



A Review of Mixed-Income and Equitable Transit- Oriented Development: Opportunities for the Proposed LRT Corridor in Hamilton

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By

Rebecca Correia
Maria Sunil
Aislyn Sax
Eric MacPherson
Evan Gravely

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Executive Summary

The Hamilton Community Land Trust (HCLT) is a non-profit organization that advocates for inclusive and equitable forms of development, and the sustainable ownership of land for community benefit. In the context of Light Rail Transit (LRT) development in Hamilton, Ontario, the HCLT is advocating for affordable housing around the proposed route and resisting gentrification.

The HCLT partnered with the McMaster Research Shop to better understand how concepts like mixed-income (MID) and equitable transit-oriented development (eTOD) can inform LRT development plans. To do this, the Research Shop team selectively reviewed literature to understand the principles of MID and eTOD, reviewed LRT development plans for gaps where these principles could be applied, and then identified opportunities for Hamilton's LRT project.

At a high level, eTOD emphasizes the need to establish and maintain the accessibility and inclusivity of neighborhoods surrounding high-capacity transit developments. In accordance, MID calls for people of different incomes and social classes to live in proximity by ensuring a variety of housing types within the same neighbourhood. These two overlapping concepts employ principles that can inform more equitable parameters for Hamilton's LRT project and its associated development processes.

In our review of LRT planning documents and other media, we found no explicit evidence to suggest that LRT development will take an equity focus, including lacking an orientation towards providing mixed-income housing development a concern around the impact of development on housing along the proposed route (e.g., gentrification). With these gaps in mind, we highlighted four opportunities to incorporate the principles of eTOD and MID in Hamilton LRT development plans:

- 1) Ensuring the availability of affordable housing units along the LRT development corridor to promote mixed-income and mixed-use development. This may include purchasing the land at lower prices or setting quotas to encourage affordable housing developments and attract interested developers.
- 2) Implementing inclusionary zoning policies, which requires setting a percentage of units within an area or building to be priced at affordable rates.
- 3) Collaborations with community organizations, such as community land trusts, which can allow for preserving and increasing the stock of affordable housing.
- 4) Using a participatory process to gather and respond to resident concerns and needs.

Our analysis, which was informed by a selective review of literature, planning documents, and media, is meant to inspire discussions between LRT stakeholders around social impacts and opportunities for Hamilton's LRT project. Although we recognized gaps in current Hamilton LRT development plans regarding MID and eTOD, there may still be room for equitable regulations to be incorporated.

Key Terms

The following definitions were developed based on our synthesis of key resources that are referenced throughout this report. While different sources may define these terms differently, our use of these terms in this report is consistent with the following definitions:

Transit-oriented development (TOD) refers to urban planning and construction that is centered around public transit, rather than private automobile travel. Dense, multi-use buildings are clustered within a walkable distance (10 to 15 minutes) of transit stations to encourage ridership and non-automobile reliance to the surrounding neighbourhood and its amenities (Siemiatycki & Fagan, 2021).

Mixed-use development prioritizes different amenities being built within proximity of one another. These amenities may include different business types, essential services, housing types, and transit stations (Steinberg, 2020).

Mixed-income development (MID) refers to residential developments that include not only a range of incomes, but also a variety of housing types. Housing may differ in terms of physical construction and tenure types (e.g., mixed residential and commercial use). MID prioritizes density, public transit, and non-motorized mobility in development processes (Steinberg, 2020).

Gentrification occurs when capital investment and middle- or upper-class people move into a working-class neighbourhood. This investment and demographic shift improve the development of housing and other amenities in the neighbourhood, but also increases costs (Choi et al., 2018). This change can displace existing residents (**direct displacement**) or change the neighbourhood around them and reduce their influence (**social displacement**) (Jones, 2015). Gentrified neighbourhoods tend to include residents who are Caucasian, college-educated, have higher median incomes, and higher owner-occupancy than was the case before the gentrification process. The extent of gentrification can be measured by the change in these indicators (Choi et al., 2018; Zuk & Carlton, 2015)

Equitable transit-oriented development (eTOD) counters gentrification that can occur within TOD corridors due to the influence of transit development on housing costs. eTOD areas include a mix of public, private, affordable, and market-rate housing with a variety of tenure types and inclusionary zoning to meet existing residents' needs. Mixed housing availability helps to ensure that residents can remain in their neighbourhood. Community participation and government investment/intervention in the market are necessary throughout this process (Clagett, 2014; Pollack & Prater, 2013; Steinberg, 2020).

A **land trust** is a non-profit organization that owns land and leases it to residents. Individuals purchase structures (e.g., houses) on the land from the trust. Land trusts are made of long-term ground leases to owner-occupiers. The main goal of a land trust is to preserve long-term affordability by removing housing units and lands from the market.

Trusts, therefore, increase length of residency by ensuring security of tenure (Choi et al., 2018).

