



Local Ordinances to Facilitate Transit-Oriented Development

The Opportunity

For decades, conventional land-use patterns across the United States have encouraged sprawling development, often centered around detached single-family homes and personal automobiles.¹ This type of car-centric development has significantly contributed to the growth of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from the transportation sector — the largest contributor to climate pollution in the U.S.² As the number of vehicle miles travelled (VMT) in the U.S. continues to rise, so too do greenhouse gas emissions and other forms of pollution, especially

¹ Emily Badger and Quoctrung Bui, “Cities Start to Question an American Idea: A House with a Yard on Every Lot,” New York Times (June 18, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/18/upshot/cities-across-america-question-single-family-zoning.html>.

² EPA, Fast Facts: U.S. Transportation Sector Greenhouse Gas Emissions 1990–2022 (May 2024), <https://nepis.epa.gov/Exe/ZyPDF.cgi?Dockey=P101AKR0.pdf>

from fossil fuel-burning cars and trucks.³ Although significant emissions reductions can be achieved through improvements to vehicle efficiency, including the widespread adoption of electric vehicles, reductions in VMT per capita will still be necessary to put the U.S. on a trajectory to avoid the worst effects of climate change.⁴

In addition to the negative effects on climate and local air pollution, car-centric land use patterns also impose costs on communities and households. Trends favoring suburban development have led people to live farther away from common destinations, such as workplaces, grocery stores, and schools.⁵ As a result, many households are dependent on personal vehicles, and the related expenses can contribute to financial strain.⁶ Government policies and practices that prioritize the movement of cars over other forms of transportation have also become the norm, often dividing communities in the process.⁷ The predominant pattern of limiting residential development to single-family housing has also contributed to a nationwide housing shortage, driving up the cost of housing.⁸

Strategies, such as transit-oriented development (TOD), to encourage compact, mixed-use development can reduce the amount that people need to drive and lead to significant emissions reductions and cost savings.⁹ TOD is an approach designed to promote compact development by encouraging land use that makes public transportation convenient and accessible. TOD favors dense development that includes a mix of essential uses and supports shorter trips that can be made by walking, biking, or taking public transit. The approach is typically locally driven, and often the result of a local government recognizing and choosing to leverage the untapped

³ See Annual Vehicle Miles Traveled in the United States (Last updated October 2024), <https://afdc.energy.gov/data/10315>; April 2025 Traffic Travel Volume Trends, Federal Highway Administration, https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policyinformation/travel_monitoring/25aprtvt/page2.cfm

⁴ See Drew Veysey et al., Closing the Transportation Climate Pollution Gap, RMI (July 11, 2023), <https://rmi.org/closing-the-transportation-climate-pollution-gap/>.

⁵ Ben Holland et al., Urban Land Use Reform: The Missing Key to Climate Action, RMI (2023), <https://rmi.org/insight/urban-land-use-reform/>.

⁶ Institute for Transportation and Development Policy, The High Cost of Transportation in the United States (January 2024), <https://itdp.org/2024/01/24/high-cost-transportation-united-states/>.

⁷ See Kevin X. Shen et al., Freedom to Move, Union of Concerned Scientists (October 2024), <https://www.ucs.org/sites/default/files/2024-11/freedom-to-move-report.pdf>.

⁸ “America Has a Housing Shortage. Zoning Changes Near Transit Could Help.” Urban Institute (June 2023), <https://apps.urban.org/features/affordable-housing-shortage-and-zoning/>.

⁹ Climate Strategies that Work: Zoning Reforms, U.S. Department of Transportation, Climate Change Center, <https://dot-climate-strategies.my.canva.site/zoning-reform>.

economic development potential of an existing transit system within its jurisdiction, rather than primarily to address environmental concerns.

