#  Transport Equity 1AC

### Contention 1 is MAP-21

#### MAP-21 is a highway bill, not a transportation bill, it cuts support for public transit in favor of highway expansion

Hanscomb 6/28 (Greg Hanscom is a senior editor at Grist, “Boxer blinks, OKs a train wreck of a transportation bill”, Grist.org, http://grist.org/news/boxer-blinks-oks-a-train-wreck-of-a-transportation-bill/)

Lawmakers worked late last night to hammer out a final transportation bill — the product of years of wrangling over how we’ll spend billions of dollars on roads, public transit, and biking and walking paths. The final language, which will be voted on before Congress breaks for the Fourth of July, is a huge disappointment to advocates of a cleaner, greener transportation system. “If you’re not a paving contractor, you didn’t get much out of this bill,” says David Goldberg of the nonprofit Transportation for America. “This is just a really disappointing day.” If there’s good news here, it’s that some of the worst provisions that House Republicans tried to attach to the bill have been removed. Those include language that would have halted EPA regulations on coal ash and forced the approval of the Keystone XL tar-sands pipeline. Yesterday, Grist’s own Philip Bump likened the Keystone provision to “the political equivalent of crossing your arms and holding your breath until you turn blue.” The resoundingly bad news, however, is that the Republicans’ political shenanigans seem to have worked. “It looks like [Democratic leaders] traded away the store to get Keystone off the political agenda,” Goldberg says. Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.), chair of the Environment and Public Works Committee, “ended up capitulating on almost everything.” Among the concessions in the final bill: Language was dropped that would have increased funding for public transit and allowed transit agencies to use a portion of their capital funding to keep bus lines in service — important in a time when cash-strapped agencies are cutting service even as demand for transit soars. Funding for walking and biking infrastructure was slashed by at least 40 percent from the Senate version of the bill, and states will have the ability to use up to half of what remains for other purposes. Improvements to the Congestion Mitigation and Air Quality Improvement Program, which helps clean up the air in areas that don’t meet federal air-quality standards, were dropped. Also gone is a provision that would have increased funding for maintenance and performance measurement. Translation: States can let existing roads crumble, while stoking sprawl and air pollution by building new ones. The bill contains language that will allow agencies to “streamline” environmental reviews for road projects, though it is apparently not as damaging as it was in earlier drafts. Wrapped up in all the muck of the bill is language that will reform federal flood insurance policy and direct fines paid by BP for its role in the Gulf of Mexico oil spill to coastal restoration. But that’s cold comfort for transportation advocates, who, assuming Congress passes this thing and the president signs it (and it looks like they will), now have two years to rally the troops for a better bill when this one expires.

#### MAP-21 funds state highway departments, not urban transportation, it destroys local transit planning and creates a tax disincentive for transit

Davis 6/29 (Stephen Lee Davis is the Deputy Communications Director for Transportation for America, “Newly approved transportation bill is a clear step backwards — a message from T4 America”, http://t4america.org/pressers/2012/06/29/newly-approved-transportation-bill-is-a-clear-step-backwards-a-message-from-t4-america/

As you may remember, the Senate had done the hard work of carefully crafting a forward-looking, bipartisan bill that passed with an overwhelming majority. Unfortunately, this final bill moves closer to the House’s disastrous HR7, which was too contentious and unpopular to garner enough votes to pass. This final negotiated bill has been called a “compromise,” but it’s really a substantial capitulation in the face of threats by the House to include provisions with no relevance to the transportation bill — the Keystone XL pipeline, regulation of coal ash and others. As a result of this “compromise,” the bill dedicates zero dollars to repairing our roads and bridges, cuts the amount of money that cities and local governments would have received, makes a drastic cut in the money available to prevent the deaths of people walking or biking, and ensures that you have less input and control over major projects that affect you and the quality of your community. Despite record demand for public transportation service, this deal cut the emergency provisions to preserve existing transit service, does little to expand that service and actually removed the small provision equalizing the tax benefit for transit and parking.

#### MAP-21 is written for highway contractors – metropolitan transit authorities lose money as spending authority is delegated to the states

Lovaas 6/29 (Deron Lovaas is Federal Transportation Policy Director for Natural Resources Defense Council, “Congress Takes Up a Throwback Highway - Not Transportation – Bill”, Switchboard, <http://switchboard.nrdc.org/blogs/dlovaas/congress_takes_up_a_throwback.html>)

But based on my initial reading of the 600 pages and analyses by allies and experts, that pretty much exhausts the good news. The transportation bill not only does little to move us forward; it weakens current law. The bill basically undermines provisions that constrain state highway agencies and contractors by requiring them to invest in environmentally beneficial means of improving transportation and reducing congestion. For the most part, the bill appears to be tailor-written for highway agencies and contractors. Here’s why: It reduces the percentage of investment dedicated to repair of the highway system. This is one of the more puzzling moves in the bill, given that as Transportation for America notes we have more structurally deficient bridges than McDonald’s in this country, and as Secretary LaHood memorably said, “America is one big pothole.” Yet it appears that the Congress declined to follow the Senate’s lead of boosting the amount of funding going to reduce the nation’s deferred maintenance problem. Instead, the final package actually undercuts current law by lowering the percentage of funding dedicated to maintenance. Highway agencies and contractors must be ecstatic, since this gives them leeway to build more sprawl-inducing highways and neglect repairs if it strikes their fancy. It undermines the Congestion Mitigation and Air Quality Improvement or CMAQ program. This program helps areas that are not in attainment of health-based air quality standards reduce tailpipe pollution, and reduce congestion by investing in options such as public transportation and ride-sharing programs. Under the final package, up to half the funding can be transferred to other programs by state highway agencies. The Senate bill’s “suballocation” of CMAQ dollars to those places actually facing pollution problems – metropolitan areas – is discarded, leaving this money in the hands of more distant state highway agencies. Score another couple of points for state highway agencies and highway contractors. The bill wreaks havoc with the National Environmental Policy Act, which guarantees a degree of public oversight and accountability over highway (and transit) project construction. Project reviews are crucial not just for improving designs but for discarding harmful ones that might destroy treasured open spaces or communities. I’ve written quite a bit about this here and here. The conference report invites harmful unintended consequences such as putting damaging highway projects through our communities, and it could lead to more not fewer lawsuits filed by putting a thumb on the scale for an alternative proposed by a highway agency -- one that may well be controversial -- in several ways. First, it “categorically excludes” a host of projects from reviews, Such loopholes allow projects to be built with minimal or no participation by the affected public. The bill pokes many holes, two of the most egregious being exclusion of projects in an existing right-of-way (what’s to stop a highway agency from building a second interchange next to another one if it’s in the right-of-way, without getting public feedback?) and categorical exclusion of projects that receive less than $5 million of federal funding which means your taxpayer dollars could help build a highway and without you having a say in its design. The report also imposes punitive fines ($10,000-20,000/week) on agencies if they exceed deadlines for reviews, something that is likely to yield hasty reviews and awful decisions. Hacking away at our right to oversight over use of our dollars for construction of potentially destructive projects is offensive and dangerous, and unfortunately it comes on the heels of a new Regional Plan Association report based on actual interviews with practitioners who listed other more effective means of reducing project delays. Keeping the public out of the room so highway agencies and contractors can keep paving ahead is another victory for them. The bill also discards commitments to other transportation options for passenger and goods movement. It cuts dedicated funding for bicycle and pedestrian projects by hundreds of millions of dollars and allows highway agencies to transfer the remainder under certain conditions. It removes a rail title written into the Senate bill, including planning for rail as a viable alternative to highways. Looking to the cutting room floor, we see that the Senate also conceded flexibility to use transit funding for operating expenses and parity between parking and transit commuter benefits. A focus on rail and transit are priorities of the OneRail coalition (of which I am a member) To add insult to injury, state planning improvements included in the Senate bill that would have improved management of their programs, provisions based on recommendations from the Bipartisan Policy Center, as well as a requirement that road designs accommodate those of us who walk and bike (see here for details), were cut out as well. These last were not as robust as I’d like them to be, but I guess highway agencies and contractors considered it too much of an imposition to show they’re improving performance of the system funded by our federal taxpayer dollars. Another set of wins for highway agencies and contractors less interested in accountability and transportation choices than in paving. I have not even dealt with the finance title, which takes more steps away from user financing of the program by transferring almost $20 billion from the Treasury for the program. Taxpayers for Common Sense should have a good analysis of that title up soon, and their appraisal will probably be scathing. The upshot of all this is that the bill needs a new name. “Moving Ahead for Progress in the 21st Century” doesn’t fit. It is not MAP-21, it is GAP-21. With it Congress shamefully declines to advance or fill in needed transportation policy for a 21st-century with different energy, demographic and economic realities than the last. It reads like the last gasp of a bygone era, since it turns the clock back on transportation policy to make it more highway-centric. Highway agencies and contractors made out like bandits in this bill, and our communities and environment are likely to suffer as a consequence.

### Advantage 1 is Transportation Racism

#### Transportation infrastructure funding that privileges highways above public transit is subsidizing the suburbs at the expense of urban areas

Rubin 9 (Victor, PolicyLink Vice President for Research, PhD in City and Regional Planning, All Aboard! Making Equity and Inclusion Central to Federal Transportation Policy, PolicyLink, 2009, pg. 7) PCS

Car users have been the primary beneficiaries of federal and state transportation investment, and an automobile-focused pattern of metropolitan development has become entrenched. About 80 percent of federal transportation expenditure goes toward highways, while the infrastructure for all other modes of travel competes for the remaining 20 percent. As a result of these funding disparities, lower-income people and communities of color, who rely more on public transit for mobility and access since they have significantly lower rates of car ownership, have not fared nearly as well as higher-income and white Americans. It is therefore not surprising that people of color, who tend to have significantly lower incomes, use public transportation to travel to work at rates that are up to four times higher than whites, or that African-Americans and Latinos together make up 54 percent of public transportation users in urban areas. To ensure people who do not use cars benefit from transportation investment, the next authorization must shift federal spending away from the current bias of highway building and into a “mode-neutral” system that can diversify regional transportation offerings. This could enable a “fix-it-first” approach for maintaining existing facilities and spending more on transit and other modes in which we have underinvested.

#### Making the highway the centerpiece of our transportation infrastructure walls in minority communities – highways demarcate a racialized space that divides “good” white suburbs from “bad” non-white urban cores

Bullard 7 (Robert, Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place, Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, June 30, 2007, pg. 51) PCS

The government also facilitated racialized space by funding “the largest public works program in the history of the world”- a highway system to the white suburbs. With the Federal Highway Act of 1956, the federal government became the largest subsidizer of the interstate highway system. These highways were intended for long-distance travel, but over half of the funding had gone to highways within metropolitan regions as of the mid-1990s. The highway system walled-in black communities, using the highways to clearly demarcate “bad” black from “good” white neighborhoods. It also frequently tore through “vibrant black commercial corridors,” clearing out inner-city “blight.” While the funding and construction of highways demarcated and destroyed black neighborhoods, it also forestalled the development of the kind of public transportation that metropolitan people of color were more likely to use. Highway spending has eclipsed transit spending by a five-to-one margin over the past half-dozen decades. Simultaneously, the federal government bankrolled white flight not only through the construction of the highway system, but through federal subsidies of gasoline, suburban sewage-treatment plants (infrastructure that supports suburban living), and other policies that have made possible further abandonment of the central city and the inner-ring suburbs.

Transportation decisions contribute to inequity by furthering dominant power arrangements to benefit the affluent – government intervention is necessary to preserve access to public transportation

Bullard 1 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Transportation Equity in the 21st Century, Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, 1(1), 2000, pg. 2) PCS

Transportation decision-making--whether at the federal, regional, state, or local level--often mirrors the power arrangements of the dominant society and its institutions. Some transportation policies distribute the costs in a regressive pattern while providing disproportionate benefits for individuals who fall at the upper end of the education and income scale. All transportation modes are not created equal. Federal transportation policies, taxing structure, and funding schemes have contributed to the inequity between the various transportation modes, e.g., private automobile, rail, buses, air, etc. Central cities and suburbs are not equal. They often compete for scarce resources. One need not be a rocket scientist to predict the outcome between affluent suburbs and their less affluent central city competitors. Freeways are the lifelines for suburban commuters, while millions of central city residents are dependent on public transportation as their primary mode of travel. But cuts in mass transit subsidies and fare hikes have reduced access to essential social services and economic activities.

#### Highway-centric infrastructure is 21st century apartheid

Bullard 4 (Robert, Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, “Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States,” Fordham Urb. L.J. 31,2003-2004, p.1184) APB

For millions, transportation is defined as a basic right. Transportation is basic to many other quality of life indicators such as health, education, employment, economic development, access to municipal services, residential mobility, and environmental quality. The continued residential segregation of people of color away from suburban job centers (where public transit is inadequate or nonexistent) may signal a new urban crisis and a new form of "residential apartheid." Transportation investments, enhancements, and financial resources have provided advantages for some communities, while at the same time; other communities have been disadvantaged by transportation decision-making.

#### Increased investments in mass transits is needed now to increase transport capacity

American Public Transportation Association 08 (http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/greenhouse\_brochure.pdf)

Protect and preserve public transportation service where it exists today. Public transportation ridership has increased by 30% since 1995—a growth rate more than twice that of population, and greater than vehicle miles of travel. As transit ridership has increased, a number of systems are struggling to maintain the quality of assets and consequently the quality and reliability of service. Systems must be adequately funded to allow people who are choosing public transportation, more than 10 billion trips annually, to stay on public transportation.

Expand capacity of existing public transportation services. In many parts of the country, public transportation systems are operating beyond their design capacity. With future annual ridership growth projected at 3.5% annually, it will be difficult for a number of these systems to carry additional riders without significant new investment. Systems that are investing to expand capacity and attract new riders include: • Charlotte, NC, recently opened its first modern light rail system. • The New York Metropolitan Transportation Authority is in the process of constructing the Second Avenue Subway Line to relieve severe crowding. • Cleveland’s bus rapid transit system is expected to open in late 2008. • Salt Lake City is expanding its light rail and will soon add commuter rail. Expand the geographic coverage of public transportation services. According to U.S. Census data, 46% of American households do not have access to any public transportation.7 Public transportation must expand geographically to capture shifts in population, both within regions and across the country. Individuals cannot be asked to reduce their vehicle miles of travel without options. On a national scale, those regions experiencing rapid increases in population must have the resources available to enable public transportation to viably serve local travel demands. Public transportation agencies are reducing their carbon footprints—even more can be done with additional investment. • The Los Angeles county Metropolitan Transportation Authority is investing in improvements to several maintenance facilities that will use solar energy. • In Portland, OR, Tri-Met has implemented procedures to reduce idling and improve vehicle maintenance, lowering vehicle fuel use by 10%. • Throughout the country, bus systems are adding hybrid diesel-electric vehicles. • In Grand Rapids, MI, The Rapid was the first system to construct a LEED-certified facility. • Metro in Cincinnati, OH, runs its entire 390-bus fleet on a blend of 50% soy-based biodiesel and 50% regular diesel fuel.

#### Freeway placement is dictated by residual effects of racist removal programs- barring minority access to basic housing rights

Sanchez et al 3 (Thomas, associated professor of Urban Affairs and Planning, research fellow in the Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech, Rich Stolz, Senior Policy Analyst at the Center for Community Change, and Jacinta Ma, Legal Policy and Advocacy Associate at The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, 2003, pg. 17) PCS

Transportation policies and practices of locating freeway projects in minority neighborhoods have, in a number of cases, impeded the ability of minorities to access housing. Although there are no empirical data on the number of communities or people affected or the extent of the impact, historical and current examples of disproportionate impacts of transportation projects on minority neighborhoods exist and are discussed in this section. Freeway placements and expansions in urban areas typically occur where land prices are depressed—which frequently corresponds with the residential neighborhoods of low-income and minority households. Such neighborhoods generally have low levels of political power resulting from institutional discrimination over time. In some respects, freeway locations in cities are the philosophical progeny of “Negro removal” or “urban renewal” programs that were thought to cure “urban blight” by tearing down minorities’ homes.

Transportation inequity is a regime of white supremacy
Seiler 7 (Cotten, Associate Professor of American Studies, Department Chair for American Studies, Dickinson College, The Significance of Race to Transport History, Journal of Transport History, 28(2), 2007, pg. 308) PCS

I recount the Plessy case and the restrictions it emplaced to emphasise the ever-present racial prerogatives of mobility. Because self-directed mobility signifies freedom and self-transformation, regimes of white supremacy have sought to police the movement of racial Others both to preserve physical racial separation and to guard the integrity of racial identity itself. The motion of racial Others, therefore, has tended to be characterised as threatening to a social order based on spatial, cultural, and biological segregation of the fictive categories known as races. Given the significance of racial status to an individual’s power to move (or to keep from being moved), the inattention to this connection is remark- able. My own archival research on early automobility in the United States, for example, furnished virtually no documentary evidence of a widespread awareness of driving as a privilege of whiteness—though of course it was. Even the guidebooks mentioned above dared not speak this truth explicitly. This historical vacuum can be partially attributed to the ways in which white supremacy was a discourse both commonsensical (therefore not in need of explication) and logically tenuous (therefore deliberately hidden from scrutiny).

#### White supremacy is an ordering principle that produces hierarchies of difference, which are enforced through widespread violence and extermination of the other.

Rodriguez 7 (Dylan Rodriguez, Professor, Dept. of Ethnic Studies @ University of California Riverside, Kritika Kultura, Issue 9, “AMERICAN GLOBALITY AND THE U. S. PRISON REGIME: STATE VIOLENCE AND WHITE SUPREMACY FROM ABU GHRAIB TO STOCKTON TO BAGONG DIWA”, Available online at http://www.ateneo.edu/ateneo/www/UserFiles/121/docs/kkissue09.pdf, Accessed 7/7/2009)

Variable, overlapping, and mutually constituting white supremacist regimes have in fact been fundamental to the formation and movements of the United States, from racial chattel slavery and frontier genocide to recent and current modes of neoliberal land displacement and (domestic-to-global) warfare. Without exception, these regimes have been differently entangled with the state’s changing paradigms, strategies, and technologies of human incarceration and punishment (to follow the prior examples: the plantation, the reservation, the neoliberal sweatshop, and the domestic-to-global prison). The historical nature of these entanglements is widely acknowledged, although explanations of the structuring relations of force tend to either isolate or historically compartmentalize the complexities of historical white supremacy.

For the theoretical purposes of this essay, white supremacy may be understood as a logic of social organization that produces regimented, institutionalized, and militarized conceptions of hierarchized “human” difference, enforced through coercions and violences that are structured by genocidal possibility (including physical extermination and curtailment of people’s collective capacities to socially, culturally, or biologically reproduce). As a historical vernacular and philosophical apparatus of domination, white supremacy is simultaneously premised on and consistently innovating universalized conceptions of the white (European and euroamerican) “human” vis-à-vis the rigorous production, penal discipline, and frequent social, political, and biological neutralization or extermination of the (non-white) sub- or non-human. To consider white supremacy as essential to American social formation (rather than a freakish or extremist deviation from it) facilitates a discussion of the modalities through which this material logic of violence overdetermines the social, political, economic, and cultural structures that compose American globality and constitute the common sense that is organic to its ordering.

#### REJECTING RACISM IS A MORAL IMPERATIVE WHICH OUTWEIGHS ALL OTHER IMPACTS-- CONFLICT AND DESTRUCTION ARE INEVITABLE WITHIN A SOCIETY WHICH ALLOWS IT.

Memmi 2000 (Albert, Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ U of Paris, Naiteire, Racism, transl. Steve Martinot, p. 165)

Of course, this is debatable. There are those who think that if one is strong enough, the assault on and oppression of others is permissible. But no one is ever sure of remaining the strongest. One day, perhaps, the roles will be reversed. All unjust society contains within itself the seeds of its own death. It is probably smarter to treat others with respect so that they treat you with respect. "Recall," says the Bible, "that you were once a stranger in Egypt," which means both that you ought to respect the stranger because you were a stranger yourself and that you risk becoming once again someday. It is an ethical and a practical appeal -- indeed, it is a contract, however implicit it might be. In short, the refusal of racism is the condition for all theoretical and practical morality. Because, in the end, the ethical choice commands the political choice, a just society must be a society accepted by all. If this contractual principle is not accepted, then only conflict, violence, and destruction will be our lot. If it is accepted, we can hope someday to live in peace. True, it is a wager, but the stakes are irresistible.

#### REJECTION OF RACISM IS A PRECONDITION FOR HUMAN AND MORAL ORDER WHICH OUTWEIGHS UTILITY-- INJUSTICE CAUSES VIOLENCE.

Memmi 2000 (Albert, Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ U of Paris, Naiteire, Racism, transl. Steve Martinot, p. 164, GAL)

However, it remains true that one's moral conduct only emerges from a choice; one has to want it. It is a choice among other choices, and always debatable in its foundations and its consequences. Let us say, broadly speaking, that the choice to conduct oneself morally is the condition for the establishment of a human order, for which racism is the very negation. This is almost a redundancy. One cannot found a moral order, let alone a legislative order, on racism, because racism signifies the exclusion of the other and his or her subjection to violence and domination. From an ethical point of view, if one can deploy a little religious language, racism is "the truly capital sin."fn22 It is not an accident that almost all of humanity's spiritual traditions counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical morality and disinterested commandments. Such unanimity in the safeguarding of the other suggests the real utility of such sentiments. All things considered, we have an interest in banishing injustice, because injustice engenders violence and death.

### Advantage 2 is Poverty

#### Transportation inequity excludes many for employment opportunities and seeks to widen the gap between the rich and the poor.

Bullard et al 7 (Robert Bullard, Prof. - of Sociology and Dir. of the Environmental Justice Resource center at Clark Atlanta University, leading campaigner against environmental racism; Glenn Johnson, research associate at the EJRC and Prof.-Clark Atlanta University and Angel Torres, geographic information system training specialist with the EJRC, “Dismantling Transportation Apartheid in the United States Before and After Disasters Strike,” Human Rights, 34(3), p. 2-6) CO

America has become a suburban nation. As jobs and opportunity migrate to the distant suburbs, where public transit is inadequate or nonexistent, persons without cars are literally left by the side of the road. In the end, all Americans pay for the social isolation and concentrated poverty that ensue from poor planning. This phenomenon is not new. In our book entitled Sprawl City: Race, Politics and Planning in Atlanta, we noted that suburban sprawl is widening the gap between the haves and have-nots. Sprawl is fueled by an "iron triangle" of finance, land use planning, and transportation service delivery. Suburban sprawl has clear social and environmental effects. The continued segregation of African Americans away from suburban job centers signals a new urban crisis and a new form of "residential apartheid." The exodus of low-skilled jobs to the suburbs disproportionately affects central city residents, particularly African Americans, who often face more limited choice of housing location and transportation in growing areas. While many new jobs are being created in the suburbs, the majority of job opportunities for low-income workers are still located in central cities. Transportation looms as a major barrier to employment.

#### Many jobs become inaccessible for predominantly black areas – trapping urban residents in cycles of poverty

Raphael et al 2 (Steven Raphael, Prof of Public Policy at UC Berkeley, Michael A. Stoll, Chair for Dpt of Public Policy, “Modest Progress: The Narrowing Spatial Mismatch Between Blacks and Jobs in the 1990s,” The Brookings Institution, December 2002, p. 1-2.) CO

During the latter half of the twentieth century, changes in the location of employment opportunities within metropolitan areas increased the physical distance between predominantly black residential areas and the locations of important employment centers. While black residential locations have

remained fairly centralized and concentrated in older urban neighborhoods of the nation’s metropolitan areas, employment has continuously decentralized towards suburbs and exurbs. Many social scientists argue that this “spatial mismatch” between black residential locations and employment opportunities at least partly explains the stubbornly inferior labor-market outcomes experienced by African Americans. The difficulties of reverse commuting in many metropolitan areas, coupled with the fact that high proportions of blacks do not own cars, may render inaccessible many jobs for which black workers are suited.

#### Plan spurs local economic growth – creates employment and educational opportunities

Cambridge Systematics 2 (Company dedicated to analyzing problems of transportation, environment, urban development and regional planning, “Economic Benefits of Transportation Investment,” January 2002.) CO

Transit also provides access to employment and educational opportunities, particularly in urban areas where parking shortages and traffic congestion making commuting by personal vehicle difficult and costly. Transit also allows the “transportation disadvantaged” –people without access to autos or unable to drive because of disabilities or poverty – to actively participate in the workforce. By lessening this group’s dependency on welfare, transit benefits society as a whole. For example, during late 2000 and early 2001, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) enhanced service to Bucks County by adding two new bus routes and expanding six others. This was SEPTA’s largest expansion program in 15 years, nearly doubling the number of bus stops in Bucks County from 325 to 605. For the first time, Bucks County Community College is part of the transit network, as is St. Mary Medical Center in Middletown and half a dozen industrial parks. Three new bus hubs were established at shopping malls, as well as one in Bristol Township. SEPTA also created connections to its regional rail and elevated rail service. For job seekers, students, and senior citizens without cars, the new service is invaluable. SEPTA is predicting ridership will increase by 35 percent as a result of its improved service.

#### Increasing transit stimulates the regional economy – helps to build viable urban economies

Cambridge Systematics 2 (Company dedicated to analyzing problems of transportation, environment, urban development and regional planning, “Economic Benefits of Transportation Investment,” January 2002.) CO

Transit revitalizes neighborhoods and downtown areas by fostering “agglomeration economies” – benefits, savings, or average cost reductions resulting from the clustering of activities. Density adds efficiency to urban labor markets by providing businesses with a large and varied pool of employees, and an improved chance to match specialized jobs with appropriately skilled workers. Transit plays a role in agglomeration economies by providing a fast and reliable means for large volumes of people to move about in congested, densely settled areas where parking is in short supply. A sustained program of transit capital investment will generate in the short run an annual increase of $2 million in business output and $0.8 million in personal income for every $10 million invested. In the long run (20 years), these benefits accumulate to $31 million and $18 million for business output and personal income, respectively. Overall, for every taxpayer dollar spent on transit, the economic return on investment is at least four or five to one. The Central Ohio Transit Authority (COTA), which operates a fixed-route urban mass transit system that logs over nine million miles a year, plays an important role in providing job access in the Columbus area. One COTA initiative, “COTA Works,” focuses on developing new COTA routes and fine-tuning existing routes with an eye to reducing employee shortages that businesses face. COTA is also contributing to economic development through the construction of new transit centers. In partnership with other public and private entities, COTA constructed a state-of-the-art transit center in the Linden area that provides a 24-hour day care center, a bank, and a medical clinic in addition to transportation services. The center, which opened in 2000, is stimulating development in the neighborhood, creating jobs, helping parents who work non-traditional hours, and increasing the convenience of using mass transit.