Lastly, **affordable housing** refers to housing that costs no more than 30% of a household's monthly income.

Positionality Statement

The research team acknowledges their standpoint as educated individuals pursuing undergraduate and graduate studies at McMaster University in health/medical sciences (Rebecca and Maria) and humanities (Aislyn and Eric). The researchers are not affiliated with the Hamilton Community Land Trust (HCLT), but some individuals have prior experiences or knowledge related to the topics discussed in this report.

Maria has attended events organized by the Hamilton Encampment Support Network, which provided exposure about the state of affordable housing in Hamilton.

Aislyn completed a transportation policy and cities geography course that instilled a foundational understanding of transit-oriented development and its effects. She has also previously conducted research on affordable housing for youth.

Eric lived in the Kingston Student Housing Co-operative, which both taught him about alternative tenure types and changed his perspective on market solutions to housing. Since moving to Hamilton, Eric has worked with the Hamilton Encampment Support Network, the Hamilton & District Labour Council, and CUPE 3906 by canvassing and delegating to City Council on the housing crisis and police brutality. He has also volunteered with CUPE 3906's Indigenous Solidarity Working Group on issues of land reclamation on the Haldimand Tract outside of Hamilton. Eric approached this research as a Marxist, a perspective that was developed by his volunteer work and university education. He therefore advocated for non-market solutions and state interventions in support for the HDLC's pre-existing goals against the potential for gentrification found in the literature. This political position no doubt affected his contributions to this report.

The team members have no other interactions or experiences related to the topic that may have framed their approach or analysis.

Our partnership with the HCLT for this work does not mean we devalue other types of affordable housing initiatives discussed in this report. We acknowledge that our positionality influenced this project when designing the search strategy, synthesizing the literature, and development recommendations.

Introduction

Context

The Hamilton Community Land Trust (HCLT) is a non-profit organization that owns land in the name of citizens and leases it back to social-purpose organizations and individuals to help meet needs that are prioritized by the community. The HCLT has a vision for communities to be active in the inclusive and sustainable ownership of land for community benefit. These benefits include creating and/or preserving community assets like affordable housing, parks, community space, workspaces, and gardens. The organization is also interested in inclusive and equitable forms of development, including resisting gentrification and advocating for affordable housing. Though not an explicitly partisan organization, the HCLT advocates for community-led development and ownership of land based on the core value that, “land is power” (*Hamilton Community Land Trust*, 2022).

At the time of writing this report, the HCLT has been advocating for inclusive and equitable development around the proposed Light Rail Transit (LRT) route in Hamilton, Ontario. The Hamilton LRT is a planned 17-stop light rail line operating along Main Street, King Street, and Queenstone Road – extending from McMaster University to Eastgate Square via downtown Hamilton. The goals of the Hamilton LRT are to deliver rapid, reliable, and safe transportation services operating at a higher capacity than other modes of transit, which will become increasingly important as the population of Hamilton continues to increase. After years of debate, Hamilton City Council authorized a memorandum of understanding with Metrolinx and the Ministry of Transportation to officially move forward with the Hamilton LRT project in September 2021. The Hamilton LRT project was originally estimated to be completed in 2024, according to city planning documents that were released in 2018. However, given the contention surrounding this project, the timeline of this development has been pushed. An updated estimate of the completion date for the Hamilton LRT has not been released. The most recent announcement from the city regarding the LRT stated that construction began in early 2022.

Some communities have expressed concerns about LRT development and the potential for gentrification. In the early phases of this construction, some marginalized communities have already faced displacement as a result of properties being purchased by Metrolinx. Some groups are concerned about a lost sense of vibrance and vitality in neighbourhoods along the proposed LRT route, as many buildings have either been boarded up or demolished in preparation for construction, particularly in east Hamilton. The HCLT partnered with the McMaster Research Shop to better understand how housing affordability can be considered and incorporated into Hamilton LRT development plans to prevent further displacement of low-income individuals.

Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this report is to provide the HCLT with a review of mixed-income (MID) and equitable transit-oriented development (eTOD) literature to inform their advocacy for inclusive and equitable development along Hamilton's proposed LRT corridor.

The research question for this study was: *How can the principles of mixed-income and equitable transit-oriented development inform development plans along Hamilton's proposed LRT route?*

We used this research question to define two research objectives that guided our project. The first objective was to review the principles of MID and eTOD, and the second was to use these principles to analyze Hamilton LRT development plans and identify opportunities for more equitable development.

Report Structure

In this report, we begin by describing the methods used to conduct a narrative review of the concepts outlined in our primary research question. We then summarize the principles of MID and eTOD based on a variety of sources identified in our literature review. Then, we reviewed city planning documents to consider whether these principles were considered or incorporated into Hamilton LRT development plans. We concluded by identifying areas of opportunity to incorporate the principles of MID and eTOD in future LRT planning.

