermodal shipping more competitive. Over the next five years, the region's goal should be to bring five new CODs online and develop a pipeline of 20 additional projects to be built over *GO TO 2040's* remaining 25 years.

FIGURE 11
Cicero COD sites

Cicero possesses three potential COD sites larger than 20 acres; all are within a short distance of a BNSF rail-to-truck intermodal yard and a transit station.

Source: *Center for Neighborhood Technology, Cook County Assessor's Office, National Transportation Atlas Database*



Reconnecting People and Jobs Through Transit

The recommendations in this report are intended to bring many new housing units and jobs within walking distance of transit. As more Chicagoans move within walking distance of transit, shops, and other amenities, typical household transportation costs will drop and the region will become a more affordable place to live. Over the next five years, the region should be on its way to a balanced growth scenario with more affordable housing where jobs already exist and more job creation where unemployment is highest and where the unemployed and under-employed can access them easily by transit.

This jobs-housing-transit linkage sets the region on a more sustainable course but fails to address the transit accessibility of the region's existing job centers. Over 1.2 million Chicagoans worked in the top 15 concentrated employment centers in 2009—more job activity than in all of St. Louis or Minneapolis-St. Paul. Many of these jobs can already be reached by transit. More than 500,000 workers typically commute to their jobs via CTA, Metra, and Pace from homes across the metropolitan area. In fact, four of the region's eight largest job centers—Chicago's central business district,

Evanston's downtown, Hyde Park, and Niles—can all be reached via public transportation. To the degree possible, job growth must continue to be directed to these employment centers and transit service to them must be enhanced and modernized.

STRENGTHENING TRANSIT TO EXISTING JOB CENTERS

Because suburban business location decisions left many Fortune 500 companies stranded in single-use buildings surrounded by parking, unreachable by transit, and lacking an adequate supply of affordable housing nearby, many of their employees face long car commutes every day. The Metropolitan Planning Council estimates that road congestion costs the Chicago region \$7.3 billion annually. An expansion of transportation choice to suburban job centers will help those firms recruit talented workers from all parts of the region, improve staff productivity, and stay competitive in the global economy.

In fact, four of the top five employment centers in the region are poorly served by transit. The northwest corridor around

Commuters in Ravenswood travel by Metra to jobs in the Loop and along the North Shore.
Photo by CNT



O’Hare, Lombard, Naperville, and Oak Brook together accounted for almost 272,000 jobs. For Illinois workers looking to build wealth and save for the future by securing the best positions for which they qualify, employment centers such as these require investment in a depreciating asset—an automobile—and expose workers to fluctuating gas prices. Those who cannot afford to buy a car or live nearby face significantly reduced job prospects. Although the commute to work represents only one in five trips made by Chicago area households, it represents almost 60 percent of all transit trips and is an essential part of the formula for maintaining and sharpening the region’s competitive edge.

More than 170,000 Illinoisans now work around O’Hare along the Jane Addams Expressway in Elk Grove Village, Schaumburg, and other northwest suburbs. CTA and Metra provide direct service to Rosemont and O’Hare at the eastern end of this job corridor, while Metra’s Milwaukee District West and Union Pacific Northwest lines bracket but don’t directly serve the corridor. CNT applauds the Illinois State Toll Highway Authority’s plans to preserve the right-of-way for dedicated

transit service in this corridor as part of the Jane Addams reconstruction and Pace’s proposal to cultivate demand for that future service by offering express service in the corridor during construction. Both strategies bode well for strengthening the transit connections between people and jobs.