#### Systemic poverty leads to violence and conflict

Goodhand 03 (Jonathan, School of Oriental and African Studies—University of London, “Enduring Disorder and Persistent Poverty:A Review of the Linkages Between War and Chronic Poverty,” World Development, 31:3, 2003, p. 629-646, <http://www.pik-potsdam.de/research/research-domains/transdisciplinary-concepts-and-methods/favaia/workspace/documents/world-development-volume-31-issue-3-special-issue-on-chronic-poverty-and-development-policy/pages629-646.pdf>)

In this final section some of the key implications of this analysis are briefly drawn out. To summarize the key arguments: ––Chronic conflict causes chronic poverty. At a global level, donors will fail to make significant inroads in reducing chronic poverty unless a greater emphasis is placed on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. ––Poverty is one of a number of factors that may contribute to violent conflict and addressing horizontal inequalities is likely to play a role in preventing the shift from grievance to violence. ––It is hypothesized that transient poverty is likely to have a more significant influence on the dynamics of war and peace than chronic poverty. A focus on chronic poverty may not have a significant impact on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. ––Greed-based theories of conflict should be treated with caution as they fail to capture fully the political and social processes at work. A more nuanced analysis of how ‘‘greed’’ and ‘‘grievance’’ interact in particular contexts at particular times is called for. The institutions of the state play a crucial role in mediating these processes. ––The role of borderland areas as incubators of poverty and conflict has been highlighted. How greed and grievance dynamics play themselves out in remote rural areas is a question that has been underresearched. ‘‘Place matters’’ and policies need to be developed which are much more ‘‘context aware.’’ These findings lead to the following three principal policy implications. (a) Conflict prevention and peacebuilding Unless a greater priority is placed on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, chronic poverty will continue to grow. In particular, more robust and sustained action at the international level is required. Mainstream conflict and policy analysis tends to place an emphasis on internal problems and external solutions (Lund, 2000). This needs to be rectified with more attention paid to ‘‘greed’’ and ‘‘grievance’’ dynamics at an international level through changes in international public policy and global regulation. Many of today’s conflicts are connected to regionalized conflict systems, yet donor policy and planning frameworks are often constrained by country-level analysis. Aid policy is only one of a number of instruments that may be used. Policy responses tend to be very compartmentalized and often undercut one another. The poverty eradication objectives of aid can be undermined by public policy in other areas. It is one thing to talk about making globalization more inclusive, but what does this mean when the rich countries of the world are spending three times as much subsidizing their farmers than on aid budgets? (Elliott, 2001, p. 23). Aid may not be the leading edge in supporting peacebuilding processes, but it is incumbent on aid agencies to develop more conflict sensitive policies and programs. Stewart and Fitzgerald (2000) argue for a greater emphasis on protecting fragile, conflict prone countries through international regulation of investment in sensitive commodities such as arms, oil, gems and timber and the suspension of principal debt payments for countries in conflict. The policy conditionalities for countries at war or threatened by war should be reformulated with the creation of special provisions to reduce the effects of economic globalization on distributive justice, economic uncertainty and state weakness. While there is some agreement in the literature that conflict causes poverty (and as we have argued, persistent conflict is likely to raise levels of chronic poverty), the argument that there is a causal relationship in the reverse direction is more contentious. While few writers argue for a deterministic relationship, there is a growing body of empirical research, which examines poverty’s role as one of a number of causal factors behind violent conflict. Broadly, it is argued that uneven development processes lead to inequality, exclusion and poverty. This contributes to growing grievances particularly when poverty coincides with ethnic, religious, language or regional boundaries. 26 These underlying grievances may explode into open conflict when triggered by external shocks (such as a sudden change in terms of trade) or mobilized by conflict entrepreneurs. Although few argue that poverty per se causes conflict, research points to the importance of extreme horizontal inequalities as a source of grievance which is used by leaders to mobilize followers and to legitimate violent actions (Stewart & Fitzgerald, 2000).

#### State governments are uniquely unresponsive to the needs of people in poverty, political influence is wielded by suburban voters

Cashin, Georgetown University Law Center, 99

(Sheryll, Associate Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Empowerment Zones, Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), “Federalism, Welfare Reform, and the Minority Poor: Accounting for the Tyranny of State Majorities”, Columbia Law Review, Vol. 99, No. 3 (Apr., 1999), pp. 552-627, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1123518>, Accessed: 29/06/2009)

Economic research on the political economy of state fiscal decision-making suggests that suburban voters exercise considerable influence on state decisionmaking, and that state political actors, most critically governors, are rationally compelled toward the provision of "middle class" services. In the absence of federal intergovernmental aid that creates very strong economic incentives for states to provide redistributive services, such services will be a very low priority among state actors. In fact, federal intergovernmental aid for redistributive programs tends to be a replacement for state funds that are released or reallocated to general, middle class programs. Public finance scholars have found that "federal dollars that flow into the state via grants-in-aid are allocated disproportionately toward [general expenditures] and away from the human services components?[education and welfare] of the state budget.” Obviously, it is important to understand why. One possible explana- tion is merely that general expenditures are the stuff of pork barrel politics, and thus make all state legislators better off in the political process. The major general service programs include state highway maintenance, state hospitals and medical centers, universities, parks, and state bureau- cracies. Each of these programs promotes jobs and, unlike formula allocations for welfare or school aid, permits state legislators to deliver publicly funded benefits to their constituents in a way that can be explicitly linked to the efforts of the elected official.132 It is not surprising, therefore, that state fiscal politics is middle class politics. Economic research indicates that median-income voters exert decisive influence on the fiscal policy choices of incumbent governors, who, as the lead or only full-time professional politicians in state government, tend to dominate the state budgetary process.133 One economic study, for example, suggests that incumbent governors rationally avoid redistributive state welfare spending because voters exact a disproportionate political price in gubernatorial elections against those who increase such spending.134 Regression analysis indicates that voters in state gubernatorial elections distinguish welfare spending from all other types of spending and dislike this spending about three times as much as other kinds. In contrast, at the federal level, the same study indicates that voters actually rewarded incumbent presidents for spending growth during the first half of their terms and punished them for spending growth only in the second half, but without displaying any antipathy for particular types of federal spending.136 The study's author hypothesizes that state welfare spending receives such scrutiny from voters because well-informed, self- interested voters make use of publicly available budget information and because welfare spending offers little or no benefit to most state voters, most of whom are not indigent.137 State governors' tax-setting policies can also be greatly influenced by voter choice.138 Voters "are sensitive to the tax changes they face, relative to those observed in neighboring states, and . . . this sensitivity translates into votes against an incumbent whose tax changes are high by regional standards."139 Furthermore, incumbent governors facing re-election ap- parently are sensitive to this phenomenon, reflecting these voter attitudes in their tax policies.140 Given majority voter attitudes, incumbent governors can rationalize efforts to curb spending increases to the poor or any significant increases in tax rates and will pay close attention to voters' desires in this regard. Empirical evidence also suggests that, when states have discretion regarding allocations of resources allocations that typically occur in the context of state budget processes - middle class, suburban interests predominate and, at least on a per capita basis, urban citizens receive a substantially smaller share of state resources.141 In particular, affluent, outer-ring suburbs tend to receive a disproportionate share of public subsidies for transportation and residential infrastructure, often as a re- sult of cross-subsidization from the urban core.142 Decentralization of decisionmaking authority, therefore, tends to benefit those groups or local polities that are in the best position to influence policymakers.143 Hence, state political processes may be overvaluing the desires of certain suburban jurisdictions, which wield disproportionate political influence or, alternatively, state political majorities are simply rationally maximizing public benefits for themselves.

### Contention 2 is Solvency

#### The exclusion of minoity and low income groups from the planning process in MAP-21 is in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act – Congress must act to remedy this exclusion

National Council of La Raza 12

(“Latino Priorities for Federal Surface Transportation Reauthorization”http://www.nclr.org/images/uploads/pages/PolicyPriorities.pdf)

An essential component of any community development strategy is the planning process, for both new projects and to maintain and upgrade current infrastructure. Transportation planning has an acute impact on low-income communities and communities of color because they are more affected by decisions made regarding public transit, community development, and safety. Recent documented cases of the exclusion of minority, low-income, and limited-English proficient populations from transportation planning resulted in disproportional socioeconomic and environmental consequences for these populations. The U.S. Department of Transportation’s (DOT) rules pertaining to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits recipients of federal aid from discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin, bars intentional discrimination as well as disparate impact discrimination, and requires metropolitan planning organizations and transit agencies to accommodate any stakeholder who wishes to engage in the planning process. Yet, H.R. 4348 threatens to weaken community engagement and impact requirements. Instead, Congress should bolster compliance with DOT Title VI regulations to promote community engagement.

#### Increasing federal investment in public transit would solve transportation access and equity issues

National Council of La Raza 12

(“Latino Priorities for Federal Surface Transportation Reauthorization”http://www.nclr.org/images/uploads/pages/PolicyPriorities.pdf)

3) Defend public transportation as a vital lifeline. While everyone is affected by transportation issues, some communities rely more than others on public transit as a lifeline to overcome physical or economic barriers. Hispanics in particular rely on public transportation options to access essentials such as grocery stores, hospitals, and schools, and are four times more likely than Whites to rely on public transit for their work commute. 4 Federal transportation funding must ensure strong and affordable public transit options for all communities, especially those facing physical or economic barriers to opportunity. NCLR recommends that the conference committee uphold positive provisions in MAP-21, such as: Maintaining federal funding for public transportation (S. 1813, Sec. 20003, §5301) Incentivizing transit projects to compete for the Transportation Infrastructure Finance and Innovation Act program (S. 1813, Sec. 2002, §601) Extending the commuter benefits for transit users which ensure that all employees are eligible for up to the maximum $240 pre-tax transportation benefit (S. 1813, Sec. 40204) Expanding access to technical assistance that may include transportation equity to assess the impact that planning, investment, and operations have on low-income people and communities of color (S. 1813, Sec. 20003, §5301(b)(6)) Expanding eligibility for recipients of federal funds to conduct research on impact of transportation on transit-dependent populations (S. 1813, Sec. 20003, §5301(b)(8)) Establishing National Goals for the federal transit program, especially those that support mixed-use, transit-oriented development (S. 1813, Sec. 20003, §5301(c)) Maintaining federal support for public transportation services designed to transport eligible low-income individuals to and from jobs and activities related to their employment, including those with nontraditional hours or reverse commutes (S. 1813, Sec. 20008, §5311(g)(A))

#### Federal transit investment is key to stopping negative impacts of transportation inequity

Aggazio 3’ (Senior Speechwriter/Public Affairs Specialist at [U.S. Department of Transportation](http://www.linkedin.com/company/us-department-of-transportation-dot?trk=ppro_cprof), APTA Public Transit At Risk of “Failing”, New Study on America’s Infrastructure Shows Public Transportation Needs More Funding, <https://apps.asce.org/reportcard/pdf/apta_asce_final1.pdf>, 9/4/3)

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 4, 2003 – **The nation’s public transportation infrastructure is declining due to inadequate funding,** according to the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE). This year’s ASCE Progress Report, an update to the organization’s 2001 Report Card for America’s Infrastructure, found that America’s transit systems will receive a failing grade if the **current trend continues. The 2001 Report Card graded transit’s condition and performance as “C minus.” Aging facilities and fleets, increased demand for services, and record-high levels of riders have created severe stress on America’s transit systems**. **While public transportation funding has increased over the past few years, financial support has not kept pace with transit’s increasing demand and popularity**. According to the report, **unless government spending at all levels increases** by 362 percent -- to reach $43.9 billion -- **physical conditions will continue to decline**. “Today’s report clearly demonstrates that America’s mobility is at tremendous risk,” said William W. Millar, president of the American Public Transportation Association (APTA), the national trade group representing transit systems. “Without increased federal investment now, our transit systems will become less efficient, service will be reduced, and future repairs will be more costly. The consequences, which will affect every American, mean more traffic congestion and air pollution, lower productivity, and a drain on the nation’s economy.” With transit ridership at a 40-year high and growing faster than any other mode of transportation, APTA recommends doubling the annual federal transit program to $14.3 billion by Fiscal Year 2009 when Congress reauthorizes the Transportation Equity Act for the 21 st Century (TEA 21), the program 2 responsible for America’s surface transportation infrastructure, including transit. TEA 21 expires on September 30, 2003. In anticipation of this deadline, APTA has documented serious unmet needs in excess of $43 billion a year. These needs include: · Our nation’s buses and trains are aging and need replacement: 43 percent of America’s passenger rail cars and locomotives exceed the federally recommended service life; 22 percent of the nation’s bus fleet is over the federal age limit; and an additional 47 percent of buses will become too old to meet these recommendations during the next federal funding program. · To improve the current physical condition and service performance, public transportation requires up to $43.9 billion in annual capital investment. APTA is calling for increased funding and a stronger TEA 21 program to prevent a further decline in transit infrastructure and transportation options. “**We need to invest in public transportation at a level that ensures we can provide the mobility, economic, energy, and environmental benefits that improve the lives of all Americans**,” said Millar

#### Absolute consequentialist ethics reduce disposable populations to tyranny of the majority – we must incorporate ethical concerns in policymaking

Kagan, Ph.D., Princeton University, 1987

(Shelly, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, volume: 17, number: 3, 9-1987, pg. 646)

Now it might well be objected that this theory of the good neglects many other factors which can affect the value of an outcome; and many who call themselves ‘utilitarians’ have some sympathy with this complaint. But we can put this aside—for it is its maximizing theory of the right—consequentialism—which accounts for the fact that utilitarianism permits and demands too much. On any plausible theory of the good, there will be cases where the only way to promote the good would be to harm some innocent individual—and consequentialism will always permit such acts. And there will inevitably be cases where promoting the good would require tremendous sacrifices from the agent—and consequentialism will demand such constant pursuit of the good. Essentially, then, utilitarianism gives the wrong answers because of its consequentialist basis. The sins of utilitarianism are really the sins of consequentialism.

#### Utilitarianism inevitably resorts to tyrannical and genocidal measures to ensure survival

Callahan 73 (Daniel, Ph.D., Senior Fellow at Harvard Medical School, International Program, Director, The Tyranny of Survival, p. 98-9)

The first requirement is that a way be found to respond to the need for survival without, at the same time, allowing that need to become a tyranny. The tyrant can result either because of a panic in the face of a genuine threat to survival, because survival is invoked for self-interested or totalitarian political purposed, or because of an unnecessarily or unrealistically high standard of acceptable survival. Perhaps it is possible to do no more in the face of the last two possibilities than to be aware of their potential force, and by political and cultural debate to neutralize or overcome their baneful effect. The panic which can result from a real threat to survival will be more difficult to cope with, a panic which can lead to draconian measures in the name of self-preservation. At that point, the question must be faced whether there can be such a thing as too high a price to pay for survival. I believe there can be, particularly when the proposed price would involve the wholesale killing of the weak and innocent the sacrifice to an extreme degree of the values and traditions which give people their sense of meaning and identity, and the bequeathing to future generations of a condition of life which would be degrading and dehumanizing. The price would be too high when the evil of the means chosen would be such as to create an intolerable life, both for the winners and for the losers. While it might be possible to conceive of individuals willing to have their lives sacrificed for the sake of group survival, it becomes more difficult to imagine whole groups willing to make such a sacrifice. And there is a very serious moral question whether that kind of sacrifice should ever be asked for or accepted, even on a voluntary basis.

# Classism Advantage

## Links

#### Scarcity of inner city transport systems leads to class segregation

Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., Columbia University Law School, J.D., Columbia Law Review, Vol. 105, No. 2 (Mar., 2005), pp. 503-536, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316)AH](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316%29AH)

One result of this urban-to-suburban shift is that residents of the central city, disproportionately minorities and low-income earners, have little convenient access to good jobs, essential services such as medical care, and shopping, much of which has followed higher income residents to the suburbs. Because zoning laws separate residential from commercial districts, the businesses that remain may be out of walking distance, especially for the elderly. Exacerbating this situation is the scarcity of transportation options near low-income areas in many central cities. This lack of transportation not only limits access to local services and shopping, but also isolates low-income communities from more prosperous areas in other parts of the city and beyond. Furthermore, while the highways necessary to connect suburbs and exurbs to the central city occasionally pass through affluent areas, they are more likely to pass through poor minority areas, destroying and dividing neighborhoods and making travel by foot unsafe in the process. Thus, for many poor residents of the central city, safe and quick transportation is only possible with an automobile, meaning that cars have become an unaffordable necessity.

#### Highways exacerbate class inequality—increasing mass transit is the only cure

Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., Columbia University Law School, J.D., Columbia Law Review, Vol. 105, No. 2 (Mar., 2005), pp. 503-536, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316)AH](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316%29AH)

One obstacle to overcome in establishing an equal protection claim in this context is the ability to prove that the disparate treatment occurs pursuant to a discriminatory purpose.191 But protection against purposeful discrimination does only half the job; the elimination of such purposeful discrimination is illusory if a similar effect can be attained in an intentional but ostensibly neutral manner.192 In the transportation context, one could argue that funding used for roads and mass transit services benefits all equally because none are explicitly denied equal access to these forms of transportation on account of race, gender, or some other protected characteristic. As noted, however, highway construction benefits whites and wealthier people more than it does minorities and those with lower incomes, and even acts to the detriment of protected classes.'93 A transportation scheme that disparately impacts minorities may indeed lack a discriminatory purpose; but it may also be that claim- ants simply lack sufficient evidence to show that an actual discriminatory purpose exists. Griggs v. Duke Power Co. recognized this problem, noting that discrimination is often accomplished through ostensibly neutral means, and as such, is especially dangerous.94 However, several Court cases have established that disparate impact alone is not unconstitutional.195 A disparate impact merely serves as evidence of discriminatory intent.

#### High costs and limited services cause socio-spatial segregation

Gomide et al No Date (Alexandre, Sabina Leite and Jorge Rebelo, World Bank Urban Transport System in Brazil, “Public Transport and Urban Poverty: A Synthetic Index of Adequate Service”, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTES/Resources/pt&urban\_poverty.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTES/Resources/pt%26urban_poverty.pdf)) AH

The surveys showed that low-income populations whose monthly earnings are below three minimum salaries and who live in the biggest Brazilian metropolis are being denied access to public transport services — an essential service, according to the Brazilian Constitution. This situation leads to low rates of urban mobility among the poor, causing them serious problems in their journey to work and in their access to opportunities in big centres, mainly work and leisure. According to Gomidc (2003), denying these people access to public transport is one of the factors that causes their socio-spatial segregation and, therefore, creates a barrier to social inclusion.'Ihc results of the field research carried out by Itrans show that the main reasons for the lack of access to public transport that affects low-income populations are: i) the high cost of fares, which is incompatible with users' low income (lack of affordability); ii) the limited offer of services in poor neighbourhoods, especially ( a ) the low-frequency (unavailability of services); and ( b ) the distance to bus stops and terminals (inaccessibility of services). It is worth mentioning that attributes concerning the condition of the vehicles and crew members' attitude, for instance, were not among the main problems pointed out by the groups surveyed. This shows that affordability, availability, and accessibility tend to be more pressing attributes than acceptability, though not more pressing than complaints about crowded vehicles.

#### Despite alternative causes, transportation inequality is the main cause of social exclusion.

Lewis 11 (David, PhD. and senior vice president for the International Transportation Forum, “Economic Perspectives on Transport and Equality”, pg 26-27, 5/12, <http://www.internationaltransportforum.org/jtrc/DiscussionPapers/DP201109.pdf>) AH

According to transport scholar Martin Wachs, mobility and access to transportation are two of the most important global economic forces for the alleviation of poverty, inequality and social exclusion. 1 While the degree of empirical strength in this conclusion may be debated, most investigators agree that poverty, inequality and social exclusion are tied to personal mobility and to the accessibility of goods and services. In richer and poorer countries alike, Wachs notes that people with disabilities, women and girls and other disadvantaged people suffer from measurable deficits in nutrition, health care, employment and education. While such deficits reflect an array of simultaneously occurring causes (from poor housing to weak governance), problems traveling and moving goods at affordable cost can rank among them. Recognizing weak transport and energy infrastructure as key constraints to poverty reduction in Africa, the African Development Bank (ADB) has made infrastructure development a cornerstone in its development agenda and promotes private and public sector infrastructure development through the provision of financial and technical resources.

#### **Failure to engage in our discussion of classism further oppresses lower classes**

Barone no date (Chuck, Professor of Economics and American Studies at Dickinson College, “The Foundations of Class and Classism”, <http://users.dickinson.edu/~barone/ClassFoundations.PDF>) AH

In short, the predominant view of America is one of a classless society based on individual meritocracy. However, just as viewing ourselves as a raceless colorblind society, or genderless genderblind society, denies the ugly realities of racism and sexism, so viewing ourselves as a classless and class blind society denies the ugly realities of class and classism. It is ironic that we have been able to manufacture such an image of ourselves in light of the fact that the U.S. has the worse record among industrialized nations of income and wealth inequality, the worse record of class violence, and a long history of class bigotry and prejudice (Puette 1992; Chasin 1997: Ch 5; Bullock 1995). In reality, the U.S. is deeply divided by class presidential protestations to the contrary. Classlessness is a myth, along with the attendant cultural mythology which on the one hand denies the existence of class while at the same time rationalizing economic inequality in individual meritocractic terms. This dominant cultural mythology, masquerading as reality, has resulted in a crippled conceptual framework for understanding class and an impoverished public discourse on class and classism.

## **Solvency**

#### There is an inherent right to transportation that does is not being extended to underprivileged classes in the status quo. Only the federal government can solve this.

Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., Columbia University Law School, J.D., Columbia Law Review, Vol. 105, No. 2 (Mar., 2005), pp. 503-536, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316)AH](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316%29AH)

Without transportation to overcome the difficulties associated with these patterns of landscape development, the widely recognized right to interstate travel and freedom of movement are less meaningful than they were in the past, especially for the poorest Americans. The right to travel, although not explicitly granted in the Constitution, is considered to be a basic right necessary to secure personal liberty and the overall strength of the Union. As suggested by Chief Justice Taney, the right exists with regard to interstate travel throughout the United States and may exist with regard to intrastate travel.6 Freedom of movement, distinct from the right to travel yet with similar implications, recognizes that mobility is an aspect of individual liberty that may not be burdened by the state without a compelling justification. The right to travel and freedom of movement act together to prohibit unjustified and burdensome restrictions on travel and mobility locally, across state borders, and internationally. Nowhere has it been suggested that these rights carry with them a concomitant right to transportation. However, the existence of such a right to transportation is not as outrageous as it may seem at first glance. Despite indications by the Supreme Court that a right to transportation is improbable, several constitutional sources and constitutionally based doctrines could plausibly give rise to a remedial right to transportation, or at least lend support to the existence of such a right: the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the right to travel, and freedom of movement. This Note argues that a de facto right to transportation exists and is supported by, though not based on, the right to travel and freedom of movement. Federal and state governments have devoted massive amounts of funding to transportation projects, creating a de facto right to transportation. This devotion to the development of transportation networks is likely to continue given transportation's importance to economic development. This de facto right to transportation must apply equally to all citizens through the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. However, this right currently does not exist equally for all classes-the urban poor, a large proportion of whom are minorities, are disproportionately excluded from its benefits. Transportation funding has been used primarily for the development of highways and roads, to the benefit of car owners. This focus on highway development has also disrupted other forms of urban mobility. This Note argues for greater funding of urban mass transportation systems as a means of alleviating this disparity. Part I of this Note examines the evolution of the American land- scape, focusing on the need for transportation to facilitate mobility. Part II discusses the right to interstate travel, the right to intrastate travel, and freedom of movement as potential sources for the right to transportation. Part III argues that a de facto right to transportation exists that should be subject to equal protection constraints. Unfortunately, this de facto right goes largely unprotected because stating a valid claim under the Equal Protection Clause is exceedingly difficult. This problem suggests a need for a legislative response to devote more funding to forms of transportation that benefit the urban poor.

#### Without the plan, underprivileged classes have no political power for change

Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., Columbia University Law School, J.D., Columbia Law Review, Vol. 105, No. 2 (Mar., 2005), pp. 503-536, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316)AH](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316%29AH)

Other negative effects of the predominant transportation regime in most American cities span class, race, and age. These include increased commuting times and transportation costs, environmental degradation, and impeded economic development. Nonetheless, the greatest effects of American landscape development and the resulting transportation regime burden the urban poor. Through the processes of industrialization, urbanization, suburbanization, segregation, gentrification, and the growth of car dependence, the United States has evolved from a collection of small, self-sufficient, and closely knit urban and rural communities to an interdependent urban society in which mobility is essential, but access to transportation, especially for the urban poor, is limited. That the socioeconomic effects of suburbanization and car dependence on the urban poor have not been legally addressed may be a symptom of the fact that the effects of these processes have become apparent only within the last half-century. Furthermore, the groups most directly disadvantaged by this process historically suffer from a lack of political power, leaving them with a reduced ability to press for legislative change.

#### **Current U.S. transportation system has exacerbated socio-economic disparities and widened class gaps. Plan is necessary to solve.**

ASCE 10 (American Society of Civil Engineers, “Planning Infrastructure to Sustain America: Next Generation Concepts to Guide the Community, Design and Infrastructure Professions”, <http://www.asce.org/uploadedFiles/Sustainability_-_New/Resources/PLANNING%20INFRASTRUCTURE%20TO%20SUSTAIN%20AMERICA%20100915-2.pdf>) AH

Until the latter part of the 20 th century, U.S. community building and economic development tended to focus on suburban development and amplified the social and economic inequities in U.S. communities. Infrastructure planning practices contributed to this situation through siting decisions that disproportionately affected the poor. The poor typically live in areas that have low land values and are most vulnerable to natural disasters and infrastructure failures, such as on floodplains, close to power plants and near landfills. Many infrastructure siting decisions disproportionately dislocated lower-income homes and de-stabilized lower-income communities, which often did not recover from these impacts. Based primarily on a least-cost imperative, where a limited measure of cost was used that focused only on direct project expenses, developers paid only for the cost of land, neglecting the costs of social and physical rehabilitation. The poor were unable to participate in and benefit from community and infrastructure investments since they typically lacked the access and training needed to compete for the jobs that were being relocated into their communities. There are innumerable examples where infrastructure planning Vs focus on a least cost imperative unfairly affected the poor. Many lower income communities also are deprived of access to alternative transport systems, such as transit and bicycle paths/trails, and their comparatively inexpensive access to jobs and housing. Infrastructure financing also often disproportionately affects the lower income population. The use of infrastructure by those economically disadvantaged, whether it is roads, electricity, etc., is comparatively at a much lower per capita rate than that of more affluent neighborhoods of a community. For instance if a region is taxed for the construction of a light rail system, but the poorer neighborhoods do not have access to the system, then they are disproportionately affected since they are expending a larger portion of their income to pay taxes for a system that they may never use. Living closer to some infrastructure systems such as highways, power plants and landfills also affects the poor. Being proximate to these facilities exposes them to pollutants in contaminated water and air, as well as noise and odors. Infrastructure in good condition and equitably located provides social benefits to all.