Local and state governments have opportunities to promote TOD by reforming the laws and regulations that govern land use near transit. Local governments, in particular, generally exercise direct control over land use by enacting zoning ordinances to define allowable development in given areas, typically referred to as “zone” or “districts.”¹⁰ Many existing zoning laws limit housing construction and mixed-use development in locations near transit hubs, making housing less affordable and new development more spread out.¹¹ Revisions to zoning laws to ease such restrictions and allow for greater density near public transportation can be an effective method to enable TOD.¹² At the state level, state governments can adopt policies to encourage localities to consider zoning reforms.¹³ For example, Massachusetts and Colorado have recently passed laws requiring local jurisdictions to update their zoning to allow for higher-density housing near transit stations.¹⁴ The policy development and implementation process in jurisdictions within these states, described in resources like *Land Use in Colorado: A Research Report on Challenges, Outcomes, Benefits and Policy Tools*, can be useful sources of information for other jurisdictions.¹⁵

¹⁰ “Zoning Ordinance,” Legal Information Institute, https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/zoning_ordinance.

¹¹ Maya Brennan et al., “How Zoning Shapes our Lives,” Housing Matters, <https://housingmatters.urban.org/articles/how-zoning-shapes-our-lives>

¹² Climate Strategies that Work: Zoning Reforms, U.S. Department of Transportation, Climate Change Center, <https://dot-climate-strategies.my.canva.site/zoning-reform>.

¹³ Colorado Department of Transportation, Colorado Energy Office, Colorado Department of Public Health & Environment, Colorado Department of Local Affairs, & Colorado Department of Natural Resources, *Land Use in Colorado: A Research Report on Challenges, Outcomes, Benefits and Policy Tools* (July 2022), <https://energyoffice.colorado.gov/sites/energyoffice/files/documents/FINAL%20Land%20Use%20Research%20Report%207.19.22%20-%20For%20Release.pdf>.

¹⁴ Multi-Family Zoning Requirement for MBTA Communities, Massachusetts Executive Office of Housing and Livable Communities, <https://www.mass.gov/info-details/multi-family-zoning-requirement-for-mbta-communities>; Transit-Oriented Communities. Colorado Division of Local Government, <https://dlg.colorado.gov/transit-oriented-communities>.

¹⁵ Colorado Department of Transportation, Colorado Energy Office, Colorado Department of Public Health & Environment, Colorado Department of Local Affairs, & Colorado Department of Natural Resources, *Land Use in Colorado: A Research Report on Challenges, Outcomes, Benefits and Policy Tools* (July 2022), <https://energyoffice.colorado.gov/sites/energyoffice/files/documents/FINAL%20Land%20Use%20Research%20Report%207.19.22%20-%20For%20Release.pdf>.

Proposed ordinance

Local jurisdictions with existing or planned transit infrastructure can enact an ordinance to establish TOD overlay zones that enable transit-supportive development near transit hubs. An overlay zone is a flexible zoning tool that allows local jurisdictions to promote specific types of development in an area by adding an additional layer of regulations, which modifies the regulations imposed by one or more underlying zones, based on the characteristics of that area.¹⁶ Overlay zones are often adopted as a type of “floating zone,” which are not fixed by a zoning map but rather “float” until an applicant proposes development that meets the criteria established by the zoning ordinance. In the case of TOD overlay zones, the floating zoning regulations typically apply to development within a set distance — for example, a half-mile radius or similarly walkable distance — of transit stations or key transit corridors.

Zoning regulations that accommodate TOD typically include one or more of the following features, depending on local needs and visions for future development: (1) allowing for increased density, (2) allowing for mixed uses, (3) eliminating or reducing parking requirements, (4) providing zoning incentives to promote affordable housing production, (5) establishing design requirements for buildings and streetscapes that foster vibrant, walkable public spaces, and (6) requiring continuous networks for non-motorized travel to create safe and convenient connections to multiple forms of transportation.

Overlay zones have the potential to be particularly efficient tools to promote TOD since they can allow local jurisdictions to tailor regulations in areas immediately surrounding transit without revising the underlying zoning. For that reason, our analysis focuses on opportunities to establish TOD overlay zones through local zoning ordinances.

Where has this been tried?

This section identifies some of the general steps municipalities have followed to establish TOD overlay zones via local ordinances, as well as some common considerations that typically inform those ordinances. The best practices identified below are generally drawn from TOD-focused model ordinances, which can provide a starting point for local governments to establish TOD overlay zones. However, implementation will typically require additional effort to tailor each

¹⁶ Property Topics and Concepts, American Planning Association, <https://www.planning.org/divisions/planningandlaw/propertytopics.htm>.

ordinance to the local context. As such, the best practices identified below represent a set of common components of TOD overlay zones, which jurisdictions can implement as a comprehensive package or individually based on assessments of local need. A recent example of TOD-focused zoning from Cuyahoga County, Ohio, demonstrates how local jurisdictions can assess their own needs and draw upon these best practices and model ordinances to establish TOD overlay zones.