Methods

Literature Search Strategy

We conducted a narrative review of the literature to understand the principles of MID and eTOD. One researcher conducted an academic database search using McMaster's online library and searching for a set of pre-defined terms (**Table 1**). A second researcher conducted the grey literature search with the intention of expanding the search results to literature published outside of academic databases (e.g., municipal reports). A subset of the literature was provided by the community partner and was considered for inclusion by using the same inclusion/exclusion criteria applied in the formal search (**Figure 1**).

1. (Transit Oriented Development OR mixed income OR land trust model) AND (Policies OR indicators)
2. Affordable housing AND (Transit OR Light rail Transit) AND Development
3. Transit AND Gentrification // Transit-Induced Gentrification
4. (Transit Development OR Transit) AND Gentrification Mitigation
5. Transit Development AND Displacement
6. Land Trust Model AND Transit Oriented Development
7. Affordable housing AND (Policies OR Indicators)

Table 1. Search terms used for academic database search

After gaining an understanding of these principles, we wanted to apply them to Hamilton LRT planning documents. These documents were identified in the grey literature search described previously and in documents provided by the community partner.

Screening the Literature

The literature reviewed in this report was included based on the following inclusion and exclusion criteria:

1. The piece was published within the last decade (2012-2022), in English, in either Canada or the United States.
2. The piece mentions mixed income or affordable housing and/or transit-oriented development.
3. The piece mentions housing developments in areas along or near public transportation routes, lines, or stops.
4. Any cases or examples provided occur within a Canadian or American context.

The research team applied detailed inclusion and exclusion criteria to both phases of our literature search (**Figure 1**):

Literature characteristics:		
• Published between 2012-2022	YES	NO
• Published in English	YES	NO
• Published within Canada or the USA	YES	NO
Literature content:		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mentions mixed-income or affordable housing and/or TOD • Mentions housing development in areas along or near public transportation routes, lines, or stops • If any case studies are discussed/presented, the occur within a Canadian or American context/setting 	YES	NO
	YES	NO
	YES	NO
Study inclusion:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the answers are YES • Any answer is NO • If you are unsure of the answer, include for full-text screening 	INCLUDE	
	EXCLUDE	
	INCLUDE	

Figure 1. Inclusion and exclusion criteria questionnaire

After applying these criteria, we identified 40 articles in our literature search and the community partner provided 5 articles. Following screening, we excluded 14 records that did not meet the inclusion criteria. We then conducted a full-text analysis of the 14 records and determined that 10 articles fit all inclusion criteria and aligned with the first research objective. A summary of the literature that was collected, included, and excluded is presented in **Figure 2**.

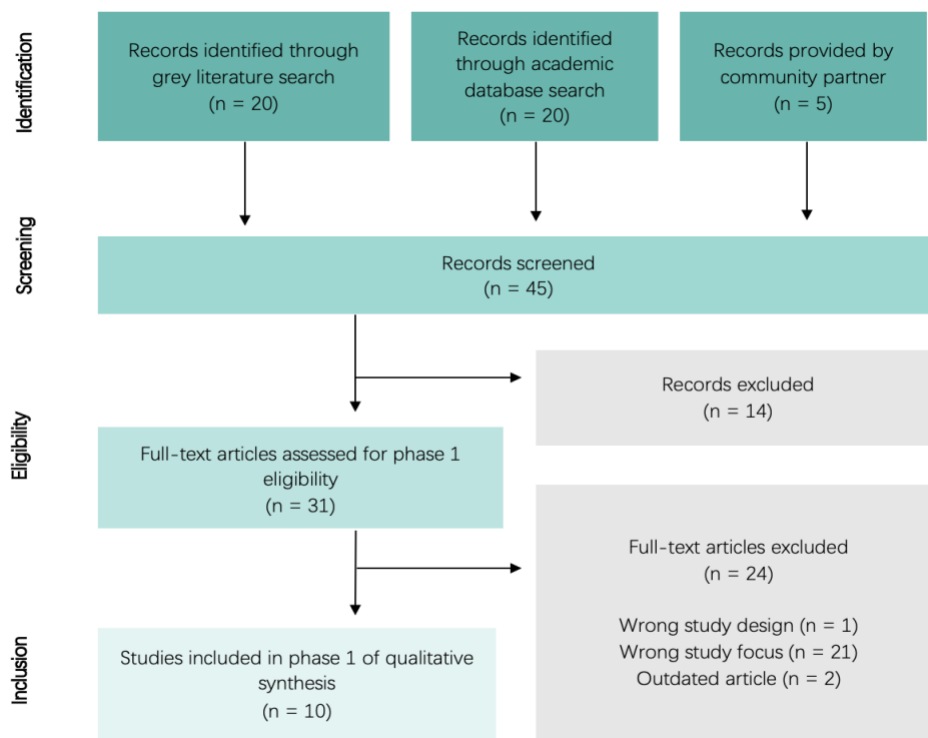


Figure 2. Literature screening flowchart

A summary of the included literature aligned with the first and second research objectives are listed in **Appendix A** and **Appendix B**, respectively.