#### Effective, efficient, and sustainable transportation infrastructure is necessary for social equality and mobility

ASCE 10 (American Society of Civil Engineers, “Planning Infrastructure to Sustain America: Next Generation Concepts to Guide the Community, Design and Infrastructure Professions”, <http://www.asce.org/uploadedFiles/Sustainability_-_New/Resources/PLANNING%20INFRASTRUCTURE%20TO%20SUSTAIN%20AMERICA%20100915-2.pdf>) AH

Transportation systems seek to deliver several different outcomes, using several different modes of movement that are integrated so that the modes work together to mutually support common outcomes. It is helpful to begin with a few words of definition about these three interrelated concepts. Transportation systems are responsible for moving both people and goods effectively, efficiently, and sustainably. Here is what these three characteristics of movement mean: ƒ Effectively means that (1) personal mobility and safety are well served, (2) goods are moved in a timely and reliable way sufficient to meet just-in-time delivery requirements, (3) economic development needs are met sufficiently to provide for needed growth in the economy, and (4) the needs of the people for social, cultural, and recreational interactions are satisfied. Efficiently means that transportation infrastructure and services to serve the needs for personal mobility and goods movement are affordable to the service providers and the users, and the life-cycle costs are optimized to keep them as low as possible over the long term. ƒ Sustainably means that air quality, water quality, and wetlands footprints of the transportation facilities and services are as small as possible, the put-in-place infrastructure of these systems is resiliently designed for long term use, the financing arrangements are reliable over the long term, and the services provided are socially equitable i that is, they provide needed levels of service to persons of limited means and persons with special needs as well as to the majority of users.

#### Plan is necessary to make transportation financially accessible, available, physically accessible, and acceptable for all classes

Gomide et al No Date (Alexandre, Sabina Leite and Jorge Rebelo, World Bank Urban Transport System in Brazil, “Public Transport and Urban Poverty: A Synthetic Index of Adequate Service”, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTES/Resources/pt&urban\_poverty.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTES/Resources/pt%26urban_poverty.pdf)) AH

On the other hand, the international literature on this subject (Department for Transport, UK, 2003) considers as adequate public transport service that which is, at the same time, 'financially accessible,' 'available', 'physically accessible', and 'acceptable'. 'Financially accessible' refers to the extent to which a user can afford the cost of a journey (affordability). This concept can be expressed by the relation between the user's monthly spending on transport and his/her income. The closer this relation, the higher the accessibility to the service (or the user's affordability). Obviously, the concept of affordability is closely related to the fares charged. Financial accessibility is also related to the "opportunity cost" of the service, i.e., the curtailment of a certain spending to allow the use of public transport (e.g. a user will refrain from buying a certain type of food in order to face his daily travelling expenses to work). 'Availability' concerns the services offered, particularly the route possibilities and the timings (including the time taken walking to the bus stop, how long the user has to wait at the stop, and his/her trip time). Such offer has to meet the user's needs. Problems concerning this attribute are associated with timetable irregularities, which lead to delays, and the unreliability' of the service, that is, whether buses will be on rime or not. The concept of availability- also depends on whether the service is available at night, at weekends, and on holidays. 'Accessibility' concerns the ease with which passengers can use public transport. This includes the distance to be travelled to the nearest bus stop, terminal or station, the availability of information on the services (e.g. times and routes), and the existence of paved roads that allow vehicles to pick-up passengers in their neighborhoods. The elderly and the disabled are among those groups which encounter the most difficulties when using public transport as they cannot expect facilities such as low-floor buses or wheelchair accessible vehicles. Other groups that face similar difficulties are passengers carrying shopping bags or carts, and mothers travelling with their children. Accessibility also describes the "public transport environment." An example of this is the crime rate in a certain region. A bus stop may be within 300 meters of a passenger's home ( the most common measure of public transport accessibility), but a high crime rate may become a barrier to the access to public transport at certain times. 'Acceptability', in its turn, is generally connected with quality' of services and depends on subjective factors which are associated with minimum standards and users' expectations, and which will vary according to segment. Some of these factors are the behaviour of bus drivers and conductors towards passengers, the quality, age, and condition of the buses, and their level of comfort and security. For the main attributes of a suitable transport system, refer to Table 1.

#### Empirical evidence proves that government investment in transport infrastructure bridges socio-economic gaps

Lewis 11 (David, PhD. and senior vice president for the International Transportation Forum, “Economic Perspectives on Transport and Equality”, pg 26-27, 5/12, <http://www.internationaltransportforum.org/jtrc/DiscussionPapers/DP201109.pdf>) AH

A link between improved transport and diminished regional disparities in income and well-being is evident in emerging and developed economies alike -- mobility and transport have a role to play in diminishing economic and social gaps between rich and poor in literally all the world‘s economies. 3 In coordination with other sectoral policies, transport represents an important policy instrument for reducing poverty and diminishing social exclusion. Germany, for example, is reported to have witnessed a larger reduction in sub-regional income disparity since the mid-1990s than most other OECD nations. Analysis attributes this convergence in part to national and European Union funds for infrastructure (as well as to research and development, education and the transfer of some manufacturing jobs from factories in the western states to the east). 4 As shown in Section 3 below, large infrastructure investment programs can promote productivity growth, one of the key factors in reducing income inequalities between regions and raising a real personal incomes.

#### **Any other attempt to fight classism will only reproduce it. Government action is key**

Barone no date (Chuck, Professor of Economics and American Studies at Dickinson College, “The Foundations of Class and Classism”, <http://users.dickinson.edu/~barone/ClassFoundations.PDF>) AH

This is called internalized oppression and as a result many become resigned to their class fate. Members of oppressed groups are emotionally, physically, and spiritually abused until they begin to believe that oppression is their lot in life, that it is somehow deserved, natural, right, or conversely, that it does not exist (Yamato 1995:66). Internalized oppression insures the perpetuation (reproduction) of the class system from one generation to the next. Class oppression, like racism, requires that individuals internalize class domination and subordination and to the extent that we do we become resigned to our fates. Although there is mobility (up and down), class stability is the norm(MacLeod 1995; Michel, Bernstein, & Schmitt 1997: 97ff) Even those who fight back and rebel often wind up reproducing the very class system they are rebelling against(Willis 1977).

## Impact – Liberty

#### The federal government has a constitutional and moral obligation to extend the right of movement to lower classes

Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., Columbia University Law School, J.D., Columbia Law Review, Vol. 105, No. 2 (Mar., 2005), pp. 503-536, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316)AH](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4099316%29AH)

Of course, the right to intrastate travel and the right to interstate travel need not have an identical constitutional source. There is significant support for the assertion that the right to travel is inherent in notions of individual liberty and thus may be extended to intrastate, as well as interstate, travel. For example, as suggested by the "as freely as in our own States" language in Justice Taney's dissent in the Passenger Cases, the right to interstate travel logically requires an underlying right to intrastate travel.'32 Similarly, in Saenz v. Roe, the Supreme Court cited Edwards v. California'33 as establishing a "right to go from one place to another, including the right to cross state borders while en route."134 This articulation suggests the right to travel attaches to the individual and creates a right to intrastate travel at least as great as the right to interstate travel. Various other sources

support the simple, unexamined assertion that the liberty to travel across state borders is meaningless without first having the ability to travel within the state to the interstate border."35 For example, the Second Circuit recognized the right to intrastate travel in Spencer v. Casavilla,'36 although it failed to articulate a constitutional source for this right. In addition to general notions of liberty and blind assertions that intrastate movement is necessary to interstate movement, some propose that a right to intrastate travel could emanate from the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.'37 The Third Circuit considered the question in depth in Lutz v. City of York and concluded, while admitting its analysis to be "ad hoc," "that the right to move freely about one's neighborhood or town, even by automobile, is indeed 'implicit in the concept of ordered liberty' and 'deeply rooted in the Nation's history.' "The court based its conclusion on cases that included the right to move without restraint by the state as part of one's personal liberty.'39 While admitting the troubling aspects of finding new fundamental rights in the Due Process Clause because of Lochner,140 the court went on to conclude that the right of local travel is a fundamental right provided by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.141 In contrast, due to the uncertainty regarding the source of such a right, the Sixth Circuit denied the plaintiffs claim in Wardwell v. Board of Education, stating that it "find[s] no support for plaintiffs theory that the right to intrastate travel has been afforded federal constitutional protection."142 The Supreme Court has said little to resolve this conflict.14 Like the right to interstate travel, the right to intrastate travel lends support to the existence of a right to transportation, though perhaps not serving as an established right out of which the right to transportation emanates. Unlike the right to interstate travel, the right to intrastate travel is not widely accepted.'44 However, many of those who have analyzed the right to intrastate travel argue that it emanates from personal liberty. This suggests that, if more widely accepted, it might be an appropriate basis for a right to transportation.145 Even so, the right's useful- ness would be determined by its fundamentality and the resultant level of scrutiny laws and regulations that violate the right would receive. Until the circuit split on the existence of such a right is resolved, its usefulness as a source for founding other rights is limited. Unlike the right to interstate travel, which only protects a very limited type of mobility, and the right to intrastate travel, which is not widely recognized, freedom of movement is a generally accepted doctrine that secures the individual a right to be free from undue government restrictions on movement. Often cited in support of the right to interstate travel' and the right to intrastate travel, freedom of movement has also regularly been conflated with these rights. As stated in Kent v. Dulles, freedom of movement, both within and across our national borders, is "basic in our scheme of values."' As fundamental as what a person eats, reads, or wears, freedom of movement is important for cultural, political, social, and business activities. As such, the Supreme Court has long recognized, subject to certain limitations, a right to move freely distinct from the right to interstate and intrastate travel.

#### **Classism leads to the stigmatization underprivileged groups and justifies oppression**

Barone no date (Chuck, Professor of Economics and American Studies at Dickinson College, “The Foundations of Class and Classism”, <http://users.dickinson.edu/~barone/ClassFoundations.PDF>) AH

It is these economic struggles that form the underlying basis of classism. The actual content of class relations (class culture) is elitist, i.e., class oppression and privileges are defended on the basis of one person/group claiming to be more important, smarter, better, more deserving, more qualified, etc. than another person/group. These attitudes frame class behavior and thus inter-class social relations. The oppressed person/group (the working class) is viewed as less intelligent, less talented, inferior, and thus not worth very much. Such views can be patronizing ("they are doing the best they can") or they can be vicious ("working class people are stupid, dirty, lazy, and uncivilized"). Classist patterns and attitudes such as these are the source of much prejudice and have been used to denigrate and discriminate against working class people, and to rationalize current and past oppression of millions of people the world over. Widespread anti-union sentiments, attacks on welfare and the poor, and negative media stereotypes of working class people, especially TV sitcoms, are examples of classism in action (Puette 1992; Bullock 1995: 127-130). Such individual classist beliefs and attitudes frame inter-class relations (behavior), and they facilitate the systematic economic exploitation and oppression of working people. The objective structures of class oppression and exploitation require, on a subjective level, socially held classist beliefs and attitudes. On a social level, individually held beliefs are rooted in a cultural belief system, a classist ideology which rationalizes class oppression as just and equitable. In the U.S. it is a cultural belief in the ideology of individual achievement, the myth of meritocracy, where anyone can make it if they work hard, that individuals rise on the basis of their own individual effort and ability. Success honors those who make it and failure stigmatizes those who fail. Although cast in terms of individuals and equal opportunities, this ideology is classist. It casts working class people as inferior and incompetent, and middle and owning class people as superior. It allows people to rationalize and ignore class oppression, to see and understand the social universe as merely the result of individual interaction, and to view class oppression as "normal" and a "natural" part of a secular or divine order. The Bell Curve, the recent best-selling book by Herrnstein and Murray, is an attempt to renew and legitimate this view in the face of currently growing class and racial inequality and bigotry(Fischer, et al 1996).

## Impact – Exclusion/NVTL

#### Government must step in to bridge the socio-economic gap caused by unequal access to transportation—key to mobility and value of life

Lewis 11 (David, PhD. and senior vice president for the International Transportation Forum, “Economic Perspectives on Transport and Equality”, pg 26-27, 5/12, <http://www.internationaltransportforum.org/jtrc/DiscussionPapers/DP201109.pdf>) AH

Poverty, inequality and social exclusion are closely tied to personal mobility and the accessibility of goods and services. Evidence of the economic role of transport in promoting belter living standards and greater wellbeing can be seen in the effects of both overall public investment in transport infrastructure, and in the impacts of specific transport policies, projects and multi-project plans. At the level of overall public expenditure, transport capital investment measurably promotes growth in worker productivity: This is significant because productivity growth is key to facilitating growth in personal incomes and living standards, and to closing income disparities between regions and sub-regions. At the level of specific policies, investments and plans, transport is seen to create economic wellbeing for a wide range socially disadvantaged groups, including the poor, elderly people, people with disabilities, children, young adults, and women. Such benefits include greater accessibility to work and other life-chances and reduced stigmatic harms associated with social exclusion. This paper argues that transport planning, economic evaluation, and governance modalities need to do a better job of adapting to the perspective on transport as a legitimate policy instrument for diminishing inequality and creating a just distribution of social value. Analysis methods to identify and measure such value, and governance mechanisms to ensure that equity objectives are properly served, are beginning to appear. This is a trend to be encouraged, particularly through the extension of economic evaluation methods and governance mechanisms to: • Account for a wider range of transport benefits and effects than traditionally recognized; • Address multi-project and multi-policy plans as well as individual projects; and • Shape transport plans with measures, both transport and non-transport, that mitigate systematic social biases; and • Give transport a direct, proactive role in fostering equality (rather than merely mitigating social biases) by encouraging the development of emerging policy development and planning methods that are rooted less in welfare economics and more in the operational ideas of social justice.

#### Access to transportation is necessary for social mobility and value to life

Gomide et al No Date (Alexandre, Sabina Leite and Jorge Rebelo, World Bank Urban Transport System in Brazil, “Public Transport and Urban Poverty: A Synthetic Index of Adequate Service”, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTES/Resources/pt&urban\_poverty.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTES/Resources/pt%26urban_poverty.pdf)) AH

According to the Brazilian Constitution, public transport is an essential service. Those who are not car owners, especially lower socio-economic groups, depend entirely on public transport to have access to job opportunities, social services (e.g. health and education), and to activities that guarantee human dignity and social integration, such as leisure, visiting friends and relatives, and shopping, among others. In other words, public transport does not only allow human mobility, but it helps combat urban poverty. However, if the service is not adequate to people's needs, especially people on extremely low incomes, as shown in recent studies (Gomide, 2003; Itrans, 2004), it may become a hindrance to essential opportunities and activities, i.e., a barrier to social inclusion.

#### Equal access to government funded transportation is key for the pursuit of happiness and quality of life

Lewis 11 (David, PhD. and senior vice president for the International Transportation Forum, “Economic Perspectives on Transport and Equality”, pg 26-27, 5/12, <http://www.internationaltransportforum.org/jtrc/DiscussionPapers/DP201109.pdf>) AH

The recession has attuned the general public to the idea of transport infrastructure as something to be ramped up quickly when an economic slowdown motivates the need to stimulate employment. But as attention turns to reducing public sector deficits, it is vital to recognize that the fundamental economic purpose of transport policy is not the transitory jobs that arise during the construction of infrastructure projects. Transport policy is about nothing less than creating societies in which people can prosper and live a good life. To be sure, travel itself creates no economic value: Unless we‘re on a cruise, the time, money and effort spent getting from here to there represent a cost, not a benefit, of daily life. It is the life activities for which travel is the means of access that produce economic opportunity and value in peoples‘ lives - activities such as work, accessing food and water, going to the doctor, visiting family and friends, going to the pub, seeing a film. Recognizing that almost everything people do in the pursuit of well-being and happiness requires travel, the quality of government transport policy is ultimately manifest in nothing less than the quality of peoples‘ lives.

#### **The structures of classism force the internalization of classist beliefs, causing dehumanization**

Barone no date (Chuck, Professor of Economics and American Studies at Dickinson College, “The Foundations of Class and Classism”, <http://users.dickinson.edu/~barone/ClassFoundations.PDF>) AH

At the personal or individual level, the internalization of classist beliefs, attitudes, and behavior is the result of a socializing and conditioning process which consists of installing on individuals patterns of behavior, mannerisms, and beliefs that insure conformity to class roles. To occupy such roles people have to be conditioned. Acting out or occupying these roles requires that we give up part of our uniquely human qualities, of choosing our own identities. We are given the choice as young children to play out our socially expected role(s), a painful process at best, or get punished with far worse. If you are female and act like a boy, or white and act black, or owning class and act working class, if you resist role conditioning, you risk humiliation and isolation, being ostracized and subjected to emotional and physical abuse. Material success and economic security are hold out as rewards in return for occupying oppressor roles, replacing genuine human needs with an artificially created materialism which serves both to keep people in their socially constructed roles and fuel capitalist accumulation. Role conditioning begins at birth, extends through young adulthood and is then reinforced throughout adulthood. As a result of this social conditioning many of the working class internalize negative beliefs and stereotypes about themselves. We are bombarded daily with thousands of subtle and not so subtle messages about ourselves and others. These classist messages have a powerful affect on people, making the social construction of reality appear as the natural state of human beings. Classism experienced on a daily basis by working class people reinforces class conditioning. Working class people tend to view themselves and be seen by others as not very smart or stupid, uneducated and inarticulate, poor leaders, lacking in ability and lazy, crude and uncivilized. But they view those in the middle and owning class as superior and more intelligent, ambitious, with greater poise, self-confidence and leadership (Argle 1994:Ch 9).

#### **Classism causes devaluation of life**

Langhout et al 7 (Regina Day., Francine Rossell, and Jonathan Feinstein, The Review of Higher Education, Volume 30, Number 2, Winter 2007, pp. 145-184, [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/review\_of\_higher\_ education/v030/30.2langhout.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/review_of_higher_%20education/v030/30.2langhout.html)) AH

Although gaining more attention recently, classism is an area that has historically lacked consideration in psychological literature (Ostrove & Cole, 2003). Classism is a type of discrimination, much like sexism or racism. In the case of classism, people occupying lower social class levels are treated in ways that exclude, devalue, discount, and separate them (Lott, 2002). Researchers have examined individual experiences related to social class or socioeconomic status, but the emphasis has not been on defining empirical domains of classism and assessing base rates. An emphasis on assessing classism fits well with Ostrove and Cole's (2003) call for a critical psychology that can investigate, among other things, social class as it relates to experiences of discrimination.

# Economy Advantage

## Links

#### Transportation inequity excludes many for employment opportunities and seeks to widen the gap between the rich and the poor.

Bullard et al 7 (Robert Bullard, Prof. - of Sociology and Dir. of the Environmental Justice Resource center at Clark Atlanta University, leading campaigner against environmental racism; Glenn Johnson, research associate at the EJRC and Prof.-Clark Atlanta University and Angel Torres, geographic information system training specialist with the EJRC, “Dismantling Transportation Apartheid in the United States Before and After Disasters Strike,” Human Rights, 34(3), p. 2-6) CO

America has become a suburban nation. As jobs and opportunity migrate to the distant suburbs, where public transit is inadequate or nonexistent, persons without cars are literally left by the side of the road. In the end, all Americans pay for the social isolation and concentrated poverty that ensue from poor planning. This phenomenon is not new. In our book entitled Sprawl City: Race, Politics and Planning in Atlanta, we noted that suburban sprawl is widening the gap between the haves and have-nots. Sprawl is fueled by an "iron triangle" of finance, land use planning, and transportation service delivery. Suburban sprawl has clear social and environmental effects. The continued segregation of African Americans away from suburban job centers signals a new urban crisis and a new form of "residential apartheid." The exodus of low-skilled jobs to the suburbs disproportionately affects central city residents, particularly African Americans, who often face more limited choice of housing location and transportation in growing areas. While many new jobs are being created in the suburbs, the majority of job opportunities for low-income workers are still located in central cities. Transportation looms as a major barrier to employment.

#### Many African-Americans have limited access to employment due to limited transportation options

Bullard et al 7 (Robert Bullard, Prof. - of Sociology and Dir. of the Environmental Justice Resource center at Clark Atlanta University, leading campaigner against environmental racism; Glenn Johnson, research associate at the EJRC and Prof.-Clark Atlanta University and Angel Torres, geographic information system training specialist with the EJRC, “Dismantling Transportation Apartheid in the United States Before and After Disasters Strike,” Human Rights, 34(3), p. 2-6) CO

The private automobile is still the most dominant travel mode in every segment of the American population. Private automobiles provide enormous employment access advantages to their owners. Nationally, only 7 percent of white households do not own a car, compared with 13 percent of Asian American households, 17 percent of Latino households, and 24 percent of African American households. Lack of car ownership and inadequate public transit service in many central cities and metropolitan regions exacerbate social, economic, and racial isolation, especially for low-income African Americans who already have limited transportation options. Clearly, a lack of cars for low-income and people of color limits their access to employment, especially when they also live in areas where public transit is inadequate to meet the needs of the surrounding population. African Americans have the lowest car ownership of all racial and ethnic groups in the United States, with 19 percent living in homes in which no one owns a car.

#### Many jobs become inaccessible for predominantly black areas

Raphael et al 2 (Steven Raphael, Prof of Public Policy at UC Berkeley, Michael A. Stoll, Chair for Dpt of Public Policy, “Modest Progress: The Narrowing Spatial Mismatch Between Blacks and Jobs in the 1990s,” The Brookings Institution, December 2002, p. 1-2.) CO

During the latter half of the twentieth century, changes in the location of employment opportunities within metropolitan areas increased the physical distance between predominantly black residential areas and the locations of important employment centers. While black residential locations have

remained fairly centralized and concentrated in older urban neighborhoods of the nation’s metropolitan areas, employment has continuously decentralized towards suburbs and exurbs. Many social scientists argue that this “spatial mismatch” between black residential locations and employment opportunities at least partly explains the stubbornly inferior labor-market outcomes experienced by African Americans. The difficulties of reverse commuting in many metropolitan areas, coupled with the fact that high proportions of blacks do not own cars, may render inaccessible many jobs for which black workers are suited.

**Lack of widespread effective mass transit segregates minorities and lower socioeconomic classes and creates massive inner city unemployment
Bullard 4**(Robert, Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, “Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States,” Fordham Urban L.J. 31,2003-2004, p. 1201-2) CO

Subur- ban sprawl has clear social and environmental effects. The social effects of suburban sprawl include concentration of urban core poverty, closed opportunity, limited mobility, economic disinvestment, social isolation, and urban/suburban disparities that closely mirror racial inequities.172 The environmental effects of suburban sprawl include urban infrastructure decline, increased energy consumption, automobile dependency, threats to public health and the environment, including air pollution, flooding, and climate change, and threats to farm land and wildlife habitat.173 Many jobs have shifted to the suburbs and communities where public transportation is inadequate or nonexistent.174 The exodus of low-skilled jobs to the suburbs disproportionately affects central-city residents, particularly people of color, who often face more limited choice of housing location and transportation in growing areas.'75 Between 1990 and 1997, jobs on the fringe of metropolitan areas grew by 19% versus 4% job growth in core areas.176 While many new jobs are being created in the suburbs, the majority of job opportunities for low-income workers are still located in central cities.

#### Lack of funding for public transit excludes minorities from potential job opportunities

Bullard 5 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Transportation Policies Leave Blacks on the Side of the Road, Crisis Publications Inc., Jan/Feb. 2005, 112(3), pgs. 21-24) PCS

The lack of car ownership and inadequate public transit service in many urban areas exacerbate social, economic and racial isolation, especially for low-income African Americans, who already have limited transportation options. A 2000 study by scholar Michael Stoll of the University of California, Los Angeles, found that no other group in the United States was more physically isolated from jobs than African Americans. Stoll's research revealed that more than 50 percent of Blacks would have to relocate to achieve an even distribution of Blacks relative to jobs; the comparable figures for Whites are 20 to 24 percentage points lower. "Given the difficulties of reverse commuting to suburbs in many metropolitan areas, especially by public transit, coupled with the fact that high proportions of Blacks do not own cars, such spatial mismatch disconnects Blacks from many jobs for which they may be suited, thereby increasing their employment difficulties," wrote Stoll in his study, titled "Modest Progress: The Narrowing Spatial Mismatch Between Blacks and Jobs in the 1990s."

Public policy benefits the white community while ignoring and oppressing other cultures – using race as a tool to trap blacks into neglected urban areas
Bullard 4 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Transportation Policies Leave Blacks on the Side of the Road, Crisis Publications Inc., Jan/Feb. 2005, 112(3), pgs. 21-24) PCS

Although the US has made tremendous strides in civil rights, race still matters in America. In his classic book Invisible Man, Ralph Ellison illustrated that white racism not only harms individuals, but it also renders black people and their communities invisible. By one definition, white racism is “the social organized set of attitudes, ideas, and practices that deny African Americans and other people of color the dignity, opportunities, freedoms, and rewards that this nation offers white Americans.” Racism combines with public policies and industry practices to provide benefits for whites while shifting costs to people of color. Many racist acts and practices are institutionalized informally, and in some cases become standard public policy. For decades, it was legal and common practice for transit agencies to operate separate and unequal systems for whites and blacks and for city, county, and state government officials to use tax dollars to provide transportation amenities for white communities while denying the same services to black communities. American cities continue to be racially polarized. Residential apartheid is the dominant housing pattern for most African Americans- still the most segregated ethnic group in the country. Nowhere is this separate society more apparent than in the nation’s central cities and large metropolitan areas. Urban America typifies the costly legacy of slavery, Jim Crow, and institutionalized discrimination. America’s dirty secret, institutionalized racism is part of our national heritage. Racism is a potent tool for sorting people into their physical environment. St. Claire Drake and Horace R. Cayton, in their 1945 groundbreaking Black Metropolis, documented the role racism played in creating Chicago’s South Side ghetto. In 1965, psychologist Kenneth Clark proclaimed that racism created our nation’s “dark ghettos.” In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the Kerner Commission, reported that “white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto” and that “white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.” The black ghetto is kept contained and isolated from the larger white society though well-defined institutional practices, private actions, and government policies. Even when the laws change, some discriminatory practices remain.

#### Suburban jobs are inaccessible to inner-city residents because there’s no public transportation to get them there

Pugh 98 (Margaret, doctoral student in history at the University of Pennsylvania, policy analyst in the White House and US Department of Health and Human Services, Barriers to Work: The Spatial Divide Between Jobs and Welfare Recipients in Metropolitan Areas, The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, September 1998, pg. 14) PCS

The findings have been stunning. Using 1990 Census data, researchers have shown that centers of greatest entry-level job growth are often located so far away from central cities that a reverse commute on public transportation -- the primary mode of travel for many low-income urban residents -- becomes impractical. In most of the nation’s sprawling metropolitan areas, the spread of suburban growth has far outpaced the reach of city-based public transit systems. While in some cities there has been a documented wage increase for comparable work the farther one travels into the suburbs, a lack of convenient mass transit means that the cost of the reverse commute in both money and time is often so great that it may match or even exceed any wage increase. In two of the case studies -- one in Cleveland and one in Atlanta -- researchers plotted the residential locations of welfare recipients, entry-level job opportunities, and public transit systems onto a map. The results showed that: (1) welfare households were clustered in central city or inner suburban neighborhoods; (2) a significant number of job opportunities were in outer suburbs far away from recipients’ central city homes; and (3) many of these suburban jobs were inaccessible by any mode of transportation other than a car. Studies underway in other cities indicate that this pattern is replicated elsewhere. The patterns found for welfare recipients also are found to correlate with race. One of the few recent multi-city studies found that central city job growth raised black employment rates, and that job locations play a larger role in black employment than do social interactions.

## Solvency - Employment

#### Increasing availability of public transit decreases unemployment

Litman 12 (Todd, Executive director of the Victoria Transport Policy Institute, “Evaluating Public Transit Benefits and Costs,” Victoria Transport Policy Institute, p. 23.) CO

People living near public transit service tend to work more days each year than those who lack such access (Sanchez 1999; Yi 2006), and many transit commuters report that they would be unable to continue at their current jobs or would earn less if transit services were unavailable (Crain & Associates 1999). Similarly, a significant portion of students depend on public transit for commuting to schools and colleges, so a reduction in transit services can reduce their future productivity. A survey of adults with disabilities actively seeking work found 39% considered inadequate transport a barrier to employment (Fowkes, Oxley and Henser 1994). Increased employment by such groups provides direct benefits to users and increases overall productivity.