General best practices

Transit oriented development, as a concept, has been discussed by planning practitioners for more than three decades, and various best practices have emerged over time as communities have put TOD-focused zoning into practice.¹⁷ In general, approaches to zoning for TOD build upon the expertise of local jurisdictions in regulating land use, including by incorporating considerations that prioritize transit access and ridership. Accordingly, the steps to establish a TOD zone are largely similar to the steps that local jurisdictions regularly take to implement other land use regulations.

Zoning for TOD generally begins with an assessment of local conditions. During this initial phase, localities aim to understand the opportunities to improve zoning and land use strategies to support TOD. Objectives at this phase may include taking stock of existing TOD and analyzing whether existing zoning regulations create a barrier to additional TOD. Some public resources exist to help localities analyze whether existing zoning regulations are appropriate to support TOD. For example, the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy has published a TOD Standard that can be used to “evaluate the catchment areas of existing transit stations and enable planners and stakeholders to understand existing land use characteristics and see where opportunities and challenges exist.”¹⁸

Once the TOD opportunities of an area are understood, local officials can begin to plan for new transit-supportive development and identify changes to zoning regulations that support future land use visions. Depending on the requirements of a given jurisdiction, this process may

¹⁷ For examples of both scholarly and practical discussion of best practices for TOD, see Peter Calthorpe, *The Next American Metropolis* (1993); Hank Dittmarr & Gloria Ohland, “The New Transit Town: Best Practices in Transit-Oriented Development” (2004); and Institute for Transportation and Development Policy, *TOD Standard* (2017), https://itdp.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/TOD_Standard_EN.pdf.

¹⁸ Institute for Transportation and Development Policy, *TOD Standard* (2017), https://itdp.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/TOD_Standard_EN.pdf.

include updates to existing local planning documents and appropriate opportunities for public engagement.¹⁹ Zoning ordinances generally build on comprehensive land use plans or other planning documents that establish a long-term vision for local development and may identify areas that can best support TOD.²⁰ The Puget Sound Regional Council has published TOD planning guidance for local jurisdictions that focuses on defining station areas, planning for growth, mitigating displacement, and supporting transportation projects to enhance TOD.²¹

Finally, implementation of TOD-supportive zoning regulations generally requires local jurisdictions to make amendments to their zoning codes. This is typically accomplished by a city council or appropriate legislative body — for example, county councils in Maryland or zoning commissions in Connecticut — through the adoption of a zoning ordinance.²² At the most basic level, zoning ordinances can be used to create or modify existing land use regulations, including rezoning areas for uses that better support TOD. For example, in 2021, Prince George’s County, Maryland, passed an ordinance to rewrite its zoning code and update its zoning map to establish new transit-oriented zones designed to “[c]oncentrate intense urban development around major transit stations and the principal targets for the County’s future planned growth and mixed-use development.”²³ Local jurisdictions also use zoning ordinances to adopt more flexible land use regulations, including zoning overlays, which have the potential to be particularly efficient tools to promote TOD since they can allow local jurisdictions to tailor regulations in areas immediately surrounding transit without revising the underlying zoning. For example, in 2023, the City of Madison, Wisconsin, passed an ordinance to create a TOD overlay

¹⁹ For example, in New York State, zoning laws must be adopted “in accordance with a comprehensive plan. See New York State Department of State, Zoning and the Comprehensive Plan (2024), <https://dos.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2024/09/zoning-and-the-comprehensive-plan.pdf>.

²⁰ “How to implement transit-oriented development,” C40 Knowledge Hub (March 2019), https://www.c40knowledgehub.org/s/article/How-to-implement-transit-oriented-development?language=en_US.

²¹ Puget Sound Regional Council, Incorporating Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) Into Comprehensive Plans (October 2022), <https://www.psrc.org/media/6918>.