Literature Synthesis and Analysis of LRT Development Opportunities

We extracted the background (context, gaps, and aims), methodology (details about data collection and analysis), relevant findings, and limitations. We then documented the principles of MID and eTOD as defined by each source and provided a narrative summary of the findings.

The next step was to apply these principles to Hamilton LRT development plans. We identified three Hamilton planning documents that were obtained in the formal literature search and shared by the community partner: Transportation Master Plan (2018), Hamilton Light Rail Transit (LRT) Environmental Project Report (2017), and Transit Oriented Development Guidelines: City of Hamilton (Vol 1) (2010). We examined whether the principles were reflected in each document by searching for the terms “mixed income development,” “affordable housing,” “equitable transit-oriented development,” and “gentrification.”

Limitations

The literature we obtained in our search was limited to internet searches in the public domain or resources available through McMaster University. This means that any potential private or unfinished/unpublished documents about the LRT development from either Metrolinx, the contracted operator, or the City of Hamilton were unavailable.

Additionally, LRT is still a relatively new form of transportation in Canada. According to the Hamilton LRT webpage, there are only eight known LRT systems either in development or operational in Canada (“Light Rail Transit (LRT)”, 2022). Therefore, finding Canadian examples was more difficult. We chose to limit our search primarily to Canadian-specific articles because the cultural and political factors were most comparable to Hamilton. However, we did consider American examples to compile more information.

Due to time constraints, this review focused on municipal plans for transit-oriented development and did not go into depth on federal or provincial plans.

Findings

Research Objective #1: Defining the Principles of eTOD and MID

Transit-oriented development:

Transit-oriented development (TOD) was developed in response to post-war urban construction and addresses our current dependence on personal vehicles (Tsenkova, 2021). Some common attributes include the blending of mixed-use buildings within

proximity of transit stations, high-capacity transit systems, and pedestrian and biking infrastructure (Steinberg, 2020). This allows for decreased car dependency, transportation savings, a reduction in the local carbon footprint, and stimulation of the local economy (Kim, 2020). Conventional TOD tends to focus on the built environment of urban spaces to prioritize walkability and public transit. TOD is commonly related to concepts like the “10-minute city”, “complete community”, or “urban village”, which are neighborhoods where all necessities are found within a 10-minute trip connected by active transport (e.g., walking or cycling) and public transit (Pomeroy, 2018).

Despite potential reductions in personal transportation due to access to high quality transit, TOD has come under fire by housing affordability activists. They argue that TOD can create increased demand for housing and commercial space around transit stations and boost the real estate pricing in the area, pricing out low-income residents (Delmelle et al., 2021). In addition, mixed-income housing that previously included more renting options may become increasingly privately owned, reducing affordability (Choi et al., 2018). Moreover, when transit stations do not have adequate built environment features in the area, this can result in sub-par accessibility and connectivity (and what planners call transit-adjacent development). For example, the presence of bus stops where someone must cross busy streets to get to their desired locations or a lack of pedestrian and cycling infrastructure can reduce the use of active transportation and hamper access to public transit.

Without due consideration, conventional TOD designs can amplify gentrifying processes and reduce the quality of life for citizens (Delmelle et al., 2021). In particular, free-market forces that encourage rising housing costs make it difficult to prevent the negative displacement effects of gentrification without regulatory policy in place (Association for Neighbourhood & Housing Development, 2022). For these reasons, scholars have recently called for more equitable transit-oriented development – a concept reviewed in the next section.

Equitable transit-oriented development:

Equitable transit-oriented development (eTOD) acknowledges and compensates for the shortcomings of conventional TOD by emphasizing the need to establish and maintain both the accessibility and inclusivity of neighborhoods surrounding high-capacity transit developments (Clagett, 2014). This is made possible through precise financial planning for developments and eTOD policy implementation to guide future development and public investments. In addition, close collaborations between community members, community organizations, local government, developers, and transit agencies are integral in establishing eTOD.

These features of eTOD can be incorporated into development plans in several ways. Financial planning to promote eTOD involves purchasing land at lower prices to make affordable housing projects viable. Municipalities can also set quotas to encourage affordable housing developments and attract interested developers (Coriolis Consulting Group 2019). Policies, such as inclusionary zoning, can be implemented to promote eTOD in planning and investments. Inclusionary zoning ensures a set percentage of

units within a building are priced at affordable rates (Siemiatycki & Fagan, 2021). Lastly, collaborations within the community are integral in establishing eTOD (Pollack & Prater, 2013). Community organizations, such as Community Land Trusts, can both preserve and increase the stock of affordable housing and contribute to eTOD. Community Land Trusts can also advocate for eTOD and incentivize community members in communicating with developers, transit agencies, and local government regarding developments along transit lines (Hickey, 2013).