#### Public transit investment is key to increasing employment

White House 11 (Executive Office of the President, “Recent Examples of the Economic Benefits From Investing in Infrastructure”, this report was prepared by the President’s Council of Economic Advisers, the National Economic Council, the Department of Transportation, and the Department of the Treasury, November, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/ infrastructure\_report\_final\_pdf\_110211.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/%20infrastructure_report_final_pdf_110211.pdf)) AH

Investments in transportation infrastructure have substantial economic benefits, in both the short and the long run. Evidence of these benefits is clearly visible in many of the infrastructure projects that have recently been completed throughout the country. These investments, some of which are described in this report, result in the following benefits for Americans and our nation’s economy: Reduced congestion in key bottleneck areas, such as the I-10 bridge span replacement in New Orleans, LA and the new Woodrow Wilson Bridge connecting Virginia and Maryland, which helps to reduce the estimated $100 billion in congestion costs on roads and highways in urban areas. Improved safety on our nation’s highways and bridges, such as the reconstruction of the I-10 / I-95 interchange in Jacksonville, Florida, which can both save lives and reduce bottlenecks on key thoroughfares. Expanded public transit services to new communities, such as the Green Line light rail extension in Portland, OR, which get commuters and other travelers to their destinations in more efficient, less congestion-prone ways. Rehabilitated and much-needed maintenance of aging infrastructure, such as the rehabilitation of a stretch of I-77 in North Carolina, which often results in the some of the highest returns on infrastructure investment. The U.S. economy relies heavily on transportation infrastructure, and these investments to improve the condition and performance of our infrastructure allow people and goods to move more efficiently and safely around the country. Without a well-functioning system of roads and highways, public transit, railways, seaports, and aviation, much of the activity in the U.S. economy would grind to halt. In order to meet the needs of a growing economy, there is an ongoing need for new investments to maintain, upgrade, and expand the nation’s stock of transportation infrastructure. Moreover, the value of making such investments is especially great at a time when the economy continues to have substantial underutilized resources, including more than a million construction workers seeking employment.

Plan spurs local economic growth – creates employment opportunities
Cambridge Systematics 2 (Company dedicated to analyzing problems of transportation, environment, urban development and regional planning, “Economic Benefits of Transportation Investment,” January 2002.) CO

Transit also provides access to employment and educational opportunities, particularly in urban areas where parking shortages and traffic congestion making commuting by personal vehicle difficult and costly. Transit also allows the “transportation disadvantaged” –people without access to autos or unable to drive because of disabilities or poverty – to actively participate in the workforce. By lessening this group’s dependency on welfare, transit benefits society as a whole. For example, during late 2000 and early 2001, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) enhanced service to Bucks County by adding two new bus routes and expanding six others. This was SEPTA’s largest expansion program in 15 years, nearly doubling the number of bus stops in Bucks County from 325 to 605. For the first time, Bucks County Community College is part of the transit network, as is St. Mary Medical Center in Middletown and half a dozen industrial parks. Three new bus hubs were established at shopping malls, as well as one in Bristol Township. SEPTA also created connections to its regional rail and elevated rail service. For job seekers, students, and senior citizens without cars, the new service is invaluable. SEPTA is predicting ridership will increase by 35 percent as a result of its improved service.

#### Public transportation investment creates jobs and stimulates the economy on multiple levels

APTA 9 (American Public Transportation Association, “Economic Impact of Public Transportation Investment”, October, [http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/ economic\_impact\_of\_public\_transportation\_investment.pdf](http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/%20economic_impact_of_public_transportation_investment.pdf)) AH

Key findings of the report are organized in terms of three categories: (1) the effect of spending money on public transportation, which creates immediate jobs and income by supporting manufacturing, construction and public transportation operation activities; (2) longer-term effects of investment in public transportation, which enables a variety of economic efficiency and productivity impacts to unfold as a consequence of changes in travel times, costs and access factors; and (3) conclusions regarding the interpretation and policy consideration of economic impacts associated with public transportation investment. Key Findings on Public Transportation Spending Impacts: Capital investment in public transportation (including purchases of vehicles and equipment, and the development of infrastructure and supporting facilities) is a significant source of jobs in the United States. The analysis indicates that nearly 24,000 jobs are supported for a year, per billion dollars of spending on public transportation capital. Public transportation operations (i.e., management, operations and maintenance of vehicles and facilities) is also a significant source of jobs. The analysis indicates that over 41,000 jobs are supported for a year, for each billion dollars of annual spending on public transportation operations. Combining investment in public transportation capital and operations within the US, the analysis indicates that an average of 36,000 jobs are supported for one year, per billion dollars of annual spending on public transportation, given the existing mix of operations (71 percent) and capital (29 percent) expenditures. These investment impacts include directly supported jobs at manufacturers and at operators of public transportation equipment and facilities, plus additional “indirect” jobs supported by orders for other product and service providers, and “indirect” jobs supported by consumer spending of workers’ wages. These overall impacts can represent new jobs insofar as there is an increase in public transportation spending and a sufficient number of unemployed persons to fill these jobs (so that other pre-existing jobs are not displaced). Inflation changes the number of jobs supported per $ 1 billion of spending on public transportation. Consequently, over time, more dollars are needed to accomplish the same public transportation investment. Other economic impacts are associated with the job impacts. Corresponding to the 36,000 jobs is approximately $3.6 billion of added business output (sales volume), which provides $1.8 billion of GDP (gross domestic product, or “value added”) -- including $1.6 billion of worker income and $0.2 billion of corporate income. This additional economic activity generates nearly $500 million in federal, state and local tax revenues. [Note: these figures should not be added or otherwise combined, because a portion of the business output provides the worker income and other elements of GDP, which in turn are sources for tax revenues.]

#### Public transit would help overcome spatial mismatch in employment

Sanchez 98 (Thomas W., Assistant Prof. at Portland State University, expert on transportation, land use, urban/regional planning and environmental justice, Dir. of the Urban Affairs and Planning Program at VA Tech, “The Connection Between Public Transit and Employment,” Center for Urban Studies and Planning at Portland State University, November 1998, p. 16.) CO

Based on the results of this analysis, policies advocating increased transit accessibility in addressing urban underemployment are partially supported. Of the previous research that has been performed in this area, none has empirically addressed the claim that public transportation represents an effective or efficient strategy to combat unemployment. Despite other findings in the spatial mismatch literature, it appears possible that transit can overcome the physical separation between the residential locations of nonwhite workers and job locations. When nonwhite workers have reasonable access to employment concentrations and remain underemployed, employer discrimination, inadequate education, and insufficient job training are often cited as contributing factors. Proposals for long-term strategies for increased job training, job information, transportation enhancements, day-care services, tax credits, and policing and correctional practices (see Hughes 1991) avoid the underlying theme of spatial mismatch -- racial discrimination.

#### Lack of funding makes it impossible for those without automobiles to get to work

Transportation Equity Network 11 (A campaign dedicated to creating an equity-based transportation system by connecting local transportation campaigns with federal-based advocacy, “Cutting Federal Public Transportation Funding Will Result in Significant Job Losses and Service Cuts,” Transportation Equity Network Press Releases, <http://www.transportationequity.org/index.php?option=com_content> &view= article& id=501:cutting-federal-public-transportation-funding-will-result-in-significant-job-losses-and- service-cuts&catid=30:press-releases&Itemid=154.) CO

"Today's demonstrations reflect the frustration and anxiety felt by regular people facing the loss of the transportation they rely on every day," said Larry Hanley, president of the Amalgamated Transit Union. "It is disingenuous for public officials to claim they are against raising taxes while they are raising transit fares all over the country. At the very same time they are cutting bus and train service."

"We are making the traveling public, and transit users aware that without proper funding bus services will be dramatically cut preventing workers, or those with no other available transportation from getting to work," said James C. Little, International President, Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO. "Instead of cutting service we should be building our transportation infrastructure, and embrace clean, efficient transportation technology."

#### Light rail transit has been proven to increase accessibility to jobs

Fan et al 12 (Yingling Fan, Assistant professor in the regional planning/policy area at University of Minnesota, Andrew Guthrie, research assistant at University of Minnesota and David Levinson, Professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Minnesota, “Impact of Light Rail Implementation on Labor Market Accessibility: A Transportation Equity Perspective,” Journal of Transport and Land Use, 5(3), p. 22-23.) CO

While significant concentrations of low-wage workers are primarily located in Minneapolis and St. Paul (the two central cities in the region), clusters of low-wage jobs tend to be scattered throughout the metropolitan area. The spatial mismatch phenomenon—combined with relatively high rates of transit dependency among low-wage workers—underscores the importance of transit service as a provider of economic opportunities for low-wage workers. The Hiawatha light rail line, being well-connected with the rest of the transit system in the Twin Cities, has significantly improved accessibility to all jobs including low-, medium-, and high-wage jobs—Both the map analysis and regression analysis conducted in this study show significant, positive changes in employment accessibility by transit after the introduction of light rail transit. Such a finding holds special significance for low-wage workers and the transit dependent, as they are much more likely than others to be transit-dependent. In planning future transit development in the Twin Cities region, it will be important to keep in mind that high quality transit service (both bus and rail) can be a powerful tool for improving the lives of the poor. Good bus-LRT connections are essential in broadening the impact scope of LRT implementations—One of the most interesting findings of the study are the large areas of accessibility gains found along bus routes that connect with light rail. They suggest enormous importance of a fully integrated transit network (as opposed to a single transit corridor) in realizing maximum benefits from major transit investments. The effective and efficient planning of feeder/distributor services will be critical to ensuring low-wage workers reap the greatest benefits possible from future LRT corridors.

#### Public transportation leads to job growth through operation employment and maintenance

Barry 10 (Keith, contributor on transportation for Wired, To Create Jobs, Build Public Transit, Not Highways, Wired Magazine, January 21, 2010, <http://www.wired.com/autopia/2010/01/jobs-for-main-street-act/>) PCS

According to SGA, public transportation spending leads more directly to job growth than highway spending for several reasons. First, less money is spent acquiring land, which means more money is spent actually building something. Second, all those buses, trains and subways need people to operate them and maintain the infrastructure. And third, public transit requires a workforce with more diverse skills than highway construction. Even better, Schroeer said, public transit can help save jobs because it allows people to get to work — and those are jobs Smart Growth America didn’t include in its analysis. When transit programs are cut or don’t exist to begin with, “there’s a negative impact on folks’ mobility to get to work, to get to education,” Schroeer said. “It’s part of the fabric of communities, whether you use it or not.” One reason public transit got short shrift in the stimulus package and some policymakers don’t see the merit of such projects is the misconception that transit projects aren’t “shovel-ready,” and — as a result — job growth would lag. The report proves that myth wrong. “In today’s environment, there are so many public transportation needs, and as a result there are so many public transportation projects that are ready to go, there’s no difference in the spend rates between roads and public transportation,” Schroeer said.

#### Transit investment solves unemployment by creating construction and long-term operating jobs

Burgess and Rood 9 (Edward and Ashley, Editors for the Environmental Defense Fund, a group dedicated to equal rights for environmental health through transportation, Reinventing Transit: American Communities Finding Smarter, Cleaner, Faster Transportation Solutions, The Environmental Defense Fund, 2009, <http://www.edf.org/sites/default/files/9522_Reinventing_Transit_FINAL.pdf>, pg. 6) PCS

Getting these transportation emissions down, however, will require more than just technological fixes. In fact, predicted traffic growth in the coming years threatens to cancel out emissions reductions gained from more fuel-efficient cars, thereby increasing the cost of meeting greenhouse gas targets needed to avert catastrophic climate change. While many factors contribute to traffic growth, studies show that adding new road capacity leads to more driving over the long-term, contributing to additional growth in transportation emissions. Meanwhile, cars generate significantly more greenhouse gas pollution on a per passenger-mile basis than transit systems (Figure 3). Thus, an infrastructure program that focuses on expanding innovative transit while using existing roads more efficiently could effectively help reduce transportation pollution while improving traffic congestion. Transit investments make sense economically too. Transit projects have been shown time and again to provide greater and more cost-effective job creation than highway projects. Not only will transit investments create short-term construction jobs, but they will support long-term operating jobs long after construction is over.

#### Investment in public transportation solves job creation by funding both initial transit agencies as well as expanding sub-supplier jobs

Williams 11 (Mantill, American Public Transportation Association Director of Advocacy Communications, Public Transportation Businesses Predict Layoffs and Overseas Investment If Federal Transportation Authorization Bill Is Further Delayed, American Public Transportation Association, February 1, 2011, <http://www.apta.com/mediacenter/pressreleases/2011/Pages/110201_BusinessMember_Survey.aspx>) PCS

The association also notes research that shows every dollar invested in public transit yields four dollars in economic returns and every $1 billion invested creates or supports 36,000 jobs. Patrick Scully, chief commercial officer of Daimler Buses North America, said that an authorization bill would help stabilize the industry. He stated “Congressional action would provide much needed certainty to our industry to allow transit agencies the needed time horizon for long term capital planning, which in turn should turn into vehicle procurements and thus would help our business know how much we can invest in human capital and other resources.” Jeffrey Wharton, president of IMPulse NC, which manufactures overhead electrification contact systems for light rail and trolley systems, reiterated that investments in public transit will help to put America to work. “With increased federal investment, we hope to increase our payroll, while also expanding jobs for our sub suppliers,” said Wharton. “The uncertainty and continued delay in authorization is having a serious negative impact on all businesses, including DRI,” said David Turney, CEO of the DRI Corporation, which makes digital communications technology that is used in transit systems. “We can’t afford to delay any longer. We are increasingly turning to international markets instead of the United States because of the delay in authorization. We urge Congress to follow President Obama’s lead and commit to long-term funding for public transportation in America.” More than 700 of APTA’s private-sector businesses were surveyed for the report, with a 10 percent response rate. Investment in the public transportation industry creates and supports over 1.9 million public and private sector jobs and is a $54 billion a year industry.

#### Public transportation stimulates jobs in multiple sectors including construction and manufacturing- it also increases government revenue

APTA 10 (American Public Transportation Association, “Public Transportation: Moving America Forward”, 2010, <http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/APTABrochure_v28%20FINAL.pdf>, pg. 3) PCS

Public transportation is good for American workers and their companies. Every $1 billion of investment in the nation’s transportation infrastructure supports 36,000 jobs. These include durable and non-durable manufacturing jobs, as well as jobs in other industries, such as construction, finance, insurance and real estate, retail and wholesale trade, and services. Sixty-seven percent of the jobs directly supported by capital investment in the public transit industry replace lost blue-collar jobs with “green” jobs. Public transportation also moves people to and from their jobs. Businesses near public transportation have better employee reliability and less absenteeism and turnover. They have a larger labor pool, and their employees are less stressed because they are not driving on congested roadways. Stimulates Commerce: **The 36,000 jobs supported and created by every $1 billion of investment in public transportation result in roughly $3.6 billion in business sales and generate nearly $500 million in federal, state, and local tax revenues. Overall, every $1 invested in public transportation generates $4 in economic activity.**

#### Public transit creates construction jobs- this is comparatively better for the economy than highway projects

LeRoy 11 (Greg, Good Jobs First director, “Public Transit and Urban Density Create More Good Jobs,” Race, Poverty, and Environment, 18(2), 2011, <http://urbanhabitat.org/18-2/leroy>) PCS

Contrary to the claims of some developers, there is now solid evidence that urban density and public transit actually create more work for construction crafts than does sprawl. A study by Good Jobs First—The Jobs Are Back in Town—contains several credible comparisons: single-family homes versus townhomes and condominiums; single-story versus multistory retail; new road rights-of-way versus maintenance/rehabilitation of existing roads (“fix it first”); and metros with growth management policies versus those without. By every measure, smart growth buildings and road contracts proved more labor-intensive, and metro areas with growth management showed higher job growth for construction workers. Thanks to the 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, it also became possible to analyze job creation spurred by transit and highway spending. A pair of studies by Smart Growth America and two other groups examining jobs dat**a** at www.recovery.gov found that transit spending created 84 percent (2010) and 31 percent (2011) more jobs per billion dollars than highway projects. (Admittedly, the mix of jobs differs: transit contracts create some manufacturing jobs when they are used to purchase buses or railcars.) Neither study could address a point that many union leaders understand intuitively: public infrastructure spending, especially for transportation, stimulates private construction, and when that happens, geography matters. If building a new Interstate interchange stimulates the construction of a Walmart and office park on a former cornfield, the construction work is most likely to be non-union. But if the money is spent on cleaning up an urban brownfield and building a mixed-use project on a transit line, chances are greater that the contractor will be union and some of the permanent jobs created will also be unionized.

#### Immobility hinders access to jobs and is the result of negligent local policy

Good Jobs First 10 (A national policy resource center for groups and officials looking to make economic development more efficient, “Connecting Jobs to Public Transit,” <http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/smart-growth-working-families/connecting-jobs-public-transit>) CO

The negative effects of sprawl disproportionately affect low-income families and people of color. Although some smart growth activists focus on environmental and quality-of-life issues, there is a crucial and large social-equity wing of the movement that views sprawl through the lenses of race and class. One aspect of this critique is automobile ownership patterns. Census data show that African-Americans are about three and a half times more likely to not own a car than white families; for Latino households it is about two and a half times. This creates a discriminatory labor market when new jobs locate in suburban areas not accessible by public transit. Those working families that do own a car—or two or three in order to get to work—are taking on an expensive burden. The Center for Neighborhood Technology has analyzed neighborhood affordability across the nation, including the costs of [both housing and transportation](http://www.cnt.org/repository/pwpf.pdf). In many cities for families earning between $20,000 and $50,000 a year, CNT found, the cost of transportation (overwhelmingly auto-related costs) equals or exceeds the cost of housing. For working families with or without a car, sprawl amounts to a tax upon their standard of living. It suppresses their incomes and raises their bills. Enabling everyone to reach good jobs via public transportation means more money for family savings, health care, home equity, and college educations.

#### Improvement in transportation lowers costs for the poor, and improves access to resources to alleviate poverty

Gannon and Liu 97 (Colin A. Gannon M.S., A.M, PH.D, Assistant professor –regional science and transportation Zhi Liu 97 Dr. Zhi Liu, Infrastructure Sector Coordinator, the World Bank <http://www.rhd.gov.bd/Documents/ExternalPublications/WorldBank/TransSectPub/contents/documents/B03.pdf>)

Transport has direct impacts on the personal welfare of all income groups. It is generally accepted that access to at least minimal infrastructure services is one of the essential components of personal welfare. Improvements in transport not only provide people with more convenient access to a broad range of socio-economic opportunities, but also have strong income effects by lowering transport cost and hence the prices of consumer goods and services. In these ways, transport exerts a pervasive contribution to the improvement in personal welfare. Understanding the transmission of these impacts is especially important in assessing transport’s direct contribution to poverty reduction. 2.28 Transport’s impact on personal welfare may be best assessed by examining closely how transport affects people’s daily activities. People make trips to workplace, to school and to the locations of social services. Since income is the dominant determinant of individual travel behavior, more trips per person, longer average trip distance, and faster and more comfortable modes of transport are all associated with rising incomes. As incomes grow, people are able to afford access to more employment opportunities and more social interactions. Given normal preferences for these activities, demand for travel increases For the poor, the lack of affordable access deprives them of the ability to take advantage of job opportunities and even of very basic social services. Reliable access to schools and health services for the poor contributes directly to their accumulation of human capital, which is a key factor in sustainable poverty alleviation. In as much as jobs and basic social services are relatively highly valued by the poor, it can be said that the associated basic transport access is of high value to the poor. In this sense, improvements in transport conditions can have greater welfare implications for the poor than for the rich.

## Solvency - Spending

#### Quality public transit benefits the economy – Increases consumer spending

Litman 12 (Todd, Executive director of the Victoria Transport Policy Institute, “Evaluating Public Transit Benefits and Costs,” May 27, 2012, Victoria Transport Policy Institute, p. 60.) CO

Transit supports economic development by shifting consumer expenditures. Residents of cities with quality transit systems tend to spend less on transportation overall, as illustrated below (also see Newman and Kenworthy, 1999). For example, residents of cities with large, well-established rail transit systems spend an average of $2,808 on personal vehicles and transit (12.0% of their total household expenditures), compared with $3,332 in cities that lack rail systems (14.9% of total household expenditures), despite higher incomes and longer average commute distances in rail cities.

#### Transit services improve productivity and the economy

Litman 12 (Todd, Executive director of the Victoria Transport Policy Institute, “Evaluating Public Transit Benefits and Costs,” May 27, 2012, Victoria Transport Policy Institute, p. 61.) CO

Transit services can increase economic productivity by improving access to education and employment (as discussed in the Mobility Benefits section), reducing traffic congestion, roads and parking facility costs, accidents and pollution (as discussed in the Efficiency Benefits section), by increasing land use efficiencies, and by supporting certain industries, such as tourism (CTOD 2011). For example, transit services may benefit a restaurant by increasing the pool of available employees and reducing absenteeism from vehicle failures, reducing employee parking costs, and by providing mobility for some tourists. Similarly, a delivery company may be more productive if transit reduces traffic congestion. Aschauer and Campbell (1991) found that transit investments provide more than twice the increase in worker productivity as highway spending. A study by Leigh, Scott and Cleary (1999, Appendix K) concludes that transit increases economic growth in Colorado by about 4% over what would otherwise occur. EDRG (2007) used quantitative analysis to estimate that the current Chicago region transit plan provides an estimated 21% annual return on investments, an enhanced plan provides a 34% return, and adopting Transit-Oriented Development, as proposed in the region’s official comprehensive plan, would increase the return to 61%. Failure to maintain the transit system will harm the region’s commuters and the economy, estimated at over $2 billion annually.

Increasing transit stimulates the regional economy – causes agglomeration savingsCambridge Systematics 2 (Company dedicated to analyzing problems of transportation, environment, urban development and regional planning, “Economic Benefits of Transportation Investment,” January 2002.) CO

Transit revitalizes neighborhoods and downtown areas by fostering “agglomeration economies” – benefits, savings, or average cost reductions resulting from the clustering of activities. Density adds efficiency to urban labor markets by providing businesses with a large and varied pool of employees, and an improved chance to match specialized jobs with appropriately skilled workers. Transit plays a role in agglomeration economies by providing a fast and reliable means for large volumes of people to move about in congested, densely settled areas where parking is in short supply. A sustained program of transit capital investment will generate in the short run an annual increase of $2 million in business output and $0.8 million in personal income for every $10 million invested. In the long run (20 years), these benefits accumulate to $31 million and $18 million for business output and personal income, respectively. Overall, for every taxpayer dollar spent on transit, the economic return on investment is at least four or five to one. The Central Ohio Transit Authority (COTA), which operates a fixed-route urban mass transit system that logs over nine million miles a year, plays an important role in providing job access in the Columbus area. One COTA initiative, “COTA Works,” focuses on developing new COTA routes and fine-tuning existing routes with an eye to reducing employee shortages that businesses face. COTA is also contributing to economic development through the construction of new transit centers. In partnership with other public and private entities, COTA constructed a state-of-the-art transit center in the Linden area that provides a 24-hour day care center, a bank, and a medical clinic in addition to transportation services. The center, which opened in 2000, is stimulating development in the neighborhood, creating jobs, helping parents who work non-traditional hours, and increasing the convenience of using mass transit.

#### Investment in public transportation stimulates business productivity

APTA 9 (American Public Transportation Association, “Economic Impact of Public Transportation Investment”, October, [http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/ economic\_impact\_of\_public\_transportation\_investment.pdf](http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/%20economic_impact_of_public_transportation_investment.pdf)) AH

In addition to the cost savings described above, a shift from auto to public transportation would facilitate increased productivity and competitiveness within cities (as discussed in Section 4.3). This benefit stems from two factors: (1) reduction in wage premiums paid to attract workers to more-congested areas with higher travel times and costs, and (2) enhancement of access to labor and customer markets, which bring scale and “agglomeration” economies. The “wage premium,” originally discussed in Section 4.2, is a pass-through effect in which employers in highly congested areas absorb some of excess costs of worker commuting (rather than having households bear the full cost) in order to attract and maintain quality workers. Congestion reduction diminishes the need for businesses to pay such a premium, and the cost savings to business is effectively an increase in business productivity (which is defined as the ratio of output/cost ratio for business operations). This impact is assumed to apply to roughly 30% of the congestion cost savings identified in Section 4.5 The effect of “agglomeration economies” comes from the fact that widely available public transportation service can facilitate higher levels of metropolitan population and employment density, which, in turn can allow a metropolitan area’s economy to become more productive. The reasons for this productivity gain are that: • some businesses will have access to a larger and more diverse labor market, providing them with a better capacity to find workers with the desired skills, thereby enhancing labor productivity; • some trade and service sector establishments will be able to access broader customer bases, allowing them to more efficiently arrange locations and resources to serve customers; • specialized knowledge spreads more quickly through social networks, enhancing human capital and labor productivity in technology and skill industries that benefit from such interaction; and • greater diversity in economic activity and labor force skills breeds creativity and innovation. These benefits, while occurring at a metropolitan level, can also translate into greater national level productivity if they take place across a broad spectrum of metropolitan areas. In the context of the present study, the magnitude of this effect is estimated by first by considering the extent to which higher public transportation usage stimulates higher metropolitan density, and then by assessing the extent to which higher effective density translates into economic productivity.

#### Mass transit investment boosts the economy - 3 reasons

Carrion 10 (Fabiola, Political Science Masters from UC Berkeley, Progressive States Network, “Public Transit Best Vehicle for Economic Recovery”, January 7, [http://www.progressivestates.org/news/ dispatch/public-transit-best-vehicle-economic-recovery](http://www.progressivestates.org/news/%20dispatch/public-transit-best-vehicle-economic-recovery)) AH

Why Transit Gets the Most Jobs Bang for the Buck: What We Learned from the Stimulus outlines three primary reasons why public transit investment creates more stable jobs: (1) lesser expenses on land acquisition, (2) the complexities of the projects, and (3) maintenance of public modes of transportation. Jobs in public transportation are not only comprised of the installation of machinery, but also on their upkeep, dispatch, and operation. For every transportation-related device that is installed, at least four different job opportunities are created. Further, transit operations produce 72% more jobs than transit capital investment. In contrast to road construction, investment in transit transportation creates a stable job market. Transit oriented investment is a comprehensive economic solution that serves as a catalyst for further community development. For example, New Jersey’s Urban Transit Hub Tax Credit Act has attracted businesses and jobs to transit-accessible locations in Newark and Trenton. Also in Denver, Colorado, the light rail transit system has proven to increase business development near rail stations. Critically, public transit development also contributes to the preservation of jobs outside of the transportation sector. Thanks to a more reliable mode of transportation, more commuters, such as non-drivers, can access jobs they would not be able to get to without public transit. Further, public transit increases community livability and improves the health of individuals who cannot go to schools, hospitals, or other needed services by their own means. The economic benefits from public transit more than repay cost investments. For instance, rail transit services are estimated to provide $19.4 billion in annual congestion cost savings, $8.0 billion in roadway cost savings, $12.1 billion in parking cost savings, $22.6 billion in consumer cost savings, and $5.6 billion in traffic accident cost savings. Rail transit also tends to provide economic development benefits, increasing business activity, and tax revenues.