²² “Zoning Ordinance,” Legal Information Institute, https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/zoning_ordinance.

²³ Prince George’s County Code Zoning Ordinance § 27-4204, <https://online.encodeplus.com/regs/princegeorgescounty-md/doc-viewer.aspx?secid=636#secid-636>; “Transit-Oriented/Activity Center Zones,” Prince George’s County Planning Department, <https://www.pgplanning.org/development-process/zoning-applications/guide-to-zoning-categories/transit-oriented-activity-center-zones/>.

district that increases development density, reduces parking requirements, and improves pedestrian connections within a quarter-mile of the city's bus rapid transit routes.²⁴

When developing ordinances to establish TOD zones, local jurisdictions tend to include a handful of common regulatory strategies, such as increasing density, allowing for mixed uses, and eliminating parking requirements. These strategies can be thought of as a set of “best” practices, but the context-dependent nature of TOD means that zoning ordinances inevitably look different in different jurisdictions. Some localities may focus on implementing one or two of these strategies, while others may choose to implement more. Through our research — including conversations with transportation and housing experts and a review of TOD studies and model ordinances, such as those developed for Montgomery County, Pennsylvania,²⁵ and Cuyahoga County, Ohio²⁶ — we have identified the following common components of TOD-focused zoning ordinances.

- **Allow for increased density:** Relaxing zoning regulations that limit the density of development is a common approach to promote additional development in areas near transit stations. Local ordinances to promote density tend to focus on reforms to conventional zoning regulations, for example by increasing allowable building height, increasing permissible dwelling units per acre and floor-area ratio, reducing minimum unit size, allowing greater lot coverage, and minimizing setback requirements from lot boundaries.
- **Allow for mixed uses:** A mix of residential, commercial, and public development in close proximity to transit promotes access to common destinations and can allow people to live, work, and meet other daily needs without relying on personal vehicles. Local jurisdictions promote a mix of transit-supportive uses by updating the zoning code to allow for TOD-compatible uses and to restrict incompatible uses. TOD-compatible uses

²⁴ Lucas Robinson, “Madison Transit-Oriented Zoning to Include Historic Districts,” *Governing* (Jan. 19, 2023), <https://www.governing.com/community/madison-transit-oriented-zoning-to-include-historic-districts>; Madison Code of Ordinances § 28.104, https://library.municode.com/wi/madison/codes/code_of_ordinances?nodeId=COORMAWIVOIICH11--19_CH28ZOCOOR_SUBCHAPTER_28HOVDI_28.104TRORDEOVDI.

²⁵ Montgomery County Planning Commission, Transit-Oriented Development Model Ordinance (October 2021), https://www.montgomerycountypa.gov/DocumentCenter/View/33039/Transit-Oriented-Dev-Book_web.

²⁶ Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Model TOD Zoning Overlay (2024), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/TOD_Model-Code_4-30-24.pdf.

include retail, personal and business services, and a wide variety of residential options, especially multi-family dwellings. Incompatible uses include car-centric development, such as gas stations, parking garages, and businesses with drivethrus.

- **Reduce or eliminate parking mandates:** An excess of parking, a critical component of auto-oriented environments, can inhibit TOD by negatively affecting walkability and occupying land that could be used for transit-supportive development. Conventional zoning rules generally require developers to incorporate a certain amount of automobile parking into their plans, often expressed as a minimum number of spaces for each dwelling unit or each retail establishment. Local jurisdictions have taken steps to reduce or eliminate minimum parking requirements in the zoning code as a strategy to promote TOD. Complementary actions to increase the convenience of transit and expand transportation options also help to limit the demand for parking.
- **Promote housing affordability:** Increasing the supply of housing does not directly affect greenhouse gas emissions, but it is a frequently stated priority of state and local policymakers and so has potential to reinforce support for the other policy changes needed to enable TOD. TOD-focused ordinances can naturally promote affordability, for example by removing minimum parking requirements and other zoning barriers to housing production. Some jurisdictions also have taken additional steps to directly promote housing affordability, such as establishing zoning incentives, like height and density bonuses, based on the number of affordable units included in a new housing development.