Through the integration of these approaches and prioritizing affordability, eTOD posits that the total displacement of low-income residents, both socially and physically, will be reduced. Overall, eTOD places an importance on the needs and interests of existing residents and resistance to gentrifying processes that may be typical of conventional TOD (Steinberg, 2020).

Mixed-income development:

The intent of MID is for people of different incomes and social classes to live in proximity by ensuring a variety of housing types exist in the same neighbourhood (Steinberg, 2020). These neighbourhoods can include apartments (both high- and low-rise), townhouses, semi-detached, and detached houses. MID may also include a mix of both public and private ownership, and alternative tenure models like Community Land Trusts. This mix of tenure types is important for supporting affordability long term because it puts downward pressure on housing costs by protecting it from wider market trends (Hickey, 2013). The goal is to avoid a single construction type dominating the area to ensure that people of various incomes and social classes can afford to live in the same neighbourhood.

MID neighborhoods promote more affordable rental prices through inclusionary zoning bylaws, which allow different housing types to occupy the same neighbourhood, block, or building. For example, inclusionary zoning may require new developments to include affordable units. Alternatively, municipalities can offer incentives to developers, such as in the form of grants, to offset the capital cost of building affordable or lower rent units. The goal is to eliminate neighbourhoods with concentrated poverty and reduce residential segregation based on income levels. However, MID requires various state interventions in the market and a broad mix of planning and legislative tools to ensure neighbourhoods contain a mix of dwellings and income groups (Pomeroy, 2018). These interventions can include building more public housing where price does not follow market trends, imposing price or other rent controls, changing zoning laws to allow for multiple housing types, and subsidizing or supporting alternative types of tenure, such as Community Land Trusts.

Relationship between principles:

MID and eTOD are related and mutually reinforcing concepts. Both equitable development strategies encourage strengthening the community and improving the quality of life for all residents. There is vast overlap between the principles of these development frameworks, as both aim to increase the variety of housing options available in an area, particularly affordable housing. Mixed-income principles are

required for TOD to be considered equitable, and therefore they are usually observed together. Both forms emphasize the need for accessibility and inclusivity, with a focus on community priorities rather than increasing profits. Lastly, these development types are a response to the continual displacement of low-income individuals in developing areas.

We summarize distinctions and points of overlap in the definitions of these concepts in **Figure 3**.

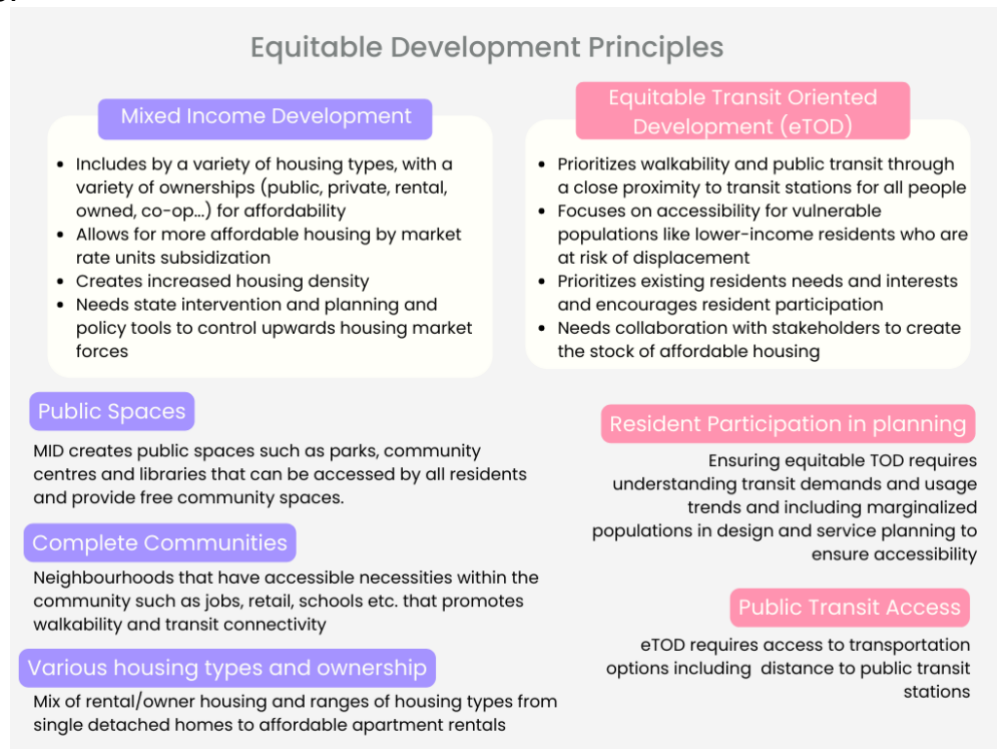


Figure 3. Summary of equitable development principles

Research Objective #2: Applying the Principles of MID and eTOD to Hamilton LRT Development Plans