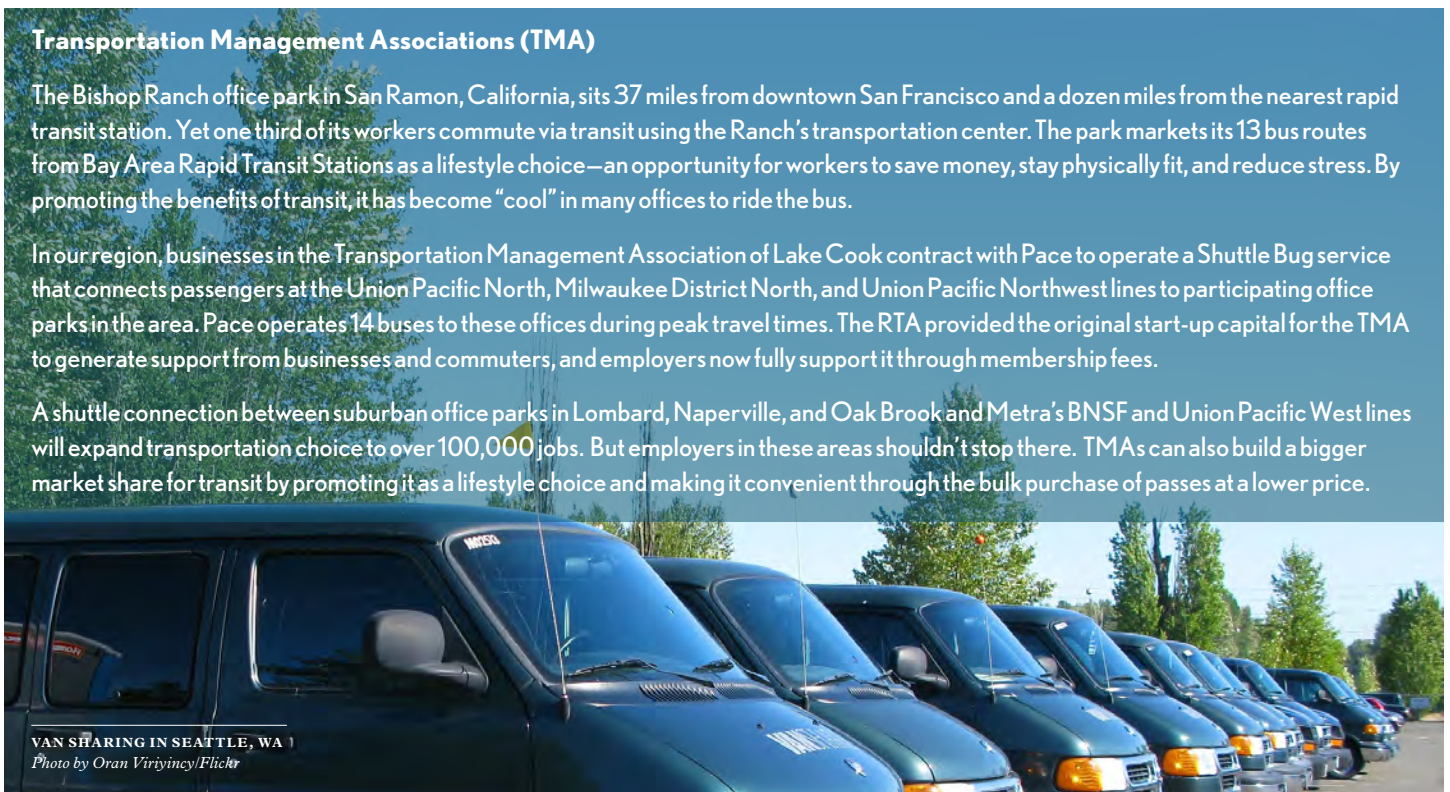
Employment corridors along I-88 in Lombard, Naperville, and Oak Brook employ 100,000 workers and could benefit from similar planning. Lombard and Oak Brook are also bracketed by Metra corridors (BNSF and UP West), which get employees close but not close enough. Although Naperville has a Metra station in its downtown, less than one out of 10 transit-supportive office jobs fall within the half mile distance commuters will generally walk to reach their jobs. Employers in the Lake Cook Corridor in Deerfield solve this problem through a Transportation Management Association that shuttles workers between Metra stations and office buildings. Given that the employment densities of Lombard, Naperville, and Oak Brook are on a par with Deerfield’s, the feasibility of instituting such service in DuPage County should be explored.

Transportation Management Associations (TMA)

The Bishop Ranch office park in San Ramon, California, sits 37 miles from downtown San Francisco and a dozen miles from the nearest rapid transit station. Yet one third of its workers commute via transit using the Ranch’s transportation center. The park markets its 13 bus routes from Bay Area Rapid Transit Stations as a lifestyle choice—an opportunity for workers to save money, stay physically fit, and reduce stress. By promoting the benefits of transit, it has become “cool” in many offices to ride the bus.

In our region, businesses in the Transportation Management Association of Lake Cook contract with Pace to operate a Shuttle Bug service that connects passengers at the Union Pacific North, Milwaukee District North, and Union Pacific Northwest lines to participating office parks in the area. Pace operates 14 buses to these offices during peak travel times. The RTA provided the original start-up capital for the TMA to generate support from businesses and commuters, and employers now fully support it through membership fees.

A shuttle connection between suburban office parks in Lombard, Naperville, and Oak Brook and Metra’s BNSF and Union Pacific West lines will expand transportation choice to over 100,000 jobs. But employers in these areas shouldn’t stop there. TMAs can also build a bigger market share for transit by promoting it as a lifestyle choice and making it convenient through the bulk purchase of passes at a lower price.



VAN SHARING IN SEATTLE, WA |
Photo by Oran Viriyincy/Flickr

FIGURE 12
Transit connectivity and 15 largest job centers

According to CNT's Transit Connectivity Index, which measures total transit trips per week for all three service providers by location, four of the five largest employment centers outside of downtown Chicago along the I-90 corridor (172,000 jobs) and in Lombard (32,000 jobs), Naperville (35,000 jobs), and Oak Brook (33,000 jobs) are ill-served by public transportation.