## Impact – Economy

#### Jobs are key to economic recovery

Kadlec 9 (Dan, writer for Time Magazine, “Economic Indicators – how to know when the economy is turning up” [http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/0,28757,1876737,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/0%2C28757%2C1876737%2C00.html)

The employment scene is a disaster. We've shed 3.6 million jobs since the recession began Private sector average weekly hours worked stuck at a record low 33.3 hours in January, and because companies typically cut hours before cutting heads the slide means more layoffs are coming. Look for this number to stabilize over a period of two or three months and then begin to inch upward for an early indicator that the economy is recovering- We won't hit a normal reading of around 35 hours for a long time. But the key is to just Change the direction. You can find private sector average weekly hours worked on the Bureau of Labor Statistics web site. A recovery in employment is crucial. So here's a second job-related indicator that economists are Hatching monthly temporary employment. "Companies can always ask their employees to work a little longer," says Bernard Baumohl, chief global economist at Economic Outlook Group. "But when they start hiring you know something is going on, and temporary hiring typically picks up well before permanent hiring " In 2002 temporary hiring went from net job losses to net job increase almost to the month that the recession ended. At this moment, the monthly change in temporary employment has been negative for 25 months running. When it swings positive you can be sure that better times will follow.

#### Job creation is key to economic recovery

UN News Center 10 (“Economic recovery efforts must focus on job creation, UN agency stresses” <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=35074&Cr=ilo&Cr1=>) APB

ILO Director-General Juan Somavia 18 June 2010 – The United Nations labour agency today stressed that job creation must be the priority of policies geared towards economic recovery, saying more than 210 million workers globally cannot find jobs – the highest worldwide figure ever recorded for unemployment. “The only real recovery is a recovery without social deficit,” said the International Labour Organization (ILO) Director-General Juan Somavia in a message to the closing plenary of the ILO’s annual International Labour Conference in Geneva. Held in the lead-up to the summit of the Group of 20 (G20) industrialized and developing economies in Toronto, Canada, at the end of next week, ILO’s 183 Member States expressed broad concern that the global economic recovery remained “fragile and unevenly distributed, and many labour markets are yet to see jobs recovery match economic recovery.” Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon told reporters in New York today that he will travel to Toronto for the G20 summit. “I will stress that we must not settle for an economic recovery that simply takes us back to pre-crisis conditions. We need to build back better,” Mr. Ban said. He said he had written to all of the G20 leaders stressing the need for concerted action in three specific areas: inclusive growth, including a priority on job creation and decent work; green growth – powering prosperity through environment-friendly technologies and growth that promotes healthy populations – investing in stronger health systems, including maternal and child health. Delegates at the labour conference in Geneva called for the implementation of ILO’s Global Jobs Pact, which was adopted at a crisis summit held during last year’s conference and received strong support during the G20 summit in the United States city of Pittsburgh in September last year. Speakers also backed Mr. Somavia’s call for a “balanced” policy strategy aimed at securing a “jobs-rich” economic recovery, and his warning that recent deficit reduction measures, mainly in social spending, could “directly affect jobs and salaries” at a time of weak economic recovery and continued high levels of unemployment. Delegates reiterated their call to the ILO to place productive employment and decent work at the centre of economic and social policies to strengthen the social dimension of globalization. Delegates also called on the ILO to enhance its collaboration with the multi-lateral institutions, particularly the UN, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, strengthening policy coherence across financial, economic, trade, employment, social and environmental policies. Mr. Somavia noted that the ILO had seen no significant indications of a reduction in the global rate of unemployment this year, despite signs of an economic recovery. Government representatives, employers and workers noted that the continuing lack of jobs placed a “terrible burden” on the unemployed and hindered efforts to create “the right environment for enterprises to create employment.” Others cautioned again the premature removal of economic stimulus packages. “The message of this conference is very clear – put jobs at the centre of the recovery. In terms of the G20 meeting in Toronto, this means keeping the leaders’ commitment, under the chairmanship of President [Barack] Obama [United States] in Pittsburgh, to put quality jobs at the heart of the recovery,” Mr. Somavia said.

#### Recovery must start with jobs

Zhu 12 (Min, Ph.D., Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, “Jobs and Growth: Can’t Have One Without the Other?” April 30 <http://blog-imfdirect.imf.org/2012/04/30/jobs-and-growth-cant-have-one-without-the-other/>) APB

As Frank Sinatra crooned about love and marriage, so it seems about jobs and growth: “This I tell ya, brother, you can’t have one without the other.” The IMF’s latest World Economic Outlook projects global growth of 3 ½ percent this year. To the person on the street, what matters is how this growth translates into jobs and wages. The news on the jobs front, unfortunately, remains grim. Five years after the onset of the Great Recession, 16 million more people are likely to remain unemployed this year than in 2007. This estimate is for a set of countries for which the IMF forecasts unemployment rates; adding in some countries for which the International Labour Organization provides forecasts only boosts the number. The bulk of this increase in unemployed people has been in the so-called advanced economies (the IMF’s term for countries with high per capita incomes), as shown in the chart below. Why isn’t the jobs picture better? Quite simply, it’s because the growth picture isn’t very good. Consider Chart 2, which shows how for advanced economies the change in unemployment rates expected between 2011 and 2012 correlates with the IMF’s forecasts for growth this year. Countries such as Cyprus, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain, where GDP is expected to decline in 2012 are the ones where unemployment is expected to increase this year. In Iceland, New Zealand, and the United States, where GDP is expected to grow, unemployment rates are expected to decline. While these declines are welcome, unemployment rates are still expected to remain high in most advanced economies this year. The average unemployment rate in these economies is expected to 7 ¾ percent, with several populous economies such as the United States, France, the United Kingdom at or above this average. Policy response The need to bring down these high unemployment rates is paramount. That’s why the IMF stated in its recent World Economic Outlook that “the highest priority, but also the most difficult to achieve, is to durably increase growth in advanced economies, and especially in Europe.” Specifically, policies must be strengthened to solidify the weak recovery and contain the many downside risks. In the short term this will require: more efforts to address the euro crisis; a temperate approach to fiscal restraint in response to weaker activity; a continuation of the very accommodative monetary policies; and ample liquidity to the financial sector.

## Poverty Impact - Leadership

#### Aiding those in poverty is key to U.S. soft power

Nye, Professor of International Relations at Harvard, 02

(Joseph S, “The Paradox of American Power,” p. 130-132)

The changing shape of the nation's income distribution also poses a problem for the American economy. From 1947 to 1968, census datashow, inequality in family income decreased. From 1968 to 1993, inequality increased. Data collected since 1993 suggest that the increase has slowed or halted, but it is too soon to be sure. The nationwide poverty rate, which stood at 22 percent in 1960, fell to 11 percent in 1973 but worsened to 15 percent in 1993. The economic growth in the second half of the 1990s brought it back down to 11.8 percent. 88 Shifts in labor demand away from less-educated workers are perhaps a more important explanation of eroding wages than the shift out of manufacturing. 89 The problem is not only a question of justice but one of whether inequality may lead to political reactions that could curb the productivity of the economy and slow the high rates of economic growth that are the foundation of our hard and soft power. As the Council of Economic Advisors points out, “Dislocation is an unavoidable effect of economic growth and technological change.” The price of progress is what the economist Joseph Schumpeter called “creative destruction, ” but the burdens are not equally borne. The evidence suggests that worker displacement is largely the result of technology rather than import competition. In the 1990s, employment by American corporations at home and overseas rose in tandem rather than one at the cost of the other. Nonetheless, even though the country as a whole benefits, globalization and technological change are especially threatening to less-skilled and less-educated workers. Unless policies ensure that they are not left behind, they may provide a political basis for a reaction that could slow American growth. 90 Despite these problems and uncertainties, it seems likely that with the right policies the American economy will continue to function well in producing hard power for the country. The wild card would be if repeated terrorist attacks so damaged confidence that a long period of recession occurs. Soft power is a more open question. Clearly many people admire the success of the American economy, but not all extol it as a model. Government plays a lighter role in the U.S. economy, spending (and taxing) one-third of GDP, while Europe is nearer one-half. Competitive market forces are stronger, social safety nets weaker. Unions are weaker and labor markets less regulated. Cultural attitudes, bankruptcy laws, and financial structures more strongly favor entrepreneurship. While foreigners extol many of these virtues, some object to the price of inequality and insecurity that accompanies this greater reliance on market forces. The area where the American model clearly excelled was in job creation, with less than half the rate of unemployment in Germany (though about the same as Japan). As The Economist noted, “Overall, however, the notion that the American economy stands on top of the world is questionable. It is also vulnerable to criticism because of its wider income inequality. It is often asserted that America has traded higher inequality for faster growth; yet over the past decade, average incomes have risen by similar amounts in the three countries, despite America's bigger income differentials…. The poorest 20% in Japan are about 50% better off than America's poorest 20%.” 91 The lowest 10 percent of people in America's income distribution had only the thirteenth highest average income when compared with relatively poor people in other advanced economies. The superior job performance of the American economy will not lead Europeans and others to see it as the best model unless we alleviate the effects of inequality. 92 How we deal at home with those who are left behind has an important effect on our soft power.

## Poverty Impact - War

#### Inter-generational poverty leads to violence and conflict

Goodhand 03 (Jonathan, School of Oriental and African Studies—University of London, “Enduring Disorder and Persistent Poverty:A Review of the Linkages Between War and Chronic Poverty,” World Development, 31:3, 2003, p. 629-646, <http://www.pik-potsdam.de/research/research-domains/transdisciplinary-concepts-and-methods/favaia/workspace/documents/world-development-volume-31-issue-3-special-issue-on-chronic-poverty-and-development-policy/pages629-646.pdf>)

In this final section some of the key implications of this analysis are briefly drawn out. To summarize the key arguments: ––Chronic conflict causes chronic poverty. At a global level, donors will fail to make significant inroads in reducing chronic poverty unless a greater emphasis is placed on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. ––Poverty is one of a number of factors that may contribute to violent conflict and addressing horizontal inequalities is likely to play a role in preventing the shift from grievance to violence. ––It is hypothesized that transient poverty is likely to have a more significant influence on the dynamics of war and peace than chronic poverty. A focus on chronic poverty may not have a significant impact on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. ––Greed-based theories of conflict should be treated with caution as they fail to capture fully the political and social processes at work. A more nuanced analysis of how ‘‘greed’’ and ‘‘grievance’’ interact in particular contexts at particular times is called for. The institutions of the state play a crucial role in mediating these processes. ––The role of borderland areas as incubators of poverty and conflict has been highlighted. How greed and grievance dynamics play themselves out in remote rural areas is a question that has been underresearched. ‘‘Place matters’’ and policies need to be developed which are much more ‘‘context aware.’’ These findings lead to the following three principal policy implications. (a) Conflict prevention and peacebuilding Unless a greater priority is placed on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, chronic poverty will continue to grow. In particular, more robust and sustained action at the international level is required. Mainstream conflict and policy analysis tends to place an emphasis on internal problems and external solutions (Lund, 2000). This needs to be rectified with more attention paid to ‘‘greed’’ and ‘‘grievance’’ dynamics at an international level through changes in international public policy and global regulation. Many of today’s conflicts are connected to regionalized conflict systems, yet donor policy and planning frameworks are often constrained by country-level analysis. Aid policy is only one of a number of instruments that may be used. Policy responses tend to be very compartmentalized and often undercut one another. The poverty eradication objectives of aid can be undermined by public policy in other areas. It is one thing to talk about making globalization more inclusive, but what does this mean when the rich countries of the world are spending three times as much subsidizing their farmers than on aid budgets? (Elliott, 2001, p. 23). Aid may not be the leading edge in supporting peacebuilding processes, but it is incumbent on aid agencies to develop more conflict sensitive policies and programs. Stewart and Fitzgerald (2000) argue for a greater emphasis on protecting fragile, conflict prone countries through international regulation of investment in sensitive commodities such as arms, oil, gems and timber and the suspension of principal debt payments for countries in conflict. The policy conditionalities for countries at war or threatened by war should be reformulated with the creation of special provisions to reduce the effects of economic globalization on distributive justice, economic uncertainty and state weakness. While there is some agreement in the literature that conflict causes poverty (and as we have argued, persistent conflict is likely to raise levels of chronic poverty), the argument that there is a causal relationship in the reverse direction is more contentious. While few writers argue for a deterministic relationship, there is a growing body of empirical research, which examines poverty’s role as one of a number of causal factors behind violent conflict. Broadly, it is argued that uneven development processes lead to inequality, exclusion and poverty. This contributes to growing grievances particularly when poverty coincides with ethnic, religious, language or regional boundaries. 26 These underlying grievances may explode into open conflict when triggered by external shocks (such as a sudden change in terms of trade) or mobilized by conflict entrepreneurs. Although few argue that poverty per se causes conflict, research points to the importance of extreme horizontal inequalities as a source of grievance which is used by leaders to mobilize followers and to legitimate violent actions (Stewart & Fitzgerald, 2000).

#### State governments are uniquely unresponsive to the needs of people in poverty, political influence is wielded by suburban voters who punish welfare spending, but only in state elections

Cashin, Georgetown University Law Center, 99

(Sheryll, Associate Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Empowerment Zones, Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), “Federalism, Welfare Reform, and the Minority Poor: Accounting for the Tyranny of State Majorities”, Columbia Law Review, Vol. 99, No. 3 (Apr., 1999), pp. 552-627, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1123518>, Accessed: 29/06/2009)

Economic research on the political economy of state fiscal decision-making suggests that suburban voters exercise considerable influence on state decisionmaking, and that state political actors, most critically governors, are rationally compelled toward the provision of "middle class" services. In the absence of federal intergovernmental aid that creates very strong economic incentives for states to provide redistributive services, such services will be a very low priority among state actors. In fact, federal intergovernmental aid for redistributive programs tends to be a replacement for state funds that are released or reallocated to general, middle class programs. Public finance scholars have found that "federal dollars that flow into the state via grants-in-aid are allocated disproportionately toward [general expenditures] and away from the human services components?[education and welfare] of the state budget.” Obviously, it is important to understand why. One possible explana- tion is merely that general expenditures are the stuff of pork barrel politics, and thus make all state legislators better off in the political process. The major general service programs include state highway maintenance, state hospitals and medical centers, universities, parks, and state bureau- cracies. Each of these programs promotes jobs and, unlike formula allocations for welfare or school aid, permits state legislators to deliver publicly funded benefits to their constituents in a way that can be explicitly linked to the efforts of the elected official.132 It is not surprising, therefore, that state fiscal politics is middle class politics. Economic research indicates that median-income voters exert decisive influence on the fiscal policy choices of incumbent governors, who, as the lead or only full-time professional politicians in state government, tend to dominate the state budgetary process.133 One economic study, for example, suggests that incumbent governors rationally avoid redistributive state welfare spending because voters exact a disproportionate political price in gubernatorial elections against those who increase such spending.134 Regression analysis indicates that voters in state gubernatorial elections distinguish welfare spending from all other types of spending and dislike this spending about three times as much as other kinds. In contrast, at the federal level, the same study indicates that voters actually rewarded incumbent presidents for spending growth during the first half of their terms and punished them for spending growth only in the second half, but without displaying any antipathy for particular types of federal spending.136 The study's author hypothesizes that state welfare spending receives such scrutiny from voters because well-informed, self- interested voters make use of publicly available budget information and because welfare spending offers little or no benefit to most state voters, most of whom are not indigent.137 State governors' tax-setting policies can also be greatly influenced by voter choice.138 Voters "are sensitive to the tax changes they face, relative to those observed in neighboring states, and . . . this sensitivity translates into votes against an incumbent whose tax changes are high by regional standards."139 Furthermore, incumbent governors facing re-election ap- parently are sensitive to this phenomenon, reflecting these voter attitudes in their tax policies.140 Given majority voter attitudes, incumbent governors can rationalize efforts to curb spending increases to the poor or any significant increases in tax rates and will pay close attention to voters' desires in this regard. Empirical evidence also suggests that, when states have discretion regarding allocations of resources allocations that typically occur in the context of state budget processes - middle class, suburban interests predominate and, at least on a per capita basis, urban citizens receive a substantially smaller share of state resources.141 In particular, affluent, outer-ring suburbs tend to receive a disproportionate share of public subsidies for transportation and residential infrastructure, often as a re- sult of cross-subsidization from the urban core.142 Decentralization of decisionmaking authority, therefore, tends to benefit those groups or local polities that are in the best position to influence policymakers.143 Hence, state political processes may be overvaluing the desires of certain suburban jurisdictions, which wield disproportionate political influence or, alternatively, state political majorities are simply rationally maximizing public benefits for themselves.

# Racism Advantage

## Links

#### Status quo results in funding allocation that excludes along racial lines because of the dominant ideas of travel modes

Bullard 5 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Transportation Policies Leave Blacks on the Side of the Road, Crisis Publications Inc., Jan/Feb. 2005, 112(3), pgs. 21-24) PCS

Lest anyone dismiss transportation as a tangential issue, consider that American households spend more on transportation than any other household expense -- food, education, health care -- except housing. On average, Americans spend 19 cents out of every dollar earned on transportation expenses. But the nation's poorest families spend nearly 40 percent of their take-home pay on transportation, according to the 2003 report "Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities," by the Harvard Civil Rights Project and the Center for Community Change. Households that earned less than $20,000 saw their transportation expenses increase by 36.5 percent or more between 1992 and 2000. On the other hand, households with incomes of $70,000 and higher only spent 16.8 percent more on transportation than they did in 1992. The private automobile is still the dominant travel mode for every segment of the American population. Nationally, only 7 percent of White households do not own a car, compared with 13 percent of Asian American households, 17 percent of Latino households and 24 percent of African American households. Nevertheless, only 20 percent of all surface transportation funding nationwide is earmarked for public transportation, while 80 percent is earmarked for highways. This funding allocation has left Blacks on the side of the road. African Americans are almost six times as likely as Whites to use public transit to get around. In fact, African Americans and Latinos comprise a significant portion of all mass transit users (62 percent of bus riders, 32 percent of subway riders and 29 percent of commuter rail riders).

#### Transportation policies are shaped by racism – they deny minorities the same benefits as white Americans

Bullard 4 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity, South End Press, 2004, pgs. 18-19) PCS

Transportation policies did not emerge in a race and class neutral society. Transportation-planning outcomes often reflected the biases of their originators with the losers comprised largely of the poor, powerless, and people of color. Transportation is about more than just land use. Beyond mapping out the paths of freeways and highways, transportation policies determine the allocation of funds and benefits, the enforcement of environmental regulations, and the siting of facilities. Transportation planning affects residential and commercial development. White racism shapes transportation and transportation-related decisions, which have consequently created a national transportation infrastructure that denies many black Americans and other people of color the benefits, freedoms, opportunities, and rewards offered to white Americans. In the end, racist transportation policies can determine where people of color live, work, and play.

Transportation is THE government institution that continues to maintain white privilege by blocking black entrance into the suburb
Bullard 4 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity, South End Press, 2004, pgs. 18-19) PCS

Transportation planning has duplicated the discrimination used by other racist government institutions and private entities to maintain white privilege. The transportation options that are available to most Americans today were shaped largely by federal policies as well as individual and institutional discrimination. Transportation options are further restricted by both the geographic changes that have taken place in the nation’s metropolitan regions and historical job discrimination dictating limited incomes. Transportation decision-making is political. Building roads in the job-rich suburbs while at the same time blocking transit from entering these same suburbs are political decisions buttressed by race and class dynamics. In cities and metropolitan regions all across the country, inadequate or nonexistent suburban transit services as invisible as “Keep Out” signs directed against people of color and the poor.

Racially charged transportation policies unfairly favor white suburbanites- creating racial redlining that affects all black social classes, not just those living in urban areas
Bullard 4 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity, South End Press, 2004, pgs. 18-19) PCS

Community leaders are demanding an end to racist transportation policies and practices that favor white suburbanites over people of color- policies that use tax dollars to subsidize suburban sprawl and spur the demise of urban inner-city neighborhoods. Even when middle-income people of color make the move to the suburbs, transportation dollars and investments do not follow them as in the case of middle-income whites. Racial and economic redlining- practices closely akin to those commonly directed at black inner-city neighborhoods- strange these black suburbs.

Minorities and low-income citizens are reliant on public transportation, which is empirically shoved aside for highways
Sanchez and Brenman 7 (Thomas, Director and Associate Professor at the Urban Affairs and Planning Program at Virginia Tech, and Marc, Executive Director of the Washington State Human Rights Commission, Transportation Equity and Environmental Justice: Lessons From Hurricane Katrina, The State of Environmental Justice in America 2007 Conference, March 29, 2007, pgs. 1-2) PCS

 Transportation plays a vital role in our society. In fact, the Supreme Court recognized that the right to travel is one of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Given the important role of transportation; it is quite understandable that transportation policy can be contentious. Too often, however, fights occur over what specific projects will be funded and in which states or congressional districts, and scant attention is paid to the larger social and economic effects that transportation policies have. Americans have become increasingly mobile and more reliant on automobiles to meet their travel needs, due largely to transportation policies adopted after World War II that emphasized highway development over public transportation. According to Census 2000 data, less than 5 percent of trips to work in urban areas were made by public transit; however, this varies significantly by race and location. Minorities, however, are less likely to own cars than whites and are more often dependent on public transportation. The “transit-dependent” must often rely on public transportation not only to travel to work, but also to get to school, obtain medical care, attend religious services, and shop for basic necessities such as groceries. The transit-dependent are often people with low incomes, and thus, in addition to facing more difficulties getting around, they face economic inequities as a result of transportation policies oriented toward travel by car.

The effects of limited transportation come from racial discrimination and help create ghettos, isolation, and exclusion from society
Sanchez and Brenman 7 (Thomas, Director and Associate Professor at the Urban Affairs and Planning Program at Virginia Tech, and Marc, Executive Director of the Washington State Human Rights Commission, Transportation Equity and Environmental Justice: Lessons From Hurricane Katrina, The State of Environmental Justice in America 2007 Conference, March 29, 2007, pgs. 1-2) PCS

Transportation mobility is a hallmark of American society; without it, one cannot be a full member of this society. The early challenges related to racial discrimination and segregation discussed above involved discriminatory practices that directly limited transportation access and mobility of people of color. The effects of limited transportation mobility persist. The lack of mobility helped create ghettos, de facto segregated schools and housing, and social and community isolation. To cure these ills, many promises have been made by the leadership of the dominant society. These promises are often unfulfilled, as have been promises for housing to replace that destroyed in “blight clearing” projects. These were sometimes referred to as “negro removal,” sometimes considered synonymous with “urban renewal.” Whites in suburbs have foregone physical mobility for a lack of social cohesion, while destroyed inner city neighborhoods have been left with neither mobility nor social cohesion. Efforts to challenge discrimination, segregation, and inequitable transportation policies have become increasingly sophisticated to encompass a broad range of related social impacts. The term transportation equity refers to a range of strategies and policies that aim to address inequities in the nation’s transportation planning and project delivery system. Across the country, community-based organizations of low-income and minority residents are organizing to improve their communities, and they are recognizing the significant role played by transportation in shaping local opportunities and disinvestment. Though the definition of transportation equity may vary from place to place, most of these community residents would agree that an equitable transportation system would: • Ensure opportunities for meaningful public involvement in the transportation planning process, particularly for those communities that most directly feel the impact of projects or funding choices • Be held to a high standard of public accountability and financial transparency • Distribute the benefits and burdens from transportation projects equally across all income levels and communities • Provide high quality services—emphasizing access to economic opportunity and basic mobility—to all communities, but with an emphasis on transit-dependent populations • Equally prioritize efforts both to revitalize poor and minority communities and to expand transportation infrastructure.

Federal government policies are the sole directors of whether institutional racism exists or not
Sanchez and Brenman 7 (Thomas, Director and Associate Professor at the Urban Affairs and Planning Program at Virginia Tech, and Marc, Executive Director of the Washington State Human Rights Commission, Transportation Equity and Environmental Justice: Lessons From Hurricane Katrina, The State of Environmental Justice in America 2007 Conference, March 29, 2007, pgs. 1-2) PCS

The principle of environmental justice is the product of a much broader movement to address the economic and health impacts of environmental racism. Environmental justice serves as an effective framework for understanding why low-income and minority communities face the brunt of negative impacts from transportation investment. Residents understand that toxic dumps and polluting industries are more likely to find their way into low-income and minority communities. Similarly, residents understand that low-income and minority communities are more likely to face a number of transportation-related burdens. The substantially adverse and disproportionate effects of Hurricane Katrina on African Americans in August 2005 demonstrated to many advocates that what they call “institutional racism” as one such barrier continues to exist in the United States. Institutional racism includes underlying systems and policies that keep people of color and white unequal. There are certain areas of local policy where racism becomes prominent and visible, including policing, zoning, housing, and transportation. Governmental policies and programs can either promote equality, tolerance, and justice or (consciously or not) promote division and inequality and engender the belief that specific racial and ethnic groups are second-class citizens.

Blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities are far more likely to utilize public transportation- it’s noticeably poor quality is an example of encouraging the “middle-class norm”
Pucher and Renne 3 (John, professor in the Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University, visiting professor at the Unviersity of Sydney’s Institute of Transport Studies directing research projects examining international travel and transport behavior, and John L., Early Research Professor of Planning and Urban Studies, Director of Transportation Studies, University of New Orleans, Socioeconomics of Urban Travel, Transportation Quarterly, 57(3), Summer 2003, pg. 67) PCS

The largest differences among racial and ethnic groups are in their use of transit. Blacks are almost six times as likely as whites to take their trips by transit in general (5.3% vs. 0.9%), and they are eight times as likely to take the bus (4.2% vs. 0.5%). They are also more likely to take the metro (0.9% vs. 0.3%) and even commuter rail (0.2% vs. 0.1%). Hispanics use transit less than blacks but still about three times more than whites (2.4% vs. 0.9%). Their use of rail transit is the same as blacks, but they rely on buses four times more (2.0% vs. 0.5%). By comparison, Asians show just the reverse tendency, with the highest rail transit modal split shares of any group but with bus usage less than among blacks or Hispanics. That might reflect the concentration of Asian immigrants in the very largest American cities with extensive rail transit systems. It is clear from Table 13 that racial and ethnic minorities rely far more on transit than whites. Moreover, they account for a large percentage of all transit users (not shown in Table 13). Blacks and Hispanics together comprise 54% of the country’s transit users: 62% of all bus riders, 35% of all metro riders, and 29% of all commuter rail riders. If one includes low-income house- holds as well, the combination of blacks, Hispanics, and low-income nonminority households comprises an even higher percentage of transit riders: 63% overall, and 73% of bus riders, 44% of metro riders, and 31% of commuter rail riders. Thus, improving transit services and fare structures in American cities would generally benefit minorities, as well as low-income households. Nevertheless, blacks, Hispanics, and poor households all rely primarily on bus transit and far less on rail transit. Subsidies spent on improving bus systems would especially favor minorities, as well as low- income households in general. As documented extensively in the literature, most transit systems have tended to take minority and low-income “captive riders” for granted and focused their fare and service policies on attracting middle-class and affluent riders out of their automobiles. In many cases, the result has been lower- quality service for the poor and minorities and superior service, at high public subsidy cost, for the affluent. New and extended rail transit systems, in particular, have been aimed at luring affluent suburban motorists out of their cars to reduce congestion, air pollution, and energy use in American cities. Some have argued that it would be both more equitable and more efficient to target limited subsidy dollars to inner city bus services that are cheaper, more intensively used, and require far less subsidy per passenger served.