Overview of Hamilton LRT development plans:

The Hamilton LRT development plan was first introduced as part of the Rapid Ready Plan submitted by Metrolinx in 2013 to prepare the city for rapid transportation and outline funding requirements. However, plans regarding an LRT in Hamilton were proposed years before, starting with a promise in the 2007 Liberal campaign to build 'two light rail lines across Hamilton' (Raise the Hammer, 2016). The city of Hamilton conducted a feasibility study in 2008 and although this report is often cited, it has been removed from the Hamilton Library Archives. However, news articles referencing this report state that this was the first mention of LRT development in Hamilton (Raise the Hammer, 2016). Hamilton city council has had many votes concerning the LRT development since 2008. In 2018, the councillors approved the Transportation Master

Plan which was described as “set[ting] the direction for the city’s day-to-day transportation programs” and “connect[ing] the transportation vision and planning decisions to the City’s Strategic Plan.” This was the most current transportation- plan that we used to investigate Hamilton’s LRT development. However, within this document there was no explicit mention of equitable housing development around transit lines.

In addition, there has been ample media coverage (e.g., broadcasting city council debates) surrounding the approval and development of the Hamilton LRT. A primary example was an extensive interview between city councillors Maureen Wilson and Judy Partridge who represented pro-LRT and no-LRT views, respectively (The Agenda, 2021). The LRT plans have been routinely delayed by city council disputes on whether the plans should go forward. This resulted in a 9-6 vote in June 2021 to move forward with the LRT with 3.4 billion dollars provided by the provincial and federal governments. Much of the debate centered around whether the city should adopt a Bus Rapid Transit over the proposed LRT system, and whether the city can afford a multimillion-dollar LRT maintenance program each year. Other debates in city council have focused on financial issues, construction time, and the form of transit. However, mention of equity within this system and the impact of development on housing along the route was not discussed.

Reporters from the local media have asked the various stakeholders (e.g., MPs, MPPs, Metrolinx) about plans for affordable housing alongside LRT development. No one has provided an official position regarding this issue; in fact, these questions/concerns are often re-directed to the inquest of other parties. For instance, an MP claimed that development plans are up to the provincial and municipal governments, Metrolinx cited the provincial influence, and the province has made no official statement.

Applying the principles of MID and eTOD to Hamilton LRT development:

“Rapid Transit is more than just moving people from place to place. It is about providing a catalyst for the development of high quality, safe, environmentally sustainable and affordable transportation options for our citizens, connecting key destination points, stimulating economic development and revitalizing Hamilton.” (Steer Davies Gleave, 2017).

The LRT project states the values used to guide the development of the Rapid Transit Vision as being rapid, reliable, and safe. This comes from the Environmental Project Report that looked at the current environmental, cultural, social, and traffic conditions of the land marked for development (Steer Davies Gleave, 2017). The vision is the only mention of affordability within the project report, but it is limited to transit affordability and does not appear to examine the connection between affordability in housing and accessible transit. There is no mention of the effects that the LRT development will have on affordability within the commitments to future work section where there are mentions of the property acquisition process but no mention of displacement both physically and culturally stemming from development. Economic development is a priority in the vision,

but this does not specify for who this development will serve. The plan does not make reference to historical gentrification processes in Hamilton, including displacement of the lower-income renters.

Overall, we did not identify compelling evidence that Hamilton LRT development plans consider the integration of MID or eTOD principles. In the ensuing sections, we discuss opportunities for various stakeholders (e.g., city council, Metrolinx, and the HCLT) to factor the principles of eTOD and MID into LRT development plans.

Opportunity #1: Encourage the development of affordable housing units

Encouraging affordable housing units to be included within the LRT development corridor will promote mixed-income and mixed-use development. Affordable housing options can prevent displacement of lower-income renters from the new development as prices rise from the value that proximity to rapid transit traditionally brings. However, affordable housing can be impractical from the developer's view and creates more political pressure for regulation-makers (Coriolis Consulting Company, 2019). As is the case in Hamilton, new development is often connected to profitability, and the Hamilton City Plans and discourse around the LRT follow this trend showing that the new transit will attract new investments and further redevelopments.