Sources: *Center for Neighborhood Technology, Local Employment Dynamics*

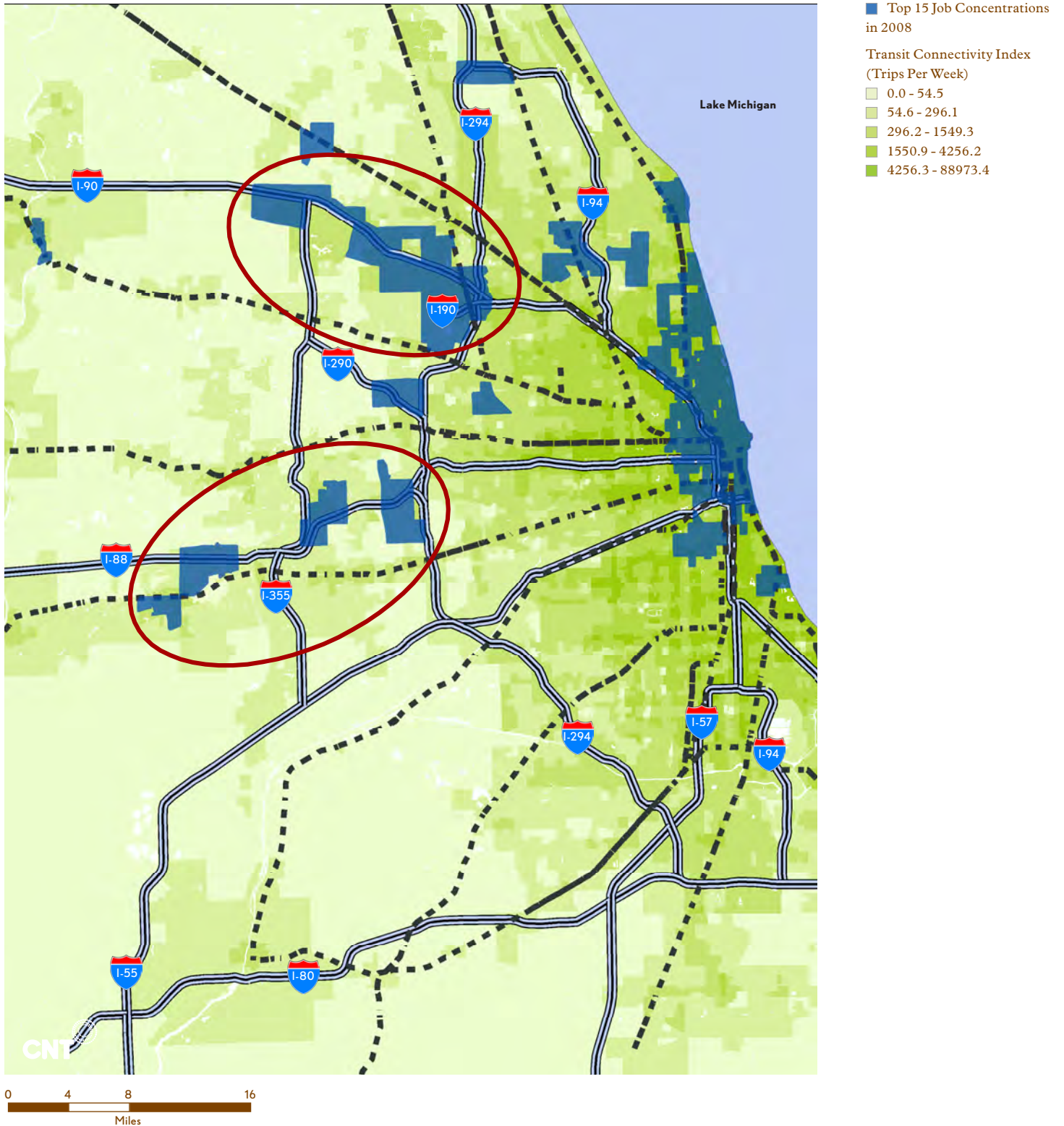


TABLE 2
Fifteen largest employment clusters in Northeastern Illinois in 2009

In 2009, over 300,000 jobs in the 15 largest employment centers were located more than half a mile from CTA or Metra rail service.