Suburbanization has stranded minorities in the central city with no way to access employment
Pugh 98 (Margaret, doctoral student in history at the University of Pennsylvania, policy analyst in the White House and US Department of Health and Human Services, Barriers to Work: The Spatial Divide Between Jobs and Welfare Recipients in Metropolitan Areas, The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, September 1998, pgs. 4-5) PCS

In many large U.S. urban areas, fifty years of suburbanization and the growth of the post-industrial economy have resulted in a significant portion of entry-level jobs locating outside the city limits, while the bulk of the urban poor (mostly minorities) remain in the central city. Public transit routes, even if they are extensive in the city, do not reach many suburban employment centers. Even where trains and buses might reach a workplace, the entry-level job could start and end at times when mass transit does not run. Suburbs were designed for workers with cars, and even those low-income and working-class people who have access to private transportation may not be able to afford the maintenance, insurance, and other costs associated with a long daily commute.

The emphasis on metropolitan areas worsens the divide between black and white by directing attention to areas that distance the inner city from suburbs
Pugh 98 (Margaret, doctoral student in history at the University of Pennsylvania, policy analyst in the White House and US Department of Health and Human Services, Barriers to Work: The Spatial Divide Between Jobs and Welfare Recipients in Metropolitan Areas, The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, September 1998, pg. 14) PCS

During the thirty years since Kain first advanced the spatial mismatch hypothesis, suburban areas have grown exponentially in many areas of the country. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development recently estimated that the national suburban population is growing twice as fast as that of the cities and that joblessness remains higher in most central cities than in suburbs. In many areas, rapid growth is creating an outer ring of “exurban” areas that extend miles from the metropolitan core. Job-growth trends often correlate with the race and wealth of an area’s residents. Wealthier, whiter suburbs tend to have the bulk of new jobs in metropolitan areas. While African Americans have suburbanized to a certain degree, they often have relocated to predominantly black suburbs that in many metropolitan areas are distant from the most vibrant metropolitan job growth centers. Overall, the nation’s suburban areas remain disproportionately white. Paul Jargowsky noted these changes in his 1997 study of inner-city neighborhood distress, Poverty and Place: Metropolitan areas have transformed in response to residents’ demands for spatial amenities and to changing modes of production. From an economic point of view, these are positive adaptations. But the pooling of poor individuals in urban centers ... is no longer a viable means for poor individuals to get connected to the larger economy. In the age of the suburb and the exurb, labor markets have spilled across city and county boundaries and become metropolitan-wide. The gap between rich and poor, black and white, has become wider.

#### Current infrastructure is 21st century apartheid

Bullard 4 (Robert, Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, “Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States,” Fordham Urb. L.J. 31,2003-2004, p.1184) APB

For millions, transportation is defined as a basic right. Transportation is basic to many other quality of life indicators such as health, education, employment, economic development, access to municipal services, residential mobility, and environmental quality. The continued residential segregation of people of color away from suburban job centers (where public transit is inadequate or nonexistent) may signal a new urban crisis and a new form of "residential apartheid." Transportation investments, enhancements, and financial resources have provided advantages for some communities, while at the same time; other communities have been disadvantaged by transportation decision-making.

The suburban shift traps minorities in central cities and divides urban communities by putting highways through neighborhoods
Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., M.A. Population Geography from University of Georgia, Managing Editor of the Columbia Law Review, Securing Access to Transportation for the Urban Poor, Columbia Law Review, 105(2), 2005, pgs. 509-510) PCS

One result of this urban-to-suburban shift is that residents of the central city, disproportionately minorities and low-income earners, have little convenient access to good jobs, essential services such as medical care, and shopping, much of which as followed higher income residents to the suburbs. Because zoning laws separate residential from commercial districts, the businesses that remain may be out of walking distance, especially for the elderly. Exacerbating this situation is the scarcity of transportation options near low-income areas in many central cities. This lack of transportation not only limits access to local services and shopping, but also isolates low-income communities from more prosperous areas in other parts of the city and beyond. Furthermore, while the high-ways necessary to connect suburbs and exurbs to the central city occasionally pass through affluent areas, they are more likely to pass through poor minority areas, destroying and dividing neighborhoods and making travel by foot unsafe in the process. Thus, for many poor residents of the central city, safe and quick transportation is only possible with an automobile, meaning that cars have become an unaffordable necessity.

Access to transportation for the urban poor is limited, and also increases transportation costs and environmental degradation
Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., M.A. Population Geography from University of Georgia, Managing Editor of the Columbia Law Review, Securing Access to Transportation for the Urban Poor, Columbia Law Review, 105(2), 2005, pgs. 509-510) PCS

Although gentrification brought with it increased economic development, it also put severe economic pressure on those with low incomes by increasing housing values and thus, the cost of home rental and purchase, as well as property taxes. In many cases, dilapidated suburbs became the only affordable housing option, pushing low-income and minority residents away from the recovering central city to suburbs with the same dearth of services that had been previously lacking in the central city, but with even fewer transportation options. Other negative effects of the predominant transportation regime in most American cities span class, race, and age. These include increased commuting times, and transportation costs, environmental degradation, and impeded economic development. Nonetheless, the greatest effects of American landscape development and the resulting transportation regime burden the urban poor. Through the process of industrialization, urbanization, suburbanization, segregation, gentrification, and the growth of car dependence, the United States has evolved from a collection of small, self-sufficient, and closely knit urban and rural communities to an interdependent urban society in which mobility is essential, but access to transportation, especially for the urban poor is limited. That the socioeconomic effects of suburbanization and car dependence on the urban poor have not been legally addressed may be a symptom of the fact that the effects of these processes have become apparent only within the last half-century. Furthermore, the groups most directly disadvantaged by this process historically suffer from a lack of political power, leaving them with a reduced ability to press for legislative change.

The plan is key to addressing the most disadvantaged groups
Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., M.A. Population Geography from University of Georgia, Managing Editor of the Columbia Law Review, Securing Access to Transportation for the Urban Poor, Columbia Law Review, 105(2), 2005, pgs. 511-512) PCS

Although gentrification brought with it increased economic development, it also put severe economic pressure on those with low incomes by increasing housing values and thus, the cost of home rental and purchase, as well as property taxes. In many cases, dilapidated suburbs became the only affordable housing option, pushing low-income and minority residents away from the recovering central city to suburbs with the same dearth of services that had been previously lacking in the central city, but with even fewer transportation options. Other negative effects of the predominant transportation regime in most American cities span class, race, and age. These include increased commuting times, and transportation costs, environmental degradation, and impeded economic development. Nonetheless, the greatest effects of American landscape development and the resulting transportation regime burden the urban poor. Through the process of industrialization, urbanization, suburbanization, segregation, gentrification, and the growth of car dependence, the United States has evolved from a collection of small, self-sufficient, and closely knit urban and rural communities to an interdependent urban society in which mobility is essential, but access to transportation, especially for the urban poor is limited. That the socioeconomic effects of suburbanization and car dependence on the urban poor have not been legally addressed may be a symptom of the fact that the effects of these processes have become apparent only within the last half-century. Furthermore, the groups most directly disadvantaged by this process historically suffer from a lack of political power, leaving them with a reduced ability to press for legislative change.

Perm solves- states and the fed need to work together to solve
Dombroski 5 (Matthew A., M.A. Population Geography from University of Georgia, Managing Editor of the Columbia Law Review, Securing Access to Transportation for the Urban Poor, Columbia Law Review, 105(2), 2005, pgs. 513) PCS

Any claim in which a right to transportation is asserted would likely implicate state and federal government involvement. On a small scale, development that limits mobility stems from innumerable individual decisions regarding the use of a particular piece of land. On a larger scale, however, the government guides and restricts individual land-use decisions. Zoning restrictions, transportation projects, and general infrastructure, all of which dictate the shape of the landscape, are the province of state government under the police power. Nonetheless, the police power, though broad, is subject to constitutional limitations.

The status quo urban environment is the intentional result of a system aimed at isolating impoverished and minority individuals
Garrett and Taylor 99 (Mark, Information Technology Manager at the Pennsylvania Department, and Brian, Professor of Urban Planning at UCLA, Director of the Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Director of the Institute of Transportation Studies, Reconsidering Social Equity in Public Transport, Berkeley Planning Journal, Volume 13, 1999, pgs. 7-8) PCS

The allocation of transit services between rich and poor, whites and people of color, suburbanites and inner-city residents, is not happenstance, but is directly connected to social and economic processes that have produced the current racial and economic polarization between suburbs and central cities. Mainstream planning has paid insufficient attention to the redistribution of economic and political power that is at least partly responsible for these patterns of uneven urban development. The tradition of equity planning, on the other hand, has been centrally concerned with reducing such urban inequalities. Norman Krumholz (1982:163) has eloquently defined equity planning as an effort to provide more “choices to those...residents who have few, if any choices.” In his tenure as Planning Director for the City of Cleveland, Krumholz formulated his notion of equity planning to counteract what he perceived to be the inherent unfairness and exploitative nature of the urban development process, a process that excluded the poor from the suburbs and concentrated them in declining inner-city areas. A key factor in the process of isolating the poor was the lack of adequate public transportation. Related to this was the government’s policy during this era of massive public investment in urban freeways that helped to empty out central cities of middle- and upper-income residents.

Current transportation policies reinforce racial discrimination and the impacts of social isolation
Garrett and Taylor 99 (Mark, Information Technology Manager at the Pennsylvania Department, and Brian, Professor of Urban Planning at UCLA, Director of the Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Director of the Institute of Transportation Studies, Reconsidering Social Equity in Public Transport, Berkeley Planning Journal, Volume 13, 1999, pg. 10) PCS

Fixed-route transit systems work best at connecting dense suburban residential concentrations to dense central areas. They are far less effective in connecting inner-city residents to dispersed suburban employment sites, especially without time-consuming transfers. In a study of low-wage job access by mode in Los Angeles, Ong and Blumenberg (1999) find that the number of low wage jobs that can be accessed in a 30-minute trip by transit is 77.1 percent lower than by automobile in the central city neighborhood of Pico-Union. It is 97.1 percent lower in the low-income suburb of Watts. The enormous employment access advantage of automobiles helps to explain why, in 1990, over 60 percent of the workers living in poverty households drove to work alone (Pisarski, 1992). It also explains why so many reverse-commute transit programs lose riders to automobiles when low-wage reverse commuters buy cars (Ong, 1996; Rosenbloom, 1992). Reverse commute transit programs can play a role in increasing job access for low-income central city residents. However, improving the quality of heavily patronized local transit service and reducing fares for short and off-peak trips would clearly do more to connect workers without cars to urban employment opportunities (Wachs and Taylor, 1998). The incongruence between transit ridership patterns and subsidy policies has both social and spatial consequences that can potentially reinforce existing patterns of racial, ethnic, and economic segregation. Poor or mediocre public transit service in areas with high proportions of transit dependents exacerbates problems of social and economic isolation. From the standpoint of equity planning, this serves only to decrease choices for those who already have limited transportation options.

Policy makers favor subsidizing the white and well-off suburban commuter- ignoring inner-city residents who utilize public transportation
Garrett and Taylor 99 (Mark, Information Technology Manager at the Pennsylvania Department, and Brian, Professor of Urban Planning at UCLA, Director of the Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Director of the Institute of Transportation Studies, Reconsidering Social Equity in Public Transport, Berkeley Planning Journal, Volume 13, 1999, pgs. 7-8) PCS

Finally, there is a spatial dimension to the changes occurring in transit use. Public transit service is concentrated in the oldest, largest, and most densely developed American cities. Nearly 60 percent of transit passengers nationwide are served by the ten largest big city transit systems, and the remaining 40 percent by the other 5,000 plus systems (Taylor and McCullough, 1998). While overall transit use has declined slightly since the 1980s, the drop in the number of transit riders has been greatest in central cities, though ridership losses were proportionately greater in suburbs. Use of buses, streetcars, and subways is highest in central cities, while commuter railroads account for a higher percentage of all suburban trips (Pisarski, 1996). These shifting patterns of transit use mirror the growing economic and racial disparities in urban areas since central city residents tend to be poorer, mostly minority, and more transit dependent than suburbanites. To summarize, the demographic shifts within transit modes have created a two-tier system characterized by differences in race, ethnicity, income, and location. Inner-city residents, who on average are much poorer and more often from minority groups than the general population, rely far more on buses and subways, while suburban commuters are by and large white, comparatively well-off and more likely to use automobiles, express buses, and commuter rail. Policy makers and planners have generally failed, however, to acknowledge these distinct patterns in transit ridership demographics. In fact, more and more, transit subsidy policies favor investment in suburban transit and expensive new commuter bus and rail lines that disproportionately serve a wealthier, less transit-dependent population than do central city transit services.

#### U.S. transportation perpetuates the same discriminatory racial prejudices that were instilled by Plessy v. Ferguson

Bullard 7 (Robert, Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2007, pgs. 34-35) PCS

U.S. transportation policies, at least in the figurative sense, still relegate African Americans to the back of the bus. For more than a century, African Americans and other people of color have struggled to end transportation discrimination on buses, trains, and highways (Bullard and Johnson 1997). This form of racial apartheid, which clearly violates constitutionally guaranteed civil rights, was codified in 1896 by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, a U.S. Supreme Court decision that upheld Louisiana’s segregated “white” and “colored” seating on railroad cars, ushering in the infamous doctrine of “separate but equal.” Plessy not only codified apartheid for transportation facilities but also served as the legal basis for racial segregation in education until it was overturned in 1954 by *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, another U.S. Supreme Court decision. The modern civil rights movement has its roots in transportation. In 1953, nearly half a century after *Plessy v. Ferguson*, African Americans in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, staged the nation’s first successful bus boycott. Two years later, on December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat at the front of a Montgomery city bus to a white man. In so doing, Parks ignited the modern civil rights movement. By the early 1960s, young “Freedom Riders” risked death by riding Greyhound buses into the Deep South as a way to fight transportation apartheid and segregation in interstate travel. Writing in the foreword to *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity*, Congressperson John Lewis (2004) summed up the challenge that lies ahead, “Our struggle is not over. The physical signs are gone, but the legacy of ‘Jim Crow’ transportation is still with us” (viii).

Transportation inequity is a regime of white supremacy
Seiler 7 (Cotten, Associate Professor of American Studies, Department Chair for American Studies, Dickinson College, The Significance of Race to Transport History, Journal of Transport History, 28(2), 2007, pg. 308) PCS

I recount the Plessy case and the restrictions it emplaced to emphasise the ever-present racial prerogatives of mobility. Because self-directed mobility signifies freedom and self-transformation, regimes of white supremacy have sought to police the movement of racial Others both to preserve physical racial separation and to guard the integrity of racial identity itself. The motion of racial Others, therefore, has tended to be characterised as threatening to a social order based on spatial, cultural, and biological segregation of the fictive categories known as races. Given the significance of racial status to an individual’s power to move (or to keep from being moved), the inattention to this connection is remark- able. My own archival research on early automobility in the United States, for example, furnished virtually no documentary evidence of a widespread awareness of driving as a privilege of whiteness—though of course it was. Even the guidebooks mentioned above dared not speak this truth explicitly. This historical vacuum can be partially attributed to the ways in which white supremacy was a discourse both commonsensical (therefore not in need of explication) and logically tenuous (therefore deliberately hidden from scrutiny).

Communities of color are at a significant transportation disadvantage because federal funding is empirically geared towards highways that benefit affluent white citizens
Rubin 9 (Victor, PolicyLink Vice President for Research, PhD in City and Regional Planning, All Aboard! Making Equity and Inclusion Central to Federal Transportation Policy, PolicyLink, 2009, pg. 7) PCS

Car users have been the primary beneficiaries of federal and state transportation investment, and an automobile-focused pattern of metropolitan development has become entrenched. About 80 percent of federal transportation expenditure goes toward highways, while the infrastructure for all other modes of travel competes for the remaining 20 percent. As a result of these funding disparities, lower-income people and communities of color, who rely more on public transit for mobility and access since they have significantly lower rates of car ownership, have not fared nearly as well as higher-income and white Americans. It is therefore not surprising that people of color, who tend to have significantly lower incomes, use public transportation to travel to work at rates that are up to four times higher than whites, or that African-Americans and Latinos together make up 54 percent of public transportation users in urban areas. To ensure people who do not use cars benefit from transportation investment, the next authorization must shift federal spending away from the current bias of highway building and into a “mode-neutral” system that can diversify regional transportation offerings. This could enable a “fix-it-first” approach for maintaining existing facilities and spending more on transit and other modes in which we have underinvested.

The continual funding of highways for the purpose of privileging white culture traps in and destroys inner-city black communities
Bullard 7 (Robert, Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place, Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, June 30, 2007, pg. 51) PCS

The government also facilitated racialized space by funding “the largest public works program in the history of the world”- a highway system to the white suburbs. With the Federal Highway Act of 1956, the federal government became the largest subsidizer of the interstate highway system. These highways were intended for long-distance travel, but over half of the funding had gone to highways within metropolitan regions as of the mid-1990s. The highway system walled-in black communities, using the highways to clearly demarcate “bad” black from “good” white neighborhoods. It also frequently tore through “vibrant black commercial corridors,” clearing out inner-city “blight.” While the funding and construction of highways demarcated and destroyed black neighborhoods, it also forestalled the development of the kind of public transportation that metropolitan people of color were more likely to use. Highway spending has eclipsed transit spending by a five-to-one margin over the past half-dozen decades. Simultaneously, the federal government bankrolled white flight not only through the construction of the highway system, but through federal subsidies of gasoline, suburban sewage-treatment plants (infrastructure that supports suburban living), and other policies that have made possible further abandonment of the central city and the inner-ring suburbs.

#### Transportation decisions typically benefit the wealthy and burden the poor and people of color

Bullard 1 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Transportation Equity in the 21st Century, Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, 1(1), 2000, pg. 2) PCS

Transportation decisions may have distributive impacts (positive and negative) that are geographic and spatial, such as rural vs. urban vs. central city. Some communities are physically located on the “wrong side of the tracks” and often receive substandard services. Environmental justice concerns revolve around the extent that transportation systems address outcomes (diversity and quality of services, resources and investments, facilities and infrastructure, access to primary employment centers, etc.) that disproportionately favor one geographic area or spatial location over another. Social Inequity. The distribution of transportation benefits and burdens are not randomly distributed across population groups. Generally, transportation amenities (benefits) accrue to the wealthier and more educated segment of society, while transportation disamenities (burdens) fall disproportionately on people of color and individuals at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum. Intergenerational equity issues are also subsumed under this category. For example, the impacts and consequences of some transportation decisions may reach into several generations.

Transportation decisions contribute to inequity by furthering dominant power arrangements to benefit the affluent- reducing urban access to public transportation
Bullard 1 (Robert, director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University and author of Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equality, Transportation Equity in the 21st Century, Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, 1(1), 2000, pg. 2) PCS

Transportation decision-making--whether at the federal, regional, state, or local level--often mirrors the power arrangements of the dominant society and its institutions. Some transportation policies distribute the costs in a regressive pattern while providing disproportionate benefits for individuals who fall at the upper end of the education and income scale. All transportation modes are not created equal. Federal transportation policies, taxing structure, and funding schemes have contributed to the inequity between the various transportation modes, e.g., private automobile, rail, buses, air, etc. Central cities and suburbs are not equal. They often compete for scarce resources. One need not be a rocket scientist to predict the outcome between affluent suburbs and their less affluent central city competitors. Freeways are the lifelines for suburban commuters, while millions of central city residents are dependent on public transportation as their primary mode of travel. But cuts in mass transit subsidies and fare hikes have reduced access to essential social services and economic activities.

#### Highway investment and other transportation infrastructure decisions of the past have racially segregated urban communities

Sanchez et al 3 (Thomas, associated professor of Urban Affairs and Planning, research fellow in the Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech, Rich Stolz, Senior Policy Analyst at the Center for Community Change, and Jacinta Ma, Legal Policy and Advocacy Associate at The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, 2003, pg. 17) PCS

One of the central indirect effects is the reinforcement of residential segregation. The form that we currently think of as “the city” is a product of both land use and transportation investment decisions. Highway investments in combination with federal housing and lending policies leading to post–World War II suburbanization played a significant role in “white flight” from central cities to suburbs, which had a profound impact in defining urban form and racial segregation patterns. Highway investment encourages the development of suburbs located increasingly farther away from central cities and has played an important role in fostering residential segregation patterns and income inequalities. Inequitable or inefficient land use patterns such as those resulting in residential segregation often are reinforced by policies, such as transportation investment decisions, that were established several decades ago.

## Impacts

### Impacts: Racism

#### White supremacy is an ordering principle that produces hierarchies of difference, which are enforced through widespread violence and extermination of the other.

Rodriguez 7 (Dylan Rodriguez, Professor, Dept. of Ethnic Studies @ University of California Riverside, Kritika Kultura, Issue 9, “AMERICAN GLOBALITY AND THE U. S. PRISON REGIME: STATE VIOLENCE AND WHITE SUPREMACY FROM ABU GHRAIB TO STOCKTON TO BAGONG DIWA”, Available online at http://www.ateneo.edu/ateneo/www/UserFiles/121/docs/kkissue09.pdf, Accessed 7/7/2009)

Variable, overlapping, and mutually constituting white supremacist regimes have in fact been fundamental to the formation and movements of the United States, from racial chattel slavery and frontier genocide to recent and current modes of neoliberal land displacement and (domestic-to-global) warfare. Without exception, these regimes have been differently entangled with the state’s changing paradigms, strategies, and technologies of human incarceration and punishment (to follow the prior examples: the plantation, the reservation, the neoliberal sweatshop, and the domestic-to-global prison). The historical nature of these entanglements is widely acknowledged, although explanations of the structuring relations of force tend to either isolate or historically compartmentalize the complexities of historical white supremacy.

For the theoretical purposes of this essay, white supremacy may be understood as a logic of social organization that produces regimented, institutionalized, and militarized conceptions of hierarchized “human” difference, enforced through coercions and violences that are structured by genocidal possibility (including physical extermination and curtailment of people’s collective capacities to socially, culturally, or biologically reproduce). As a historical vernacular and philosophical apparatus of domination, white supremacy is simultaneously premised on and consistently innovating universalized conceptions of the white (European and euroamerican) “human” vis-à-vis the rigorous production, penal discipline, and frequent social, political, and biological neutralization or extermination of the (non-white) sub- or non-human. To consider white supremacy as essential to American social formation (rather than a freakish or extremist deviation from it) facilitates a discussion of the modalities through which this material logic of violence overdetermines the social, political, economic, and cultural structures that compose American globality and constitute the common sense that is organic to its ordering.

#### RACISM CAUSES DEONTIC HARM-- WE MUST EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH ITS VICTIMS REGARDLESS OF CONSEQUENCES.

Post '91 (Robert C., Professor of Law @ UC-Berkeley, William & Mary Law Review, Winter '91, p. L/N)

A recurring theme in the contemporary literature is that racist expression ought to be regulated because it creates what has been termed "deontic" harm. 18 The basic point is that there is an "elemental wrongness" 19 to racist expression, regardless of the presence or absence of particular empirical consequences such as "grievous, severe psychological injury." 20 It is argued that toleration for racist expression is inconsistent with respect for "the principle of equality" 21 that is at the heart of the fourteenth amendment. 22 The thrust of this argument is that a society committed to ideals of social and political equality cannot remain passive: it must issue unequivocal expressions of solidarity with vulnerable minority groups and make positive statements affirming its commitment to those ideals. Laws prohibiting racist speech must be regarded as important components of such expressions and statements. 23

#### REJECTING RACISM IS A MORAL IMPERATIVE WHICH OUTWEIGHS ALL OTHER IMPACTS-- CONFLICT AND DESTRUCTION ARE INEVITABLE WITHIN A SOCIETY WHICH ALLOWS IT.

Memmi 2000 (Albert, Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ U of Paris, Naiteire, Racism, transl. Steve Martinot, p. 165)

Of course, this is debatable. There are those who think that if one is strong enough, the assault on and oppression of others is permissible. But no one is ever sure of remaining the strongest. One day, perhaps, the roles will be reversed. All unjust society contains within itself the seeds of its own death. It is probably smarter to treat others with respect so that they treat you with respect. "Recall," says the Bible, "that you were once a stranger in Egypt," which means both that you ought to respect the stranger because you were a stranger yourself and that you risk becoming once again someday. It is an ethical and a practical appeal -- indeed, it is a contract, however implicit it might be. In short, the refusal of racism is the condition for all theoretical and practical morality. Because, in the end, the ethical choice commands the political choice, a just society must be a society accepted by all. If this contractual principle is not accepted, then only conflict, violence, and destruction will be our lot. If it is accepted, we can hope someday to live in peace. True, it is a wager, but the stakes are irresistible.

#### REJECTION OF RACISM IS A PRECONDITION FOR HUMAN AND MORAL ORDER WHICH OUTWEIGHS UTILITY-- INJUSTICE CAUSES VIOLENCE.

Memmi 2000 (Albert, Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ U of Paris, Naiteire, Racism, transl. Steve Martinot, p. 164, GAL)

However, it remains true that one's moral conduct only emerges from a choice; one has to want it. It is a choice among other choices, and always debatable in its foundations and its consequences. Let us say, broadly speaking, that the choice to conduct oneself morally is the condition for the establishment of a human order, for which racism is the very negation. This is almost a redundancy. One cannot found a moral order, let alone a legislative order, on racism, because racism signifies the exclusion of the other and his or her subjection to violence and domination. From an ethical point of view, if one can deploy a little religious language, racism is "the truly capital sin."fn22 It is not an accident that almost all of humanity's spiritual traditions counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical morality and disinterested commandments. Such unanimity in the safeguarding of the other suggests the real utility of such sentiments. All things considered, we have an interest in banishing injustice, because injustice engenders violence and death.

#### NO CONCESSIONS-- WE CANNOT ACCEPT ANY DEGREE OF RACISM, IT MAKES INJUSTICE AND VIOLENCE INEVITABLE.

Memmi 2000 (Albert, Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ U of Paris, Naiteire, Racism, transl. Steve Martinot, p. 163, GAL)

The struggle against racism will be long, difficult, without intermission, without remission, probably never achieved. Yet for this very reason, it is a struggle to be undertaken without surcease and without concessions. One cannot be indulgent toward racism; one must not even let the monster in the house, especially not in a mask. To give it merely a foothold means to augment the bestial part in us and in other people, which is to diminish what is human. To accept the racist universe to the slightest degree is to endorse fear, injustice and violence. It is to accept the persistence of the dark history in which we still largely live. It is to agree that the outsider will always be a possible victim (and which [person] man is not [themself] himself an outsider relative to someone else?). Racism illustrates in sum, the inevitable negativity of the condition of the dominated; that is, it illuminates in a certain sense the entire human condition. The anti-racist struggle, difficult though it is, and always in question, is nevertheless one of the prologues to the ultimate passage from animality to humanity. In that sense, we cannot fail to rise to the racist challenge.