The updated Transportation Master Plan released by the City of Hamilton in 2018 highlights the reduced transportation costs provided by the LRT and how it can act as a catalyst for smaller neighbourhood-scale amenities and retail uses. These amenities will attract "larger scale redevelopment projects" and "residential intensification." The report mentions a "wide-range of housing choices for a wider range of residents" (City of Hamilton, 2018). However, the Transportation Master Plan does not acknowledge the importance of maintaining affordable living standards, increasing or maintaining the current stock of affordable housing, or minimizing the displacement of low-income residents (City of Hamilton, 2018). In addition, the document defines TOD but does not include any provisions for equitable development. For example, the report does encourage the city "to seek development of any surplus land in a way that contributes to wider TOD," but again, no mention of what *kind* of development this will be is specified (City of Hamilton, 2018). Searches for related topics within the document, such as gentrification, returned no results. Unless specific protections for affordability are included, gentrification will likely set in (Clagett, 2014). This may constitute a gap in the city's vision where clear legislation mandating affordable housing could protect low-income residents from gentrification associated with LRT development.

Creating clear development policies, such as mixed development (including a combination of market, affordable rental, and strata (co-op) housing) and inclusionary zoning, can require developers to include a subset of affordable housing units in their building plans (Coriolis Consulting Company, 2019). Discovering other construction innovations like prefabricated units could help make affordable units feasible for both the private market as well as for non-profit organizations like the HCLT looking to increase affordable units within the space.

Opportunity #2: Implement inclusionary zoning policies

Inclusionary zoning is a regulatory policy which requires a set percentage of units within an area or building to be priced at affordable rates. Currently, no inclusionary zoning policies exist within Hamilton LRT plans. The Planning Act of Ontario, which promotes sustainable development, lays the groundwork for inclusionary zoning policy. However, it is up to the individual municipalities to decide if and how they want to implement this policy. For example, the municipality may decide specifics on the minimum number of affordable units within a rental building, depending on the location. Few changes have been made to the Planning Act since the Ford government, more specifically, inclusionary zoning policies are now restricted solely to transit station corridors (*Planning Act*, 2014).

The City of Toronto was the first to enact inclusionary zoning policies in Ontario, in which 5 to 10 percent of new condominium developments will be designated as affordable housing units. By 2030, it is estimated that these numbers will grow gradually up to 22 percent (City of Toronto, 2021). The required percentages for designated affordable housing units vary depending on the location of each development.

City planners should consider enacting inclusionary zoning in Hamilton, as this equitable development tool is used in both eTOD and MID practices and had the most literature-based support within our review. This would require collaboration and an alignment of values between the provincial and municipal governments to support the creation of affordable housing over what would otherwise be profitable commercial or residential development. Grassroots organizations, such as Hamilton ACORN, advocate for inclusionary zoning within Hamilton. Municipal collaboration with local organizations would also be valuable in leveraging these policies.

Opportunity #3: Establish and support community land trusts

Community land trusts are grassroot organizations which acquire and hold land with the intention of leasing it back to the community at a significantly reduced cost to provide secure, affordable access to land and housing (Axel-Lute, 2018; Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2005). The land is taken off the market, decommodifying the land in perpetuity, which puts it in the community's control (Balmer, 2015; United Nations, 2022).

Our partner, the HCLT, is already using this strategy and explained that there are other ways to acquire the land off-market, such as it being gifted by a benefactor or by the city, getting low-cost loans, and creating political pressure on cities to make land for affordable housing available. In addition, since Metrolinx owns many of the properties bought out for the LRT development that are sitting vacant right now, they could sell or gift property to the HCLT or the city for affordable housing leasing and development. This could create some assurance of long-term ridership for the LRT and could alleviate political pressure on Metrolinx after a decades long wait.

Community land trusts allows for low-income individuals and families to own the land they reside on. Through this process, community land trusts can play a role in establishing equitable neighbourhoods and mitigating the rise of housing costs within an area. More specifically, they can create mixed-income communities by increasing the stock of affordable housing (Hickey, 2013). In addition to this, they can acquire land before TOD projects increase the surrounding housing prices (Clagett, 2014; Hickey, 2013).

Opportunity #4: Facilitate a participatory approach to community engagement

Another way to support eTOD and support the existing transit users is using a participatory process to hear and respond to existing resident concerns and needs (Steinberg, 2020). Consultation tools can vary depending on who is guiding the process and the end goal of the consultation but can include public information centres, focus groups, and surveys or community events. The City of Hamilton has previously consulted with over 75 stakeholder groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, Business Improvement Areas, Neighbourhood Associations, School Boards, and other organizations as well as citizens through public information centres and community events (Steer Davies Gleave, 2017). There were two main public information centers that used comment forms with some specific questions relating to changing a stop, adding pedestrian crossings, and considering alternative layouts for certain stops and intersections (Steer Davies Gleave, 2017). These consultations did result in changes to the plans (Steer Davies Gleave, 2017).