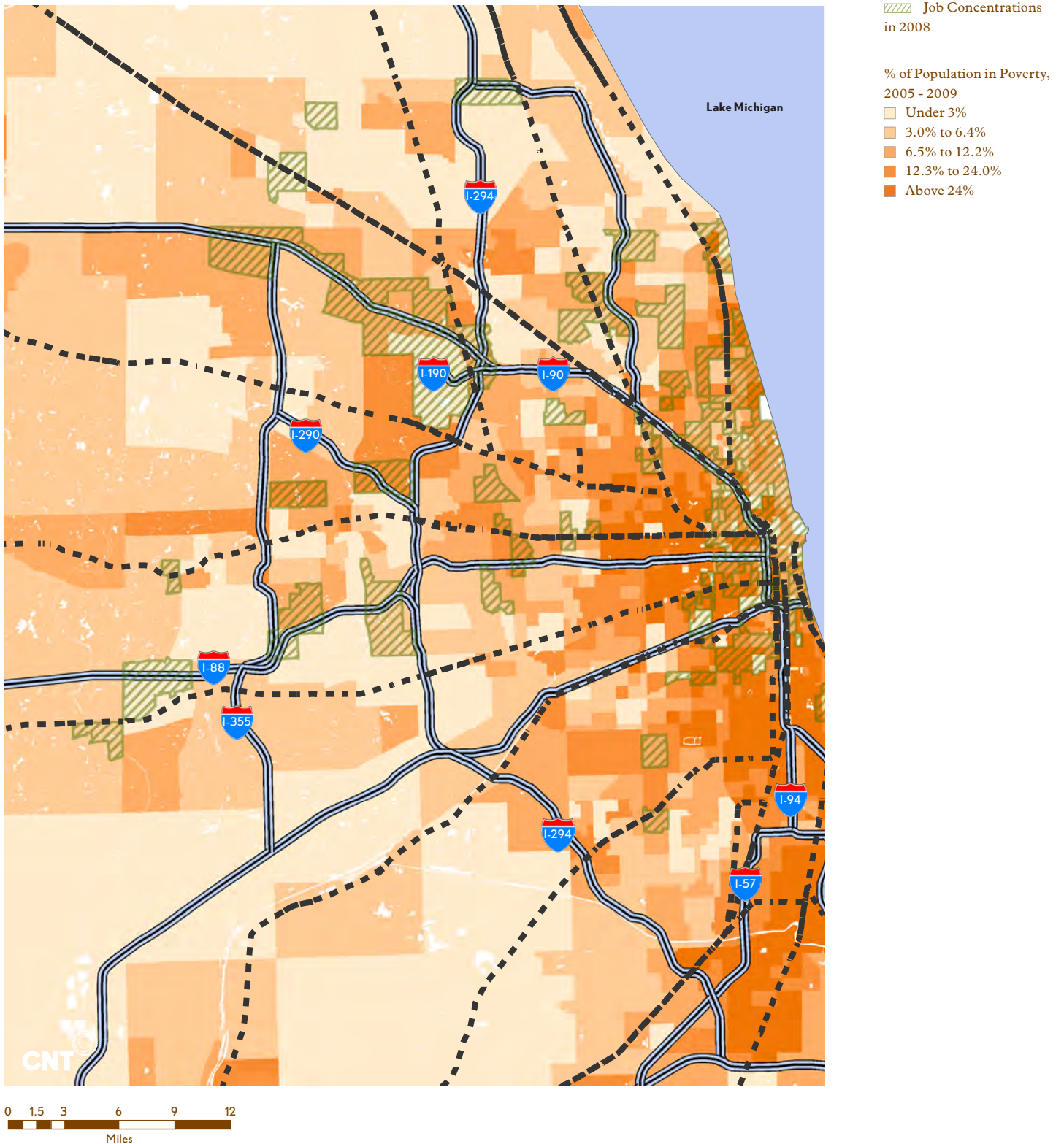
Sources: *Local Employment Dynamics, Center for Neighborhood Technology*

Principal Community	Employment	Acres	Jobs per Acre	CTA/Metra Access	Specialization
Chicago, Urban Core	778,397	18,624	41.8	Yes	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate (FIRE), Professional Services
O'Hare and Northwest Suburbs	172,416	17,231	10.0	No	Transportation
Naperville	34,892	4,101	8.5	Yes	Professional Services, Management of Enterprises
Oak Brook	33,473	3,224	10.4	No	FIRE, Professional Services, Management of Enterprises
Lombard	31,683	2,690	11.8	No	FIRE, Management of Enterprises
Evanston	31,513	1,388	22.7	Yes	Information, Education, Health Care
Chicago, Hyde Park	24,971	971	25.7	Yes	Real Estate, Education, Healthcare
Niles	24,883	2,817	8.8	Yes	Manufacturing
Deerfield	16,407	1,589	10.3	No	Management of Enterprises
Elmhurst	16,375	2,039	8.0	Yes	Wholesale Trade, Management of Enterprises
Chicago, Back of the Yards	15,465	2,131	7.3	No	Manufacturing, Retail, Wholesale, Transportation
Arlington Heights	11,564	766	15.1	Yes	Information, Professional Services, Management of Enterprises
Maywood	11,520	971	11.9	Yes	Health Care
Lincolnwood and Skokie	11,423	1,754	6.5	No (under construction)	Manufacturing, Retail, Education, Arts
Elgin	11,339	530	21.4	Yes	Education Arts

FIGURE 13
Job centers and poverty

Many employment centers are located far from neighborhoods with a high concentration of poverty.