Additionally, as a complement to conventional zoning regulations, which primarily focuses on the separation of land uses, some zoning ordinances also incorporate form-based elements that focus on the physical character of development. “Form-based codes” are a type of land development regulation that uses physical form as the primary basis and focus for the code and standards.²⁷ This approach tends to produce development with a predictable form and scale based on a comprehensive vision for the area, generally outlined in a regulating plan.²⁸ Form-based codes are not mutually exclusive with conventional zoning regulations, and some localities choose to adopt “hybrid” codes that combine both approaches.

²⁷ “Form-Based Codes Defined,” Form-Based Codes Institute, <https://formbasedcodes.org/definition/>.

²⁸ *Id.*

In 2003, Arlington County, Virginia adopted one of the earliest examples of a transit-focused form-based code to revitalize the Columbia Pike corridor.²⁹ More recently, experts have recognized newly adopted form-based regulations in cities like Hartford, Connecticut,³⁰ and New Rochelle, New York,³¹ for their potential to create vibrant places, stimulate economic growth, and reduce dependence on automobiles. Based on these examples, as well our conversations with transportation and housing experts and our review of TOD studies and model ordinances,³² we have identified the following common form-based components of TOD zones.

- Require buildings designed to promote walkability:** Establishing design guidelines or requirements for buildings allows localities to ensure that development relates to the public realm in ways that prioritize human-scale movement. Some common design requirements to promote walkability include orienting buildings to the street, providing direct pedestrian access, incorporating large windows into street-level storefronts, and introducing architectural variation into larger-scale development to create visual interest.
- Foster vibrant public spaces:** Some zoning ordinances incorporate requirements that directly address public spaces, including streets and sidewalks, in order to make those spaces more interesting, convenient, and safe for pedestrians. Common strategies for enhancing public areas include requiring streetscape enhancements (for example, to improve space, lighting, and amenities for pedestrians), establishing standards for landscaping, and incorporating parks and other public spaces into new developments.

²⁹ Arlington County, Columbia Pike Special Revitalization District Form Base Code, https://www.arlingtonva.us/files/sharedassets/public/v/1/projects/documents/fbc-projects/c-fbc-2024/commercial_fbc_may_2024_070124.pdf.

³⁰ Form-Based Code Institute, “Progress & preservation in award winning zoning codes” (June 1, 2020), <https://formbasedcodes.org/progress-preservation-award-winning-zoning-codes/>.

³¹ Form-Based Code Institute, “New zoning makes New Rochelle’s vision a reality” (Sept. 5, 2019), <https://formbasedcodes.org/new-zoning-makes-new-rochelles-vision-reality/>.

³² See, e.g., Montgomery County Planning Commission, Transit-Oriented Development Model Ordinance (October 2021), https://www.montgomerycountypa.gov/DocumentCenter/View/33039/Transit-Oriented-Dev-Book_web; Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Best Practices for TOD Zoning (2023), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/TOD_Best-Practices_10-26-23.pdf.

- **Ensure connectivity for multiple forms of transportation:** Safe and convenient connections between different forms of non-automotive transportation, including walking, biking, buses, and trains, are important to reduce barriers to transit ridership. Strategies for promoting connectivity include requiring continuous, direct networks for non-motorized modes and minimizing the points of conflict between motorized and non-motorized modes (for example, minimizing the number of curb cuts in sidewalks and requiring parking access from side streets or alleys, where possible).

Cuyahoga County TOD Zoning Study & Model Ordinance

One recent effort to improve zoning regulations and attract additional TOD in Cuyahoga County, Ohio provides an example of how local jurisdictions can incorporate best practices to create TOD zones. Cuyahoga County is the second-most populous county in Ohio and largely urban, including the city of Cleveland and its suburbs.³³ Since 2022, the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission and the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (GCRTA), in collaboration with local municipalities, have partnered on a four-part TOD Zoning Study that “aims to understand and offer improvements to local zoning and land use strategies in a way that supports additional transit-oriented development.”³⁴ The initial phases of the study included a survey of the state of TOD in Cuyahoga County and an analysis of existing zoning regulations for TOD supportiveness.³⁵

Based on the findings in the initial phases of the TOD Zoning Study, the county planning commission and GCRTA developed a set of TOD zoning resources to inform implementation at the municipal level. The first resource is a set of Best Practices for TOD Zoning, which identifies the best practices discussed above and includes a set of checklists local jurisdictions can use to

³³ Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Our County: the 2023 Data Book (December 2023), <https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Our-County-2023-reduced.pdf>.