One important lesson to apply during the consultation process is to carefully consider which perspectives are included and excluded. In planning for later phases of LRT development in Ottawa, a brainstorming session occurred with many affordable housing and inclusionary groups, based on the recognition that prior consultations did not actively engage these groups (Pomeroy, 2018). Unlike Hamilton, which was conducted by a consulting group hired by the city, Ottawa engaged activists and community members who brought a unique equity perspective to their work with the goal of serving affordable housing and inclusion (Pomeroy, 2018). By including these perspectives, Ottawa's consultation process both brought the idea of inclusionary housing to the forefront of the conversation around LRT development but also allowed tools and techniques to be shared to brainstorm tangible changes such as infilling parking for additional units and capitalizing on brownfield development and underutilized spaces like commercial malls (Pomeroy, 2018). Hamilton may duplicate this model by ensuring that stakeholders from all groups including lower-income tenants are represented in their consultations to bring more equitable development.

Conclusion

Our narrative review described the principles of MID and eTOD and used these principles to analyze opportunities for more inclusive and equitable development along Hamilton's proposed LRT corridor. This work was informed by select literature on MID

and eTOD and included a selective analysis of current LRT issues and trends from a limited number of media. As such, our analysis, which is exploratory and preliminary, is meant to inspire discussions between LRT stakeholders, including city officials and community organizations like the HCLT, around projected social impacts and opportunities for the project, as well as encourage further research into the concepts, issues, and opportunities we presented. Future work could involve identifying or developing indicators to evaluate how (if at all) LRT development plans and projections reflect principled eTOD or MID. Although we recognized gaps in current Hamilton LRT development plans regarding MID and eTOD, there may still be room for other equitable regulations to be incorporated.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Summary of included literature aligned with Research Objective #1

Title of Source	Author(s)	Year	Source Type	Objective of Source
Equitable Transit Oriented Development: Examining the progress and continued challenges of developing affordable housing in opportunity and transit-rich neighborhoods	Miriam Zuk, Ian Carlton	2015	Academic article	To uncover the key strategies developers and agencies use to overcome barriers when creating affordable housing in transit and opportunity-rich neighborhoods.
Transit Oriented Development Guidelines: City of Hamilton (Vol 1)	City of Hamilton Public Works	2010	City generated report	To discuss the principles and common practices of Transit Oriented Development (TOD), as well as a summary of the challenges and opportunities associated with implementing TOD. Presents a set of implementation tools and strategies to facilitate the application of TOD in Hamilton.
If it's not mixed income it won't be transit oriented - ensuring our future developments are equitable and promote transit	Tanner Clagett	2014	Academic article	To outline the threat that gentrification poses to the fulfillment of TOD principles. To emphasize the importance of mixed-income housing near transit and the connection that affordable housing has to sustainable development. Lastly, to discuss the planning, regulatory, and strategic tools available to combat the current trends threatening to reduce a promising mechanism for sustainable urban development into a series of trendy, monied districts.
Filling the Financing Gap for Equitable Transit-Oriented Development	Melinda Pollack, Brian Prater	2013	Third party Report	To identify ways to make equitable TOD easier to finance and build. In addition, highlight systemic financing gaps, and recommend potential capital and/or policy solutions.
The Role of Community Land Trusts in Fostering Equitable, Transit-Oriented Development: Case Studies from Atlanta, Denver, and the Twin Cities	Robert Hickey	2013	Academic article	To examine the potential role of community land trusts (CLTs) to address concerns of increased housing costs and to ensure that transit-oriented development (TOD) is affordable to lower income households over the long term. Using case studies of CLTs engaged in TOD efforts in Atlanta, Denver, and the Twin Cities, this paper explores the opportunities, challenges, and supports that exist for CLTs eyeing future TOD endeavors.

Inclusionary Housing: Creating & Maintaining Equitable Communities	Rick Jacobus	2019	Policy Brief	To outline the importance of inclusionary housing/zoning policies in increasing affordable housing stock and creating inclusive communities.
Transit-Oriented Communities: Why we need them and how we can make them happen	Matti Siemiatycki, Drew Fagan	2021	Policy Brief	To provide a guide to solving the complexities of transit-oriented communities and in so doing help to inform the governments implementation of successful transit-oriented communities.
Reducing the Barrier of High Land Cost: Strategies for Facilitating More Affordable Rental Housing Construction in Metro Vancouver	Coriolis Consulting Corp.	2019	Policy Brief	To identify workable, financially viable tools to reduce the barrier of high land cost and limited land availability that is impeding the construction of new, affordable, purpose-built rental housing, particularly at transit-oriented locations.
Searching for a Public Transit 'Fix': A Multi-scalar Study of Public Transit Policy in Ottawa and Waterloo Region	Jesse Steinberg	2020	Ph.D. Thesis	To explore the development of public transit policy agendas in two urban contexts, the City of Ottawa and Waterloo Region. To evaluate the priorities underlying visions of transit-oriented reform and points to the challenge of equitable transit planning under conditions of growth-first governance.
Cities and Affordable Housing: Planning, Design and Policy Nexus	Sasha Tsenkova	2022	e-Book	To provide comparative perspectives on partnerships for mixed- income affordable housing as a model of neighborhood revitalization and city building.