Sources: *Local Employment Dynamics, American Community Survey, Center for Neighborhood Technology*



Accelerating Economic Recovery by Investing in Place



HIGHLAND PARK, IL
Photo by CNT

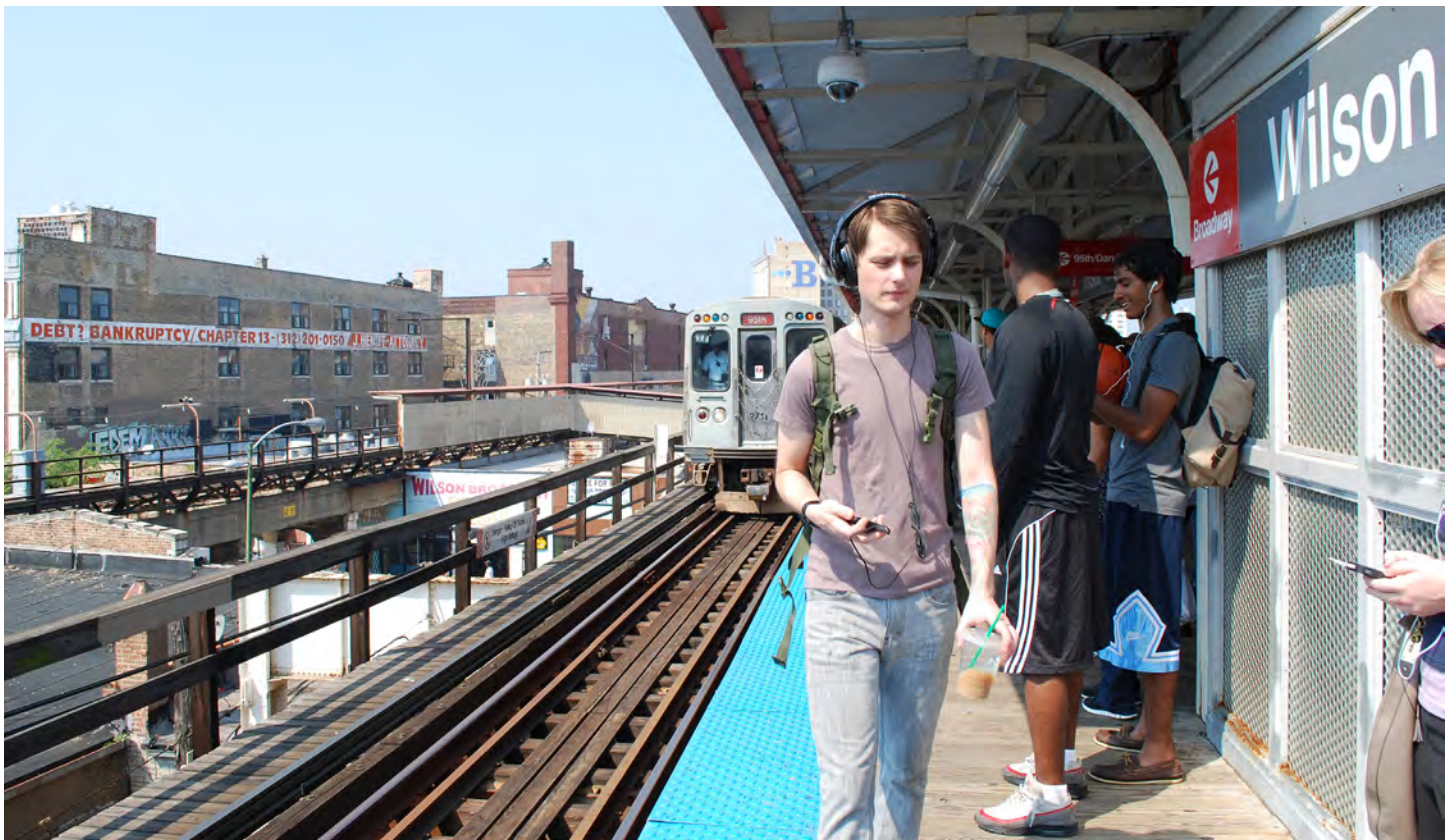
One consequence of the recession is that both population and economic growth in the Chicago region have slowed considerably. This slowdown followed metropolitan employment growth rates that have lagged the nation's for the past 15 years and that are forecasted to continue to be lower for the next four. Our economic stagnation has been compounded by the loss of buying power resulting from increases in the cost of housing, transportation, and consumer goods that outpaced wage growth earlier this decade. These circumstances have converged to create a perfect storm that Chicago's economy is ill-equipped to weather.

Deficiencies in the way our region deploys its extensive passenger and freight rail assets and adjoining land have contributed significantly to our economy's underperformance. Spatial efficiency, in contrast, can deliver economic benefits in the form of lower combined housing and transportation

costs, higher property taxes, savings on infrastructure investments, and access to a more-diverse workforce talent pool. Our region still has the rail assets in place that are necessary to speed our economic recovery, but it has failed to direct land development to take full advantage of them.

On a policy level, *GO TO 2040* stands as a long overdue antidote for what ails the Chicago region. By incorporating land use, transportation, and economic development considerations into a single integrated plan, CMAP has improved the chances that future development will take a more resource efficient shape and occur in places that contribute measurably to the quality of life for residents and businesses across this great region. As good as it is, however, the plan does not identify the locations where scarce resources are best spent to generate strong economic, environmental, and equitable returns.