³⁴ “Transit-Oriented Development Zoning Study,” Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, <https://www.countyplanning.us/projects/tod-zoning-study/>.

³⁵ Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, The State of Transit-Oriented Development (2022), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/TOD_State-of-TOD_10-17-22.pdf; Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Analysis of TOD Zoning (2023), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/TOD_Analysis-of-TOD-Zoning_5_23_2023.pdf.

compare their zoning codes and proposed developments to the recommended best practices.³⁶ The second resource is a model ordinance to establish a TOD overlay district, along with an annotated guide, which provides example text and additional insights designed to inform local ordinance development.³⁷ The model ordinance includes regulations related to allowable and prohibited uses, building development and design, parking, streetscape design, and connectivity.³⁸ Although local jurisdictions can largely adopt the model ordinance as is, it is designed to be adjusted based on local needs.³⁹

Local jurisdictions within Cuyahoga County are not required to adopt the model TOD zoning ordinance, but some municipalities, like South Euclid, have already started to make corresponding updates to their zoning codes. In May 2025, South Euclid, an inner suburb of Cleveland, updated its zoning code to create a Mixed-Use Transit-Oriented Development (MU-TOD) Zoning District, which is largely based on the Cuyahoga County model ordinance and intended to “guide development and redevelopment in areas where a mix of uses and a diversity of housing types should be promoted as a means of promoting transit use and expanding mobility options.”⁴⁰ The MU-TOD zone, which may be applied to areas within one-half mile of transit stations, encourages mixed uses, prohibits auto-centric uses, allows for greater building height, requires a minimum amount of building frontage facing the street, allows for reduced parking minimums, and establishes design guidelines for buildings and streetscapes, among other regulations.⁴¹ South Euclid offers a model for how localities can adopt a combination of conventional and form-based zoning regulations to develop TOD-focused zoning ordinances that address local needs.

³⁶ Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Best Practices for TOD Zoning (2023), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/TOD_Best-Practices_10-26-23.pdf.

³⁷ Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Model TOD Zoning Overlay (2024), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/TOD_Model-Code_4-30-24.pdf; Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, Model TOD Zoning Overlay Annotated Guide (2024), https://s3.countyplanning.us/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/TOD_Annotated-Model-Code_4-30-24.pdf.

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ South Euclid, OH Code of Ordinances, § 739.01.

⁴¹ *Id.*

Identifying potentially promising local jurisdictions

Local context should also be taken into account when considering the potential for implementation in individual local jurisdictions. TOD-focused zoning reforms may not be appropriate in every locality, even within states with permissive state laws. Therefore, this section also identifies jurisdictions within each state that may have opportunities for implementation in the near term.

To identify local jurisdictions that may be well-positioned to adopt TOD-focused zoning ordinances, we apply four general criteria: (1) a core urban population center, (2) existing — or imminent plans for — fixed guideway transit service, (3) demonstrated local support for TOD, and (4) the presence of one or more anchor institutions, such as university, hospital, stadium, or large shopping center.

Although these criteria may not all be necessary to enable zoning for TOD, they are good indicators of near-term opportunity. Urban centers, for example, can support greater densities and more types of uses compared to suburban or rural areas. Fixed transit networks also increase the potential for TOD, since they provide stable infrastructure to build around.

The list of jurisdictions with opportunities for implementation can be further narrowed by focusing on localities that have adopted TOD-compatible local plans and/or demonstrate other indicators of support for TOD. Local and regional land use and transportation plans are particularly valuable as guiding documents that express a community's vision for long-term future development.⁴² Similarly, large local institutions, like hospitals or universities, can play a role in shaping local support for TOD.

⁴² See, e.g., Greater Portland Council of Governments, Connect 2045: A Long-Range Transportation Plan for Greater Portland, Maine (December 2022), <https://www.gpcog.org/DocumentCenter/View/2538/Connect-2045-PDF>

About this Research

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Cover image: Multiple forms of public transit shown in a bustling downtown, including a bus and biking infrastructure. Creative Commons License.