### Impact Calculus – Racism Outweighs Nuclear War

#### RACISM OUTWEIGHS NUCLEAR WAR

Mohan in 93 (Brij, Professor at LSU, Eclipse of Freedom p. 3-4)

Metaphors of existence symbolize variegated aspects of the human reality. However, words can be apocalyptic. "There are words," de Beauvoir writes, "as murderous as gas chambers" (1968: 30). Expressions can be unifying and explosive; they portray explicit messages and implicit agendas in human affairs and social configurations. Manifestly the Cold War is over. But the world is not without nuclear terror. Ethnic strife and political instabilities in the New World Order -- following the dissolution of the Soviet Union -- have generated fears of nuclear terrorism and blackmail in view of the widening circle of nuclear powers. Despite encouraging trends in nuclear disarmament, unsettling questions, power, and fear of terrorism continue to characterize the crisis of the new age which is stumbling at the threshold of the twenty-first century. The ordeal of existence transcends the thermonuclear fever because the latter does not directly impact the day-to-day operations if the common people. The fear of crime, accidents, loss of job, and health care on one hand; and the sources of racism, sexism, and ageism on the other hand have created a counterculture of denial and disbelief that has shattered the façade of civility. Civilization loses its significance when its social institutions become counterproductive. It is this aspect of the mega-crisis that we are concerned about.

## Solvency

#### Increased investments in mass transits is needed now to increase transport capacity

American Public Transportation Association 08 (http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/greenhouse\_brochure.pdf)

Protect and preserve public transportation service where it exists today. Public transportation ridership has increased by 30% since 1995—a growth rate more than twice that of population, and greater than vehicle miles of travel. As transit ridership has increased, a number of systems are struggling to maintain the quality of assets and consequently the quality and reliability of service. Systems must be adequately funded to allow people who are choosing public transportation, more than 10 billion trips annually, to stay on public transportation.

Expand capacity of existing public transportation services. In many parts of the country, public transportation systems are operating beyond their design capacity. With future annual ridership growth projected at 3.5% annually, it will be difficult for a number of these systems to carry additional riders without significant new investment. Systems that are investing to expand capacity and attract new riders include: • Charlotte, NC, recently opened its first modern light rail system. • The New York Metropolitan Transportation Authority is in the process of constructing the Second Avenue Subway Line to relieve severe crowding. • Cleveland’s bus rapid transit system is expected to open in late 2008. • Salt Lake City is expanding its light rail and will soon add commuter rail. Expand the geographic coverage of public transportation services. According to U.S. Census data, 46% of American households do not have access to any public transportation.7 Public transportation must expand geographically to capture shifts in population, both within regions and across the country. Individuals cannot be asked to reduce their vehicle miles of travel without options. On a national scale, those regions experiencing rapid increases in population must have the resources available to enable public transportation to viably serve local travel demands. Public transportation agencies are reducing their carbon footprints—even more can be done with additional investment. • The Los Angeles county Metropolitan Transportation Authority is investing in improvements to several maintenance facilities that will use solar energy. • In Portland, OR, Tri-Met has implemented procedures to reduce idling and improve vehicle maintenance, lowering vehicle fuel use by 10%. • Throughout the country, bus systems are adding hybrid diesel-electric vehicles. • In Grand Rapids, MI, The Rapid was the first system to construct a LEED-certified facility. • Metro in Cincinnati, OH, runs its entire 390-bus fleet on a blend of 50% soy-based biodiesel and 50% regular diesel fuel.

#### Freeway placement is dictated by residual effects of racist removal programs- barring minority access to basic housing rights

Sanchez et al 3 (Thomas, associated professor of Urban Affairs and Planning, research fellow in the Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech, Rich Stolz, Senior Policy Analyst at the Center for Community Change, and Jacinta Ma, Legal Policy and Advocacy Associate at The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, 2003, pg. 17) PCS

Transportation policies and practices of locating freeway projects in minority neighborhoods have, in a number of cases, impeded the ability of minorities to access housing. Although there are no empirical data on the number of communities or people affected or the extent of the impact, historical and current examples of disproportionate impacts of transportation projects on minority neighborhoods exist and are discussed in this section. Freeway placements and expansions in urban areas typically occur where land prices are depressed—which frequently corresponds with the residential neighborhoods of low-income and minority households. Such neighborhoods generally have low levels of political power resulting from institutional discrimination over time. In some respects, freeway locations in cities are the philosophical progeny of “Negro removal” or “urban renewal” programs that were thought to cure “urban blight” by tearing down minorities’ homes.

#### Our transit planning contributes to disproportionately burdening people of color

The Leadership Conference Education Fund 11 (A national coalition for civil rights, Where We Need to go: A Civil Rights Roadmap for Transportation Equity, The Leadership Conference Education Fund, 2011, pg. 5) PCS

The inequitable transit landscape in which we find ourselves today did not sprout up organically or overnight. Several factors have contributed, but the most significant has been suburbanization and its attendant growth of car-based lifestyles. By investing disproportionately in highways that expand metropolitan areas, funding construction far from urban centers, and tipping decision-making power away from urban and inner suburban constituencies, our transit planning has placed inequitable burdens on low-income people, people with disabilities, and people of color by entrenching the segregation of racial minorities and increasing the concentration of poverty.

# Air Pollution Advantage

## Links

#### Urban Diesel Buses heavily contribute to pollution

Pandya et al 2(Robert J Occupational Medicine Specialist, Gina Solomon Senior Scientist at the Natural Resources Defense Council, Amy Kinner Adjunct Faculty Member in the Public Health Program at the University of New England, John R Balmes Professor of Medicine Division of Occupational and Environmental Medicine University of Californi “Diesel Exhaust and Asthma: Hypotheses and Molecular Mechanisms of Action” Environmental Health Perspectives 110(1) pg 105)ZLH

Buses, trucks, and other heavy industrial transport vehicles are major sources of ambi-ent diesel exhaust pollution. Utilization of dieself uel has steadilyi ncreasedin the United States over the past several decades: the num-ber of miles traveled by commercial trucks in the United States has increased by 235% between 1950 and 1985, and cargo tonnage carriedb y trucksh as increasedb y 169% (40). DEPs are major sources of ambient PM2.5 (41). In California, an estimated 26% of all particulate matter from fuel combustion sources arises from the combus-tion of diesel engines (41). In 1996, diesel exhaust also comprised a quarter of the NO smog precursors released nationally in the United States (39). Epidemiologic Studies Linking Diesel Exhaust and Asthma There is some epidemiologic evidence associ-ating exposure to high levels of diesel exhaust with asthma. Wade and Newman (42) describe three railroad workers who traveled in locomotive units directly behind the lead diesel-powered locomotive engine and even-tually developed acute or subacute onset of respiratory symptoms. They demonstrated symptoms consistent with asthma, including hyperreactivea irways,a irflowl imitation, and reversibility with bronchodilators. None of these workersh ad any known preexistingr es-piratory conditions. Numerous components within diesel exhausta re respiratoryir ritants (38), including some of the acid aerosols, volatile organic compounds, and gases in the mixture. The irritant effect alone could potentially trigger asthmatic symptoms at sufficientlyh igh exposurel evels. Although exposure to acutely high levels of diesel exhaust can produce respiratory symptoms, there is also epidemiologic evi-dence that chronic exposure to diesel exhaust at lower environmental levels may also be associated with increased levels of respiratory symptoms. For instance, children living near busy diesel trucking routes have decreased lung function in comparison with children living near roads with mostly automobile traffic (10). A population-based survey of more than 39,000 children living in Italy found that children living on streets with heavy truck traffic were 60-90% more likely to report acute and chronic symptoms such as wheeze, phlegm, and diagnoses such as bronchitis, bronchiolitis, and pneumonia (43). A German study of over 3,700 adoles-cent students found that those living on streets with "constant" truck traffic were 71% more likely to report symptoms of allergic rhinitis and more than twice as likely to report wheezing (44).

#### Highway centric policy making has led to a decrease in air quality.

American Public Health Association 2009(“At the intersection of public health and transportation: Promoting healthy transportation policy”) <http://www.apha.org/NR/rdonlyres/0ECFA0F5-1C85-4323-A051-903513BE3B30/0/AttheIntersectionPHandTransportationNewCover.pdf> ZLH

Air pollution is associated with several health issues, including asthma and respiratory illness, heart disease, and cancer. Like obesity, asthma is a major public health problem in the United States.21More than 32million people in the United States have been diagnosed with asthma at some time. Of the 22million people who currently have asthma, 12million have had an asthma episode or attack in the past year.22 Four thousand people die each year from asthma-related causes, and asthma is a contributing factor for another 7,000 deaths every year.22 Asthma prevalence among children increased an average 4.3%per year from1980–1996.21 Each year, asthma accounts for 14 million days of missed school days by children.23 Asthma is seen more often among children, women and girls, African Americans, Puerto Ricans, people in the Northeast, and those living below the federal poverty level, and those with particular work-related exposures. 23 The US cost of health issues associated with poor air quality from transportation is between $40 billion and $64 billion per year.24 Living, working, going to school, or playing near major roadways increases the risk of asthma as well as other health conditions, such as cancer, respiratory illness, and heart disease.25–27 Communities located near heavily traveled highways have a disproportionately higher rate of lung cancer.27 Air pollutants, including carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, and particulate matter (which is found primarily in diesel exhaust), are found along high traffic roads.27 According to the US Census Bureau, 36 million people live within 300 feet of a 4-lane highway, railroad, or airport.

#### Current transportation infrastructure potentially lethally pollutes inner cities and disproportionately affect people of color and lower economic classes

Bullard 4(Robert, Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, “Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States,” Fordham Urb. L.J. 31,2003-2004, p. 1201-2) APB Sprawl-fueled growth is widening the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots. '170

 Transportation-related sources account for over 30% of the primary smog-forming pollutants emitted nationwide and 28% of the fine particulates.183 Vehicle emissions are the main reasons 121 Air Quality Districts in the United States are in noncompliance with the 1970 Clean Air Act's National Ambient Air Quality Standards.184 Over 140 million Americans, of whom 25% are children, live, work, and play in areas where air quality does not meet national standards.85 Emissions from cars, trucks, and buses cause 25-51% of the air pollution in the nation's non-attainment areas.86 Transportation related emissions also generate more than a quarter of the greenhouse gases.187 Improvements in transportation investments and air quality are of special significance to African Americans and other people of color who are more likely to live in areas with reduced air quality when compared to whites.l8 searchers discovered that 57% of whites, 65% of African Ameri cans, and 80% of Latinos lived in the 437 counties that failed to meet at least one of the EPA ambient air quality standards.189 A 2000 study from the American Lung Association shows that children of color are disproportionately. represented in areas with high ozone levels.'90 Additionally, 61.3% of Black children, 69.2% of Hispanic children and 67.7% of Asian-American children live in areas that exceed the 0.08 ppm ozone standard, while only 50.8% of white children live in such areas.91 Reduction in motor vehicle emissions can have marked health improvements. For example, the CDC reports that "when the Atlanta Olympic Games in 1996 brought about a reduction in auto use by 22.5%, asthma admissions to ERs and hospitals also de creased by 41.6%.''192 The CDC researchers also concluded that "less driving, better public transport, well designed landscape and residential density will improve air quality more than will addi tional roadways.'93 Excessive ozone pollution contributed to 86,000 asthma attacks in Baltimore, 27,000 in Richmond, and 130,000 in Washingt6n, D.C.194 Air pollution from vehicle emissions causes significant amounts of illness, hospitalization, and premature death.195 A 2002 study in Lancet reports a strong causal link between ozone and asthma.196 Ground-level ozone may exacerbate health problems such as asthma, nasal congestions, throat irritation, respiratory tract in flammation, reduced resistance to infection, changes in cell func 189. Dee R. Wernette & Leslie A. Nieves, Breathing Polluted Air: Minorities are Disproportionately Exposed, 18 ENVTL. PROTECrION AGENCY J., Mar. 1992, at 16-17. 190. Am. Lung Ass'n, Children & Ozone Air Population Fact Sheet, Sept. 2000, available at http://www.lungusa.org (last visited July 27, 2004).

#### Race is a determining factor in where air pollutants are released by constructing the foundation of decision-making for transportation planning and highway construction locations

Chakraborty 9( Jayajit Professor at the Department of Geography, University of South Florida “Automobiles, Air Toxics, and Adverse Health Risks: Environmental Inequities in Tampa Bay, Florida” Annals of the Association of American Geographers pg 691-692) ZLH

In addition to traditional environmental justice variables that describe race or ethnicity and economic status, this study examines transportation-disadvantaged population groups. The results provide convincing evidence that housing units with no automobiles—the key source of traffic-related air pollution—are disproportionately located in areas exposed to the highest cancer and respiratory risk from vehicular emissions. The proportion of zero-vehicle houses shows a persistent and significantly negative relationship with health risk estimates, even after other socioeconomic factors and spatial autocorrelation are considered. The findings are more ambiguous for the two other variables that are used to define the transportation-disadvantaged population. Whereas the proportion of individuals with a disability is not strongly related to either type of health risk, tracts exposed to the greatest health risks contain a significantly smaller proportion of those aged sixty-five years or older. This can be explained by the fact that a large percentage of the elderly population in Tampa Bay resides in low-density suburban tracts characterized by a smaller racial or ethnic minority presence, lower poverty rate, and higher rates of home ownership— areas that were found to be least exposed to the adverse health effects of vehicular emissions. These results are consistent with previous research that suggests that a vast majority of U.S. senior citizens live in low-density suburbs with limited transit service and no alternatives to the private car for their mobility needs (Transportation Research Board 1998). More research is clearly necessary to determine if lower exposure to vehicular air pollution (environmental equity) for the elderly population in Tampa Bay is an indirect reflection of their lack of mobility (transportation inequity). Because this study relies on cross-sectional analysis to evaluate spatial disparities in the current patterns of health risks (outcome equity), it cannot be used to determine the processes that led to the observed risk disparities (process equity). Like other quantitative studies of outcome equity, this research does not establish if pollution-generating roadways were deliberately placed in communities containing higher proportions of minority or low-income residents or if subsequent residential choices caused the inequitable outcomes. Although the dispersion of air pollutants is an explicitly spatial process, geographic patterns of explanatory variables such as race or ethnicity and related disparities are shaped by various underlying social, political, economic, and historical processes. Environmental inequities in Tampa Bay could be caused by a combination of highway construction and transportation planning decisions with residential choices made by the members of various racial and ethnic groups, which in turn can be influenced by factors such as institutional racism and white privilege (Pulido 2000), housing market dynamics (Been 1994), zoning and land-use restrictions (Maantay 2001), automobile ownership (Bullard 2004), availability of certain types of employment (Anderton et al. 1994), lack of political representation and participation in decision making (Mohai and Bryant 1992), unequal power in the legal system (Cole 1992), and inadequate enforcement of environmental regulations (Levenstein andWooding 1998).

Although the data used in this study do not explicate the processes leading to the current racial or ethnic disparities, the results represent a starting point for longitudinal investigation of the causes of inequity based on qualitative approaches that have been used to examine the historical production of environmental inequities in othermetropolitan areas such as LosAngeles (Pulido 2000) or Phoenix (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins 2005). Given the consistently significant effect of race or ethnicity after controlling for various socioeconomic variables, however, the statistical results suggest that voluntary in-migration to polluted census tracts spurred only by economic factors is less likely to be a plausible explanation for the observed disparities in Tampa Bay. There is also some historical evidence to suggest that urban renewal projects and highway construction in the 1960s forced a sizable proportion of African American residents in Hillsborough County to move to impoverished neighborhoods and public housing located north of the Port of Tampa—an area presently characterized by excessively high levels of both cancer and respiratory risk from vehicular emissions.

#### The transportation disadvantaged are faced with the greatest health risks via air toxins

Chakraborty 9( Jayajit Professor at the Department of Geography, University of South Florida “Automobiles, Air Toxics, and Adverse Health Risks: Environmental Inequities in Tampa Bay, Florida” Annals of the Association of American Geographers pg 685) ZLH

The first phase of the statistical analysis explores the independent effect of each explanatory variable on the degree of estimated cancer and respiratory health risk across census tracts in the MSA. The average values of each variable for the LCR and RHI quartiles depicted in Figures 3 and 4 are provided in Table 2, which indicates that health risks from mobile source air toxics are substantially higher in areas of urban concentration. Although mean values of population density show a sizable increase from the first to the second quartile for both the LCR and RHI estimates, the rate of increase stabilizes across subsequent quartiles and suggests that the relationship might not be linear. The average proportion of racial or ethnic minorities, however, increases gradually from the least polluted (bottom 25 percent) to the moderately polluted tract quartiles and rises substantially at the most polluted quartile (top 25 percent). A similar pattern, consistent with the environmental inequity hypothesis, is observed for each of the two racial or ethnic groups. For both cancer and respiratory health risks, the average African American and Hispanic proportions increase slowly and reach their peak in the highest quartile where the mean values are several times higher than those in the intermediate quartiles. Although average proportion below the poverty line also peaks in the highest quartile for both the LCR and RHI, the smallest mean values for this variable are found in the intermediate quartiles instead of the lowest quartile. The home ownership variable indicates a steadier decline in mean values with increases in the degree of cancer and respiratory health risk.

For variables representing the transportation disadvantaged, the average proportion of zero-vehicle housing units shows an increase from the first to the fourth quartiles suggesting that tracts characterized by fewer automobile owners are facing the greatest health risks from on-road sources of air toxics. The mean percentageof individuals with a disability, however, does not differ substantially from quartile to quartile for both the LCR and RHI. The mean value of the elderly population (aged sixty-five or older), however, decreases with the degree of estimated health risk suggesting that a majority of these individuals are located outside the densely populated areas in theMSAexposed to excessive cancer and respiratory health risk.

#### Minorities living in cities face greater exposure to vehicular air pollution

Chakraborty 9( Jayajit Professor at the Department of Geography, University of South Florida “Automobiles, Air Toxics, and Adverse Health Risks: Environmental Inequities in Tampa Bay, Florida” Annals of the Association of American Geographers pg 690-691) ZLH

The relationship between socioeconomic status and estimated health risk in Tampa Bay, however, is more complex. For the proportion below poverty level, most of the models suggested no significant relation with cancer risk and a negative association with respiratory health risk that ceases to be significant when spatial error regression is implemented. This finding underscores the need to consider the effect of spatial autocorrelation in future environmental equity studies. Conventional linear regression analysis could lead to the erroneous conclusion that respiratory risks from air pollution increase as poverty decreases, because the spatial clustering of tracts with high (or low) poverty rates potentially biases the results of traditional statistical tests of significance. Unlike the proportion below poverty, the home ownership rate consistently indicates a significantly negative association with health risk estimates even after considering the influence of other explanatory variables, supporting the notion that neighborhoods lacking wealth and assets aremore likely to be exposed to higher levels of toxic pollution. Although this study focuses on the environmental health risks, the racial or ethnic and economic disparities associated with vehicular emission sources observed in Tampa Bay are supported by a growing body of evidence that suggests that socially disadvantaged groups are more likely to reside in or attend schools near areas of on-road sources of air pollution (Green et al. 2004; Apelberg, Buckley, andWhite 2005; Pearce, Kingham, and Zawar-Reza 2006). Although prior studies have used different assumptions and data sources to estimate potential exposure to traffic-related pollutants, neighborhoods containing a higher percentage of minority or low-income residents have been found to bemore likely to be located in areas of high traffic density (Gunier et al. 2003; Houston et al. 2004; Jacobson, Hengartner, and Loius 2005) or face exposure to vehicular air pollution (Jerrett et al. 2001; Kingham, Pearce, and Zawar-Reza 2007).

## Impacts

### Mortality/Public Health

#### Poor mobility increase susceptibility to illnesses caused by air pollution

Pless-Mulloli et al 11(Prof Tanja Pless-Mulloli Institute of Health and Society, Newcastle University, Newcastle Institute of Research on Sustainability, Newcastle University, Dr Susan Hodgson Institute of Health and Society, Newcastle University, Dr Anil Namdeo Civil Engineering and Geosciences, Newcastle University) ZLH

Our transport systems affect our ability to access work, education and services, as well as social activities, all of which are important for maintaining health and wellbeing. However, transport and transport availability is not equitably spread across the population. People on low incomes, in chronic ill-health, or with limited mobility may be less able to access or pay for the transport systems they need to acquire work, education and services (Jarvis and Alvanides 2008). Those on low incomes are also more likely to suffer the adverse effects of road traffic, for instance exposure to air pollution and noise (Marshall et al. 2009; Namdeo and Stringer 2008; O'Neill et al. 2003). Mitchell & Dorling (2003) completed a comprehensive review of UK air quality social equity studies and concluded that most studies investigating the relationship between air quality and deprivation, tended to show that air pollution is greater in more deprived communities (Mitchell and Dorling 2003). These inequalities are complex (Briggs, David et al. 2008; Deguen and Zmirou-Navier 2010), but can be framed within the theory of environmental justice, in that some groups are disproportionately subject to environmental hazards and disadvantage predisposing them to poor health (Gee and Payne-Sturges 2004).

Lack of clean public transportation endangers the lives of many, specifically minority populations

Bullard 2K(Robert Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, “TRANSPORTATION EQUITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY” A Newsletter of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University 1(1) pg 4) ZLH

Air quality impacts of transportation are especially significant to low-income persons and people of color who are more likely to live in urban areas with reduced air quality than affluent individuals and whites. For example, National Argonne Laboratory researchers discovered that 437 of the 3,109 counties and independent cities failed to meet at least one of the EPA ambient air quality standards. Specifically, 57 percent of whites, 65 percent of African Americans, and 80 percent of Hispanics live in 437 counties with substandard air quality. Nationwide, 33 percent of whites, 50 percent of African Americans, and 60 percent of Hispanics live in the 136 counties in which two or more air pollutants exceed standards. Similar patterns were found for the 29 counties designated as nonattainment areas for three or more pollutants. Again, 12 percent of whites, 20 percent of African Americans, and 31 percent of Hispanics resided in the worse nonattainment areas. No doubt, clean and energy efficient public transportation could give millions of Americans who live in polluted cities a healthier environment and possibly longer lives.

Ground-level ozone may exacerbate health problems such as asthma, nasal congestion, throat irritation, respiratory tract inflammation, reduced resistance to infection, changes in cell function, loss of lung elasticity, chest pains, lung scarring, formation of lesions within the lungs, and premature aging of lung tissues. Air pollution is not thought to cause asthma and related respiratory illnesses, however, bad air hurts and is a major trigger. A 1996 report from the federal Centers for Disease Control shows hospitalization and death rates from asthma increasing for persons 25 years old or less. The greatest increases occurred among African Americans. African Americans are two to six times more likely than whites to die from asthma. The hospitalization rate for African Americans is 3 to 4 times the rate for whites. Asthma has reached epidemic proportions in the Atlanta region. Atlanta area residents are paying for sprawl with their hard-earned dollars as well as with their health. A 1994 CDC-sponsored study showed that pediatric emergency department visits at Grady Memorial Hospital increased by one-third following peak ozone levels. The study also found that the asthma rate among African American children is 26 percent higher than the asthma rate among whites. Since children with asthma in Atlanta may not have visited the emergency department for their care, the true prevalence of asthma in the community is likely to be higher. A 1999 Clean Air Task Force report, Adverse Health Effects Associated with Ozone in the Eastern United States, linked asthma and respiratory problems and smog. High smog levels are associated with rising respiratory-related hospital admissions and emergency room visits in cities across the nation. The full text of the study can be downloaded from the internet at

#### People lacking access to transportation in urban environments are most at risk for diseases caused by poor air quality

Chakraborty 9(Jayajit, Professor at the Department of Geography, University of South Florida “Automobiles, Air Toxics, and Adverse Health Risks: Environmental Inequities in Tampa Bay, Florida” Annals of the Association of American Geographers pg 687-688) ZLH

For estimated cancer risk, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) F test indicates overall significance for all five regression models and their adjusted R2 values range from 0.35 to 0.39. All explanatory variables in Models 1 and 2 are significant ( p < 0.05) and yield expected signs (Table 4), with the exception of proportion below poverty. The race and ethnicity variables show a positive and highly significant relationship with the LCR, with the Hispanic proportion yielding a higher standardized coefficient than the African American proportion. Home ownership rate has a negative effect on LCR, whereas poverty rate indicates a statistically significant negative association. In Model 3, the proportion of individuals with a disability is the only variable that does not show a significant effect ( p > 0.10) on cancer risk. The proportion of homes with no vehicles indicates a positive association with LCR, and the proportion of those aged sixty-five or older shows a negative association.

When environmental - justice - related and transportation-disadvantaged variables are included simultaneously (Models 4 and 5), the results reveal a minor increase in explanatory power as measured by the adjusted R2 but a decrease in the standardized coefficients and t scores of all explanatory variables except population density. The proportion of minorities (Model 4) and both African Americans and Hispanics (Model 5) retain a positively significant association with LCR even after the effects of all other explanatory factors are considered. Model coefficients for the proportion of the population below poverty, however, do not remain significant ( p > 0.10) when transportation-disadvantaged variables are included. This reduction in significance can be explained, in part, by the collinearity of poverty rate with vehicle ownership. This pattern is reflected in the fact that the coefficient for the proportion of homes with no vehicles declines substantially in the presence of the proportion below poverty level, in spite of remaining significant ( p < 0.05) in the model. Variables representing the transportation-disadvantaged population at the tract level also indicate a significant effect on LCR in Models 4 and 5, with the exception of individuals with a disability inModel 5.When all variables are considered simultaneously, population density and the proportion of Hispanics emerge as the strongest predictors of LCR based on values of their standardized coefficients.

 In general, the regression results associated with cancer risk are repeated for respiratory health risk (Table 5). The ANOVA F test again indicates overall significance for all five models and their adjusted R2 values range from 0.35 to 0.40. All environmental justice variables inModels 1 and 2 indicate a significant association with RHI, although their coefficients and t scores are larger than those observed for LCR in Table 4. The proportion of Hispanics again shows a relatively greater effect than other variables, and the proportion below poverty yields a stronger negative association with respiratory risk. Variables representing the transportation disadvantaged in Model 3 are all significantly related to RHI with signs that are consistent with those observed in the regression models for LCR. When the environmental justice variables are combined with the transportation disadvantaged (Models 4 and 5), all independent variables depict a significant relationship with the RHI. A minor difference between the regression results associated with RHI (Table 5) and LCR (Table 4) can be observed for the proportion below poverty in Models 4 and 5. This variable retains its significant negative association with the RHI when all other variables are considered. This negative effect of poverty rate on respiratory health risk could be a result of its strong linear correlation with the home ownership rate. As with cancer risk, population density and the proportion of Hispanics represent the strongest and most significant predictors of respiratory risk when all variables are considered simultaneously.