Our region must prioritize investments in communities like Uptown that have transit service, compact neighborhoods, and access to jobs.
Photo by CNT



Moreover, the region can no longer afford to invest resources in places and projects that do not move us toward the goals of *GO TO 2040*. The stakes are too high. Reaping the benefits of this plan will require bridging the gap between policy and place and strengthening how the plan is implemented so as to yield the greatest economic benefits for the region. If put into action, these recommendations can provide strong incentives to direct residential, commercial, office, and industrial developments to the communities with the greatest transportation options:

Establish Priority Development Areas (PDAs) to guide investments to top TOD, COD, and employment corridor opportunities. CMAP should designate the top development priorities identified in *Prospering in Place* as the communities where scarce resources will generate the strongest returns for the region. Under this program, CMAP would make PDAs the focus of the majority of its technical assistance and all of the Chicago Regional Sustainable Communities program.

Investments of time and money would be tailored to the particular circumstances and needs of specific PDAs. In some locations like Arlington Heights, Des Plaines, and

Evanston, activities will focus on fostering TOD that provides housing at the range of price points necessary to ensure participation reflective of the wage spectrum of area workers and may require the adoption of inclusionary zoning regulations or support for housing collaborative initiatives. In other areas such as Lombard and Oak Brook, connecting office buildings to workers via the services of Pace or a Transportation Management Association may be the order of the day. *Implementers: CMAP, RTA, local municipalities, civic organizations and advocates, employers, and developers.*

Create a regional Sustainable Communities Initiative. The federally funded LTA program should be augmented with capital dollars to create a Chicago Regional Sustainable Communities grant program that supports development opportunities in PDAs. Priority investments should go to communities with transportation connections essential to economic growth as well as to employment centers without public transportation service that already contribute mightily to our economy to help the region recapture its competitive edge. In other regions, Unified Work Program, Congestion Mitigation & Air Quality (CMAQ), and State

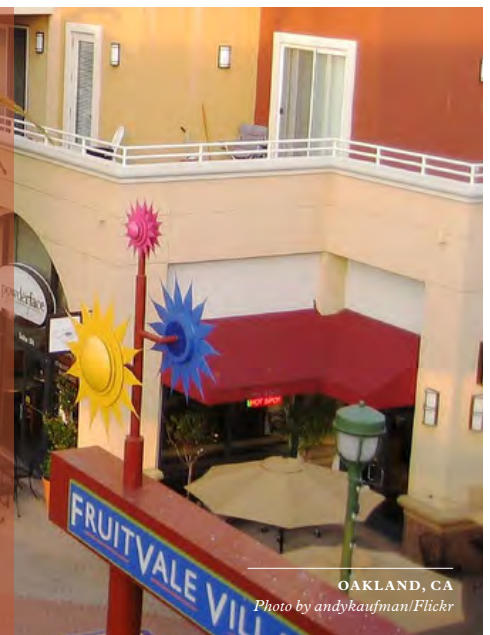
National Case Study: FOCUS

The Association of Bay Area Governments and the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) have partnered with the Bay Area Air Quality Management District, the Bay Area Conservation and Development Corporation, transit providers, congestion management agencies, and local governments to identify areas for compact growth and prioritize them for investment.

These stakeholders have worked together to identify Priority Development Areas (PDAs) where the region should capture additional growth opportunities and help them prosper through:

- *Incentives* such as public and philanthropic grants for station area planning and community engagement;
- *Infrastructure* funds for capital projects funded through MTC's Transportation 2035 plan. MTC recently doubled its capital allocation for PDAs to \$2.2 billion;
- *Technical Assistance* on best practices, financing, and economic development.

In the near term, CMAP should create a PDA framework to guide resources to communities with the greatest potential for TOD, COD, and/or connecting existing jobs to transit.



Transportation (STP) dollars fund competitive programs designed to finance capital improvements like parking structures, high quality public space, sidewalks, bike facilities, truck route improvements, and station improvements essential to TOD and COD in designated PDAs.

In the Chicago area, CMAP has targeted a shift in the 45/55 split between northeastern Illinois and the rest of the state and an increase in the Motor Fuel Tax (MFT) pegged to inflation as the two most likely prospects for new transportation revenues. CNT calls on CMAP's board to invest \$1 billion of STP funding in a Sustainable Communities Initiative through 2040. This fund should award investments to implement existing TOD, COD, and transit plans in PDAs. *Implementers: CMAP, local municipalities, civic organizations and advocates, and developers.*

Align state, regional, and local agency investments with GO TO 2040 objectives in PDA communities. CMAP does not control the investment or land-use decisions of other governmental entities, such as municipalities, the Illinois Departments of Transportation and Commerce and Economic Opportunity, the Illinois Housing Development Authority,

or the Illinois Finance Authority. Yet these agencies control significant public resources that could be better aligned with the region's goals and PDAs to achieve the strongest and most equitable returns in job creation, transportation savings, and environmental improvement.

If the region is serious about slowing job dispersal and reinvesting in existing communities, particularly low- and moderate-income communities, incentives must be aligned horizontally and vertically across economic development, transportation, and environmental agencies. The elevation of PDA communities in local, state, and federal incentive programs will help them and our region become more competitive and attract the jobs that are so vital to our recovery and for which the underlying assets already exist.

CMAP has deftly collaborated with the RTA and its service boards to coordinate and unify activities. CMAP along with PDA communities must exercise the same powers of persuasion with other stakeholders at other levels of government and in the private sector. *Implementers: CMAP, IFA, IHDA, DCEO, IDOT, local municipalities, railroads, transit agencies, civic organizations and advocates, and developers.*

National Model: Atlanta Regional Commission

In 2000, the Atlanta Regional Council (ARC) established the Livable Centers Initiative (LCI) to provide planning support and transportation resources for existing town centers and activity corridors. LCI focuses on planning mixed-use development that connects homes, shops, and offices together through placemaking and increasing walking, biking, and transit infrastructure. ARC has used an annual \$1 million dollar allocation from the Surface Transportation Program to produce hundreds of livability plans by 2010.

More importantly, ARC connected these communities with more than \$129 million in transportation dollars to implement those plans.

This has been a balanced allocation:

- 53% was spent on pedestrian projects.
- 19% was spent on bicycle/pedestrian infrastructure.
- 16% was spent on transit.
- 7% was spent on roadway operations and capacity.
- 5% was spent on multi-use facilities.



SUWANEE, GA
Photo by City of Suwanee



Develop new resources for and accelerate transit and freight transportation infrastructure improvements. To maintain and improve the region’s fertile business environment, strong job market, clean air, and livable communities, the region must invest in its transportation network. A more efficient, diverse, robust, and fiscally sound public transportation system is a vital component of our economy. While other regions, such as Atlanta, Los Angeles, and the Twin Cities, have created new dedicated revenue streams to fund critical transit system improvements, sustained capital funding for transit remains elusive in Illinois. It’s time to change that.

The lack of state and local capital funding impedes the modernization of our passenger and freight rail systems and the extension of lower cost bus service to underserved areas with good fundamentals for supporting public transportation. CMAP has committed itself to securing an increase to the MFT and ending the 45/55 split between the Chicago region and downstate. A significant portion of these new revenue streams must be dedicated to maintain, upgrade, and expand our rail transportation networks. One quarter of all MFT funds flowing to the region should be set aside for transit improvements on an inflation-adjusted basis to maintain its buying power over time.

While these resources will help, they will not be sufficient. CNT believes that Chicago-area residents—like residents in other regions—will stand behind their elected officials in support of a dedicated revenue stream to fund necessary

transit system expansions and improvements. We call on business, civic, environmental, and philanthropic organizations to wage a campaign for new resources to guarantee a strong transit future for the Chicago region. *Implementers: Illinois General Assembly, CMAP, RTA, transit agencies, county governments, civic organizations and advocates.*

Enact mechanisms to underwrite the costs of and streamline pre-development activities in Priority Development Areas.

Underutilized brownfield sites across the region will never be competitive with greenfield sites unless resources are generated to facilitate and speed their redevelopment. During the 2011 spring legislative session, State Representative Will Davis (D-Hazel Crest), SSMMA, and CNT advocated for passage of a novel value-capture approach to finance pre-development activities like land acquisition, brownfield clean up, and infrastructure upgrades around the Canadian National Terminal. Modeled after comparable legislation passed for a Joliet greenfield intermodal site, the Brownfields Redevelopment and Intermodal Promotion Act would establish a district to capture the payroll taxes generated by new job creation to be reinvested in area brownfields so that they can be returned to productive use. Policy changes such as this must be implemented on a region-wide basis to address the shortage of funds for this purpose in PDAs.