#### Minority populations suffer the most from freeways and gain the least

Chakraborty 9(Jayajit, Professor at the Department of Geography, University of South Florida “Automobiles, Air Toxics, and Adverse Health Risks: Environmental Inequities in Tampa Bay, Florida” Annals of the Association of American Geographers pg 693) ZLH

The findings of the study suggest that race or ethnicity play a persistent explanatory role in the distribution of health risks from vehicular toxic emissions in the Tampa Bay MSA, even after controlling for wel ldocumented contextual factors such as population density and socioeconomic characteristics and the effects of spatial autocorrelation. Census tracts characterized by low home ownership and higher proportions of African Americans and Hispanics, in particular, are located near roadways that generate the greatest levels of daily traffic volume and concomitant air toxics. The results also indicate that households with no vehicles—those making the smallest contribution to transportation-related air pollution—are most likely to reside in areas facing the highest exposure and health risks. These findings support the argument that people who suffer the greatest adverse impacts and benefit the least from freeways in the United States are predominantly minority and inner-city residents belonging to low-income groups and households without automobiles

#### Air pollution kills millions of people a year

Science Daily 07 (<http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/08/070813162438.htm>; Cornell University; Pollution causes 40 percent of deaths worldwide, study finds; August 13)

About 40 percent of deaths worldwide are caused by water, air and soil pollution, concludes a Cornell researcher. Such environmental degradation, coupled with the growth in world population, are major causes behind the rapid increase in human diseases, which the World Health Organization has recently reported. Both factors contribute to the malnourishment and disease susceptibility of 3.7 billion people, he says. David Pimentel, Cornell professor of ecology and agricultural sciences, and a team of Cornell graduate students examined data from more than 120 published papers on the effects of population growth, malnutrition and various kinds of environmental degradation on human diseases. Their report is published in the online version of the journal Human Ecology and will be published in the December print issue. "We have serious environmental resource problems of water, land and energy, and these are now coming to bear on food production, malnutrition and the incidence of diseases," said Pimentel. Of the world population of about 6.5 billion, 57 percent is malnourished, compared with 20 percent of a world population of 2.5 billion in 1950, said Pimentel. Malnutrition is not only the direct cause of 6 million children's deaths each year but also makes millions of people much more susceptible to such killers as acute respiratory infections, malaria and a host of other life-threatening diseases, according to the research. Air pollution from smoke and various chemicals kills 3 million people a year. In the United States alone about 3 million tons of toxic chemicals are released into the environment -- contributing to cancer, birth defects, immune system defects and many other serious health problems.

#### Air pollution causes respiratory illnesses and millions of deaths

Environment News Service 06(<http://www.ens-newswire.com/ens/oct2006/2006-10-06-01.html>; World Health Experts Warn Air Pollution Kills Two Million a Year; ENS, is an environmental [news agency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/News_agency) which provides a press release distribution service; October)

NEW YORK, New York, October 6, 2006 (ENS) - Air pollution in cities across the world is causing some two million premature deaths every year, the World Health Organization (WHO) said Thursday, urging nations to adopt stricter air pollution standards. The international health agency's new air quality guidelines call for nations to reduce the impact of air pollution by substantially cutting levels of particulate matter, ozone and sulfur dioxide. "By reducing air pollution levels, we can help countries to reduce the global burden of disease from respiratory infections, heart disease, and lung cancer which they otherwise would be facing," said Maria Neira, WHO director of public health and the environment. "Moreover, action to reduce the direct impact of air pollution will also cut emissions of gases which contribute to climate change and provide other health benefits." WHO cautioned that for some cities meeting the targets would require cutting current pollution levels more than three fold. The organization noted that many countries don't have any air pollution standards. Existing standards vary greatly, WHO said, and most fail to ensure sufficient protection of human health. Particulate matter is the major concern, WHO said, and cutting this type of air pollution can produce the greatest health benefits. Produced mainly by the burning of fossil fuels, particulate matter has been increasingly linked to respiratory illness and heart disease. Most cities currently have levels of coarse particulate matter - known as PM10 - in excess of 70 micrograms per cubic meter. The guidelines recommend cutting levels of PM10 to 20 micrograms, a reduction WHO says can reduce deaths from air pollution by 15 percent a year. WHO recommends cutting the daily limit for ozone, a key ingredient in smog, from 120 to 100 micrograms per cubic meter. The organization notes that this will pose a challenge for many cities, especially in developing countries, and particularly those with numerous sunny days when ozone concentrations are highest, causing respiratory problems and asthma attacks. The guidelines call for reducing levels of sulfur dioxide from 125 to 20 micrograms per cubic meter and note that cutting this pollutant will result in lower childhood death and disease rates. WHO first created air quality guidelines in 1987, but they were originally developed just to address pollution in Europe. The guidelines were originally created to address only Europe but were expanded to focus on all regions and provide standardized targets for air quality. WHO said the increasing evidence of the health impacts of air pollution prompted the organization to were expanded its guidelines to address all regions of the world and provide uniform targets for air quality The new guidelines here established after consultation with more than 80 leading scientists and are based on review of thousands of recent studies from all regions of the world. Dr. Roberto Bertollini, European director of WHO's special program from health and environment, said the guidelines reflect the "most widely agreed and up-to-date assessment of health effects of air pollution, recommending targets for air quality at which the health risks are significantly reduced." "We look forward to working with all countries to ensure these guidelines become part of national law," Bertollini added.

### Extinction

#### Air pollution will cause extinction

Salvador 7 (Lourdes, The American Chronicle [http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/24238] Human Extinction/ April 14, 2007)

The most common pattern of macroevolutionary trends is extinction. In short “when a species is no longer adapted to a changed environment, it may die. Extinction seems, in fact, to be the ultimate fate of all species” (Relethford, 2005). One has to wonder the fate of the human race as the world becomes more and more toxic and people become more ill. Are 60% (Ray & Oakley, 2003) of Americans taking psychiatric medications because they are really mentally ill or is it our society that is sick and we the victims of trying to adapt to a bad environment? How can we justify that 60% is a MAJORITY of the population that is labeled as mentally ill? How long can we deny the damage of modern pollution to the human body before we take action? How long can we sustain reproductive damage before we can no longer reproduce and have children to share our tales of an earlier generation with? Occasionally I have heard statements such as “we will evolve to tolerate air pollution.” Such statements are absurdities. Natural selection only operates on variations that are present. If no genetic variation occurs to aid in breathing polluted air, natural selection will not help us. Even in cases where genetic variation is present, the environment may change too quickly for us to respond to natural selection. All we have to do is examine the fossil record to see how inaccurate this misconception is—that 99% of all past species are extinct shows us that natural selection obviously doesn't always work” (Relethford, 2005). If natural selection does not work and we will not evolve to handle the ever increasing toxic burden then what hope is there for us as the world becomes more and more toxic? How can we ensure our future survival as our bodies become laden with mercury, lead, fire retardants, PCB’s, PBDE’s, Pesticides, Dioxins, pFA’s Phthalates, Bisphenols, and other chemicals of modern day living while the powers that be deny any connection in the name of profits?

## Solvency

#### Lack of efficient public transit is related to an increase in air pollution and other transportation related health issues.

Rubin 9 (Victor, PolicyLink Vice President for Research, PhD in City and Regional Planning, All Aboard! Making Equity and Inclusion Central to Federal Transportation Policy, PolicyLink, 2009, pg 7) ZLH

The impact of transportation policy on health is unevenly distributed from one community to the next. Research shows that low-income people and communities of color enjoy fewer of the advantages of efficient transit systems, such as access to jobs and healthcare facilities, and bear a disproportionate burden of the negative health impacts that transportation facilities and air pollution can infl ict. More affluent neighborhoods are also more likely to have the infrastructure and safety features that make walking and cycling more feasible, leading to more opportunities for exercise and better health. In order to eliminate health disparities, transportation policy must direct benefi ts to low-income people and communities of color by prioritizing these communities for capital expansion grants for public transit, investing in the repair and maintenance of existing infrastructure, and bolstering fi nancial support for transit operating costs.

#### Increased investments in Mass Transit would increase fuel efficiency of cars, reduces energy use and emissions, and saves money that could be redirected to boost economic growth

American Public Transportation Association 08 (http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/greenhouse\_brochure.pdf)

Public transportation use reduces congestion. Public transportation serves some of the most congested travel corridors and regions in the country. Increased use of public transportation in these areas eases congestion; as a result, automobiles traveling in these same corridors achieve greater fuel efficiency 8 Public transportation use is one of the most effective actions individuals can take. Public transportation offers an immediate alternative for individuals seeking to reduce their energy use and carbon footprints. This action far exceeds the benefits of other energy saving household activities, such as using energy efficient light bulbs or adjusting thermostats. Public transportation gives people energy efficient choices. Public transportation reduces overall greenhouse gas emissions without reducing the mobility so vital to our nation’s economic health and our citizens’ quality of life. The increasing cost of fuel makes driving private vehicles even more prohibitive for many. Public transportation households save an average of $6,251 every year3—even more as the price of fuel rises. Public transportation is essential to energy efficient land use patterns. Efficient land use produces results far beyond the immediate benefit of increased use of public transportation. It has the potential to significantly change the way we live and travel, reducing our individual carbon footprints while preserving and enhancing our mobility.

#### Effective mass transit would mean a reduction in carbon emissions

American Public Transportation Association 08 (http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/greenhouse\_brochure.pdf)

A single person, commuting alone by car, who switches a 20-mile round trip commute to existing public transportation, can reduce his or her annual CO2 emissions by 4,800 pounds per year, equal to a 10% reduction in all greenhouse gases produced by a typical two-adult, two-car household. By eliminating one car and taking public transportation instead of driving, a savings of up to 30% of carbon dioxide emissions can be realized.

#### Lack of policy aimed on urban public transportation has led to air pollution

Sanchez et al 3(Thomas W Professor, Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, Rich Stolz Staff of Community of Change, Jacinta Ma, legal fellow, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium “Moving to Equity: Addressing inequitable effects of transportation on minorities” The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University pg 24.) ZLH

Like Detroit, many urban areas have significant pollution, much of which can be traced to

transportation policies that favor highway development and automobile travel over public

transportation. In addition, these transportation policies combined with land use or zoning

policies lead to **more** toxic usage of land in poor and minority neighborhoods than in affluent

areas and areas with fewer minorities.147 Higher percentages of African Americans (65%) and

Latinos (80%) compared with whites (57%) live in areas with substandard air quality.148

Research suggests that these polluted environments in turn result in higher rates of respiratory

diseases, such as asthma.149

#### Transit reduces emissions by over 4.2 billion gallons of gas each year

American Public Transportation Association 08 (http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/greenhouse\_brochure.pdf)

Higher densities allow for closer proximity of housing, employment and retail, reducing driving distances and enabling communities to plan for and support alternative travel options. • In many central business districts, trips taken for shopping, dining or other non-commuting purposes are often made on foot—even by those who drive to work. • Higher density development—including transit-oriented development (TOD), multi-use buildings, and compact apartments and office space—is more energy efficient and extends public transportation’s contribution by integrating it with other sectors of our economy. Public transportation with its overarching effects on land use, is estimated to reduce CO2 emissions by 37 million metric tons annually This indirect “leverage effect” of public transportation is estimated, conservatively, at three to four times the direct effect of transit service. With this leverage effect, transit is estimated to reduce CO2 emissions by 37 million metric tons annually. In addition, public transportation reduces energy consumption by the equivalent of 4.2 billion gallons of gasoline each year, the equivalent of 320 million cars filling up—almost 900,000 times a day.6

# Sprawl Advantage

#### Status quo transportation policies encourage private automobiles over mass transit thus creating sprawl.

Meredith 3 (Jeremy R., Policy Analyst at District of Columbia Public Schools, “Sprawl and the New Urbanist Solution,” Virginia Law Review, 89(2), April 2003, p. 475-476.) CO

First, the federal government's transportation policy contributes to sprawl by encouraging automobile travel over mass transit.168 The government encourages sprawl both directly, through subsidies, and indirectly, by failing to make commuters responsible for the full costs of driving to work. Since the passage of the Highway Trust Fund169 in 1956, the highway system has thrived because it has been considered a public good by the government.'70 At the same time, mass transit has struggled, in part because the government decided to treat it as a private investment that should not draw upon common taxpayer money.'17 Meanwhile, highway programs have transformed once inaccessible land into areas prime for development.172 Once highways are constructed, commercial and resi- dential centers quickly develop around them.73 The highway sub-sidy continues today in the form of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act ("ISTEA"),174 which granted $108 billion of federal aid to highways over six years,175 and the Trans- portation Equity Act for the 21st Century ("TEA-21"),176 which provides over $171 billion to federal highway programs over four years.'77 Government transportation policies also encourage sprawl because they do not force drivers to internalize their costs on society. These costs include those relating to traffic accidents, routine street maintenance, air pollution, the strategic petroleum reserve and military costs associated with serving gasoline-based interests in the Persian Gulf.178 Second, federal housing policies have also encouraged the development of sprawl in the United States. The Federal Housing Administration ("FHA") has contributed to the spread of low- density housing through its selective insurance of home mortgages and its preference for home construction over home repair. From its inception in the 1930s to the 1960s, the program's anti-urban policies and administration made residential development cheaper in the suburbs and, in some cases, the only option available.179 Federal tax regulations also contribute to sprawl through policies such as, "accelerated depreciation; five-year amortization; and deductibility of 'passive' real estate losses," that make suburban development cheaper than urban development and building new houses cheaper than repairing old ones.180 These policies also contributed to the racial segregation seen in urban sprawl. During the early years of federal insurance, mort- gages often required racially restrictive covenants, prohibiting blacks from taking advantage of these subsidies.'8' Not only did the FHA insure mortgages with racially prejudicial requirements, it advocated their use."82 Even after racially restrictive covenants were found unconstitutional, the agency continued to enforce racial segregation for twenty more years by consistently giving black neighborhoods the highest risk ratings.183 While the FHA has now acted to prohibit the racist administration of these programs, some accuse the government of failing to take the proper measures to prevent it from occurring in the private mortgage market.8

#### Improved transit limits sprawl

Su 6 (Qing, Professor of Econ at the University of South Florida, “The Effect of Transportation Subsidies on Urban Sprawl,” Graduate School Thesis and Dissertations, May 2, 2006, http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi? article=3715&context=etd.) CO

Since this thesis focuses on the effect of transportation subsides on urban sprawl, we emphasize the transportation policies or practices that may be effective in curbing sprawl. Our empirical analysis provides evidence that the spatial size of an urbanized area is negatively related to the transit subsidy and the percentage of the working-age population using transit and positively related to transit cost. This suggests that improving transit use may help curb urban sprawl but that the effect may be small. Transit ridership is influenced by a variety factors, both internal and external to the transit system. Internal factors refer to those under the control of transit agencies, such as the level of service provided, fare structures and levels, service frequency and schedules, route design, and size of service area. External factors, on the other hand, are those outside the transit agency’s control, such as population and employment growth, residential and workplace location, and factors that affect the relative attractiveness of transit to other modes, such as gas price and parking costs (Mineta Transportation Institute 1991).

#### Increasing public transportation would encourage denser urbanization.

Meredith 3 (Jeremy R., Policy Analyst at District of Columbia Public Schools, “Sprawl and the New Urbanist Solution,” Virginia Law Review, 89(2), April 2003, p. 482-483.) CO

To achieve these goals, New Urbanists encourage activity on three different scales. The largest scale, the region, consists of the metropolis, city, and town.226 According to the Charter of the Congress for the New Urbanism, "[m]etropolitan regions are finite places with geographic boundaries derived from topography, watersheds, coastlines, farmlands, regional parks, and river basins."227 Within these regions, the proponents of New Urbanism suggest coordinated strategies of "economic development, pollution control, open-space preservation, housing, and transportation."228 These regional goals should include transportation connections, deconcentration of poverty, urban growth boundaries, tax-base sharing, and balanced education systems.29 New Urbanists call for these strategies to be carried out by both the private and the public sectors; however, they do not provide many specific guidelines for implementation at this level.230 The middle scale includes the neighborhood, the district, and the corridor.231 While the regional scale concerns mostly policy objectives, this level primarily focuses on urban planning doctrine. This scale "is the heart of New Urbanism: the reassertion of fundamental urban design principles at the neighborhood scale and their unique accommodation to the contemporary world."

#### Mass transit investment would spur urbanization

Dzurik no date (Andrew Dzurik, writer for Urbanicity, “Mass Transit and Sustainable Urban Environments,” Urbanicity, n/d, http://www. urbancity.org/site/articles/dzurik.aspx) CO

There is no question that urban sprawl is closely linked to the use of the private automobile and to a variety of environmental and social problems. In contrast to sprawl, many people throughout the world have viewed land as a scarce commodity to be protected and used wisely. Increased mass transit use and controlled or decreased automobile use can help to alleviate many of the problems of sprawl, particularly environmental, health and social effects (Kenworthy, 1996). Most developing countries have yet to reach a high level of automobile ownership, although they are experiencing rapid urban growth. As economies develop, however, there is a tendency for more private automobiles. Thus, investment in effective urban mass transit systems can be an important tool in making wise use of the land in the face of increasing urbanization. There is a need to improve urban transportation infrastructure in both developed and developing countries in order to provide fast and efficient transportation alternatives, and to minimize the potential environmental effects of the automobile. Certain transportation systems, such as subway and light rail, may appear to be an ideal solution, but such systems are costly and tied to fixed routes. Thus, cities should do careful planning and budgeting in order to avoid making the costly mistakes of choosing an inappropriate form of mass transit. Lower-cost solutions, such as buses, may prove to be the best answer for cities in developing countries, especially in the early stages of urbanization. Of the various options available for public transportation, efficient bus systems can be effective and affordable. Although taking no more roadway space than two cars, buses can carry as many as 80 passengers in peak hours (Asif Faiz, et al., 1990). Nevertheless, many existing bus systems are outdated, noisy, uncomfortable and polluting, so it is important to look at new technologies as cities seek to improve their mass transit systems. Investment in public mass transit has shown to attract new users by making it easy to use and competitive with the automobile (Bolade, 1993). This is especially important in urbanizing, developing countries, where new transit users are likely to be former pedestrians or bicyclists.

#### Transit leads to urban density

Rodrigue et al 9 (Jean-Paul, Professor in the Department of Global Studies and Geography at Hofstra University, Claude Comtois, professor of Geography at the University of Montreal, Brian Slack, professor at Concordia University, “The Geography of Transport Systems,” Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, May 18, 2009, p. 223.) CO

Urbanization has been one of the dominant contemporary processes as a growing share of the global population lives in cities. Considering this trend, urban transportation issues are of foremost importance to support the passengers and freight mobility requirements of large urban agglomerations. Transportation in urban areas is highly complex because of the modes involved, the multitude of origins and destinations, and the amount and variety of traffic. Traditionally, the focus of urban transportation has been on passengers as cities were viewed as locations of utmost human interactions with intricate traffic patterns linked to commuting, commercial transactions and leisure/cultural activities. However, cities are also locations of production, consumption and distribution, activities linked to movements of freight. Conceptually, the urban transport system is intricately linked with urban form and spatial structure. Urban transit is an important dimension of mobility, notably in high density areas. To understand the complex relationships between transportation and land use and to help the urban planning process, several models have been developed.

# AT State Circumvention

#### State compliance is normal means. The federal government gives funding with designated use to the states in the squo

Atlanta Regional Commission No Date (“Financing Transportation” <http://www.atlantaregional.com/transportation/financing-transportation>) APB

As the federally-designated metropolitan planning organization (MPO) of the Atlanta Region, ARC selects projects of significant regional benefit to be funded by a portion of the Federal transportation funds that are authorized for the Region. Additionally ARC ensures that the long-range Regional Transportation Plan (RTP) remains fiscally constrained per Federal guidelines—meaning that the total costs of all projects to be completed within the 30-year time horizon never exceed the anticipated levels of available funding. An estimated $1.5-$2 billion annually—depending on economic and fiscal conditions—is spent on transportation in the Atlanta Region. Funding for transportation in the Region is derived from various sources on the federal, state, regional, and local levels. Federal Funding An estimated $600 million to $800 million of transportation funding in the Region—comprising an average 35 percent of all transportation funding in the Region— is derived from the Federal government. Federal funding for transportation is authorized through a transportation bill which sets upper limits on funding by categories for both highways and transit facilities. Revenues to support Federal spending on transportation stem from the Highway Trust Fund—which is supported by a national fuel tax (18.4 cents per gallon on gasoline and 24.4 cents per gallon on diesel fuel). The Highway Trust Fund is comprised of two accounts: Highway Account (administered by FHWA) Mass Transit Account (administered by FTA) The highway account is the larger of the two accounts with a monetary value of roughly 71% of the total Highway Trust Fund value.

#### States conform to federal government grant use requirements in the squo, Transparency Act ensures

AASHTO 10 (“Implications for State DOTs of Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act Data Reporting Requirements Briefing Report: Executive Summary” <http://www.transportation.org/sites/SOFMA/docs/Updated%20FFATA%20Briefing.pdf>) APB

At the direction of Congress, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) recently launched a major new Federal government-wide grant-reporting requirement that has significant implications for state DOTs. As per Transparency Act language, all state DOTs must report information about the name, amount and location of every new federally funded sub-award they issue within 30 days of the end of the month in which an award was made. In addition, OMB requires reporting on senior executive compensation levels for recipients of selected sub-awards. For state DOTs, the new Transparency Act requirements will require reporting on all sub-awards issued to other public agencies, including MPOs, local governments, transit agencies and other public entities based on the interpretation published by FHWA on October 20th, 2010 and available at http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/transparencyact/qandas.htm. Data that states report will be stored and displayed in a searchable database at OMB’s USAspending.gov website. Reporting requirements are separate from those required for ARRA and new ARRA-funded transportation projects are excluded from the Transparency Act requirements. FHWA is beginning to develop a reporting process that meets OMB’s requirements. Creating a satisfactory reporting process will require partnership between FHWA and state DOTs. The new reporting requirements will necessitate that state DOTs dedicate staff time and financial resources - initially to adapting their existing data collection systems to track the new Transparency Act-related information and subsequently to reporting it on an ongoing monthly basis. The extent to which FHWA will be able to pre-populate the reporting system with data from existing systems will affect the additional level of effort required.

# Solvency - Planning

#### Democratically accountable planning solves

Swanstrom and Barrett 7 (Todd, Professor in Community Collaboration at Saint Louis University, and Laura, Public Policy and Executive Director of Transportation Equity Network, “The Road to Jobs: The Flight for Transportation Equity”, Social Policy, 37(3/4), p. 76) DMD

Federal transportation policies are not easy to organize around. For over half a century, a growth machine has dominated federal highway policies, cemented (so to speak) by jobs, campaign contributions, and advance knowledge of highway locations. Swimming in a murky alphabet soup of acronyms (ISTEA, SAFETEA-LU, STP, CMAQ, MPO, etc.) federal transportation policies have often been invisible, and unaccountable, to the citizens. If transportation policies were more democratically accountable, they could have great potential for community based organizations (CBOs). Transportation touches every aspect of our lives. It connects people to jobs and other opportunities, like schools, recreation, and culture. Households without access to a car must rely upon public transit that has always had to wait in line behind highways to receive federal funds. The federal bias toward highways is a major cause of suburban sprawl. Highways encourage job flight to the suburbs, leaving behind city and inner suburban neighborhoods with high unemployment.

#### Community involvement solves inequality best—empirics

Swanstrom and Barrett 7 (Todd, Professor in Community Collaboration at Saint Louis University, and Laura, Public Policy and Executive Director of Transportation Equity Network, “The Road to Jobs: The Flight for Transportation Equity”, Social Policy, 37(3/4), p. 76) DMD

The potential of tapping large transportation projects to provide jobs for disadvantaged communities was demonstrated by the L.A. Aiameda Corridor project in the late 1990s. At $2.2 billion, the Alameda Corridor project was the nation's largest intermodal transportation project and it ran through some of the poorest neighborhoods in Los Angeles. CBOs in the path of the project knew that their communities would be disrupted by the construction and they wanted to make sure that they would benefit as well. In September 1997, an alliance of about 40 CBOs - led by Mary Ochs of the Center for Community Change L.A. office, Dennis Rockway of the Legal Aid Foundation and Benctta Johnson of the Greater Bethany Economic Development Corporation — created the Alameda Corridor Jobs Coalition (ACJC), a 501c(3). On March 12, 1998 ACJC announced an historic agreement guaranteeing that at least 30 percent of the work hours in the project would be reserved for residents of the 30 zip codes that bordered the project. Dennis Rockway of the Legal Aid Foundation of Long Beach called this "the largest local hiring plan of any public works project in the history of the United States." The agreement called for 650 pre-apprenticeship training slots for construction trades. The pre-apprenticeship programs provided short-term training for acquiring the skills necessary to enter an apprenticeship program, such as basic math and how to handle tools.

#### Grassroots generated policies solve

Swanstrom and Barrett 7 (Todd, Professor in Community Collaboration at Saint Louis University, and Laura, Public Policy and Executive Director of Transportation Equity Network, “The Road to Jobs: The Flight for Transportation Equity”, Social Policy, 37(3/4), p. 76) DMD

Rich Stolz of the Center for Community Change (CCC) had long recognized the potential benefits that federal transportation policy could provide for CBOs. Founded in 1968, CCC provides technical assistance to community groups advocating for urban and rural poor and lobbies at the national level to make government more responsive to the needs of the poor. In 1997, Stolz helped create the Transportation Equity Network (TEN), a coalition of 300 grassroots groups that included Smart Growth America and the Gamaliel Foundation, a diverse network of 1,600 faith congregations. TEN works to make federal transportation law more responsive to the needs of the poor and minorities. TEN has worked to reframe national transportation policy away from an exclusive focus on moving people and goods to viewing transportation policy as having multiple goals, including community revitalization, poverty' reduction, and improving the environment. TEN is an example of the supposedly difficult-to-sustain red-green coalition, a network focused on issues of equity but joined by typically more middle-class groups concerned about the environment and quality of life issues. Federal transportation law is reauthorized, or rewritten, every six years. TEN won a number of victories in the 1998 reauthorization of federal transportation law, called TEA-21 and this success continued in the next battle of reauthorization. Finally, on August 10, 2005, President Bush signed the Safe Accountable Flexible and Efficient Transportation Equity Act — A Legacy for Users (SAFETEA^LU), the nation's new $286 billion transportation law. Like the 1998 law, the new law included several TEN priorities: • Improving the Job Access and Reverse Commute (JARC) Program by making it a formula grant with a guaranteed $700 million over six years; • Requiring public participation plans to be developed with the involvement of local residents in the metropolitan transportation planning process, and requiring greater financial transparency; and • Setting aside $1 million each year for transportation equitj' research demonstration programs.

# Solvency - MPOs

#### Shifting to regional governance allows better solvency

Gerber and Gibson 9, (Elisabeth R.,Professor of Public Policy, Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy; Research Associate, Center for Political Studies, and Clark C., Department Chair Professor of Political Science Director of International Studies Ph.D. Duke University, 1995 Comparative Politics, Political Economy, “Balancing Regionalism and Localism: How Institutions and Incentives Shape American Transportation Policy,” American Journal, 53(3), pg. 633-648, June)

Regional governance institutions are one important class of governance arrangements. Created to coordinate the efforts of two or more governments in the planning and/or provision of public policies, regional governance institutions hold significant policymaking responsibilities in a wide range of policy areas in the United States, including economic development, land use, resource management, transportation, housing, information, emergency preparedness, public safely, and human services. They currently distribute hundreds of billions of federal, state. and local public dollars annually (NARC 2007).1 Advocates of regional governance argue that relative to local government policymaking, such