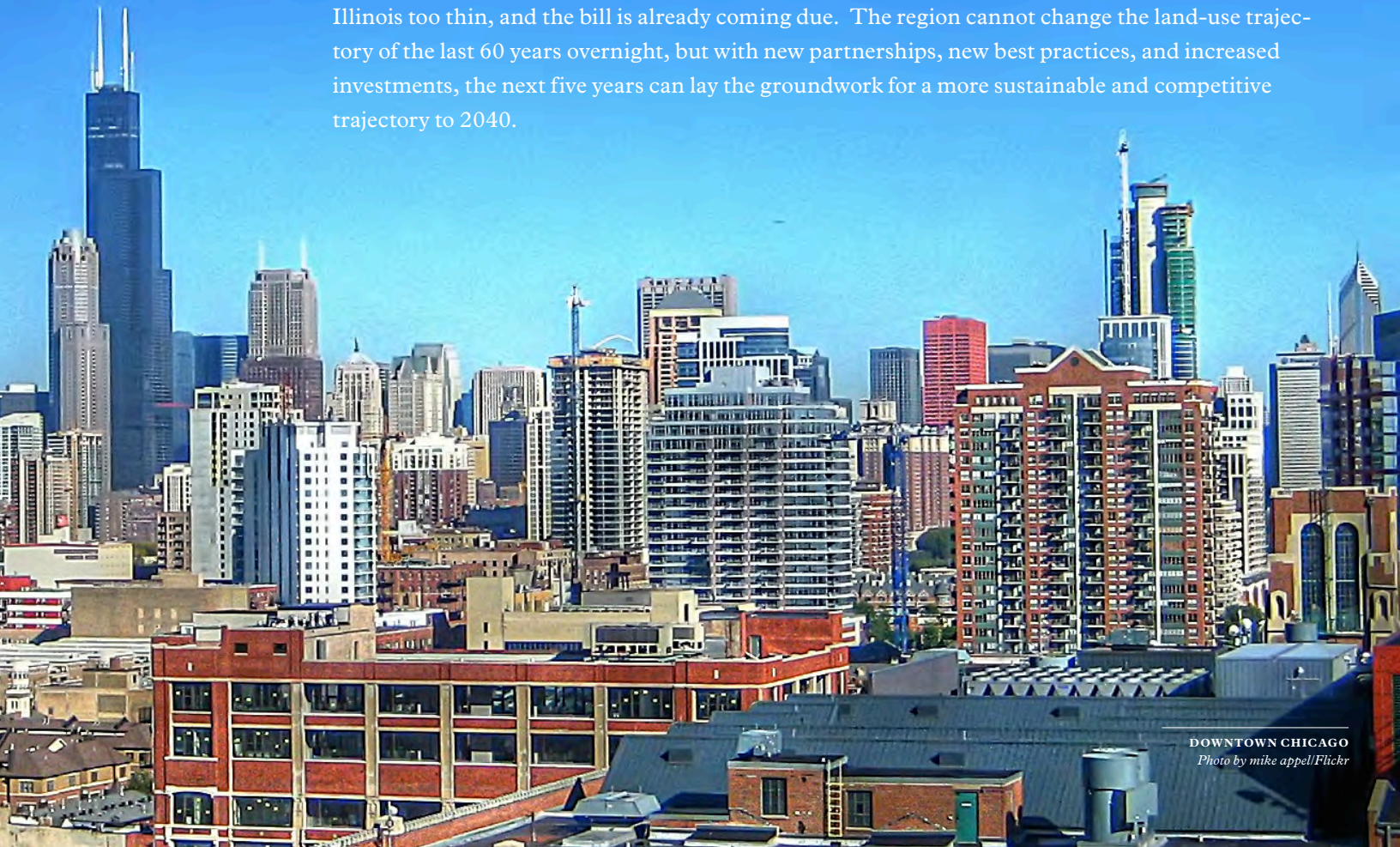
Similarly, the amount of time and money that it takes to assemble parcels of land in older communities often dissuades real estate developers from considering them. A bill to allow county land banking authorities to acquire, hold, and transfer properties will give communities the tools to prepare underutilized land for investors. The prioritization of properties within PDAs will help speed achievement of a 50 percent capture rate for TODs. *Implementers: Illinois General Assembly, CNT, Canadian National, CMAP, developers, county governments, civic organizations and advocates.*

Leadership to Sharpen Chicago's Competitive Edge

Reinvestment in the people and places that give this region one of the most robust economies on Earth is crucial to the region's economic recovery because the savings generated will recycle in the local economy and lead to job growth. Place-based economic development will require a sustained commitment by the cities and towns that make land-use decisions and by the agencies that prioritize where community development and transportation money is spent. CMAP can set the tone by reorienting resources towards key projects in location-efficient places. State and federal agencies can do their part by accepting these communities as the region's Priority Development Areas and directing their resources to support implementation of the vision articulated here and in *GO TO 2040*. Targeting resources to PDAs will incentivize communities with undervalued legacy transportation assets to embrace TOD and COD as land-use strategies.

The most important goals of the next five, and then 25, years should be the redirection of increasingly scarce resources to the transit station areas, brownfield sites close to rapidly growing freight facilities, and knowledge job centers. These places will net the region the biggest boost in household wealth through transportations savings, the most acres of underutilized land redeveloped, and an array of jobs created in places where more workers can get to them by public transportation. This requires a focus on the most important station areas, brownfield sites, and employment centers identified in this paper.

Years of unfettered urban development have spread the population and resources of Northeastern Illinois too thin, and the bill is already coming due. The region cannot change the land-use trajectory of the last 60 years overnight, but with new partnerships, new best practices, and increased investments, the next five years can lay the groundwork for a more sustainable and competitive trajectory to 2040.



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Prospering in Place was written by María Choca Urban and Kyle Smith, with guidance and feedback provided by CNT's Scott Bernstein, David Chandler, Jacky Grimshaw, Taylor McKinley, Alex Naylor, Steve Perkins, Emily Robinson, Kathryn Tholin, and Linda Young. The report was laid out by Kathrine Nichols of CNT, with charts and figures designed by Kalle Butler Waterhouse and copy editing by Bill Hurd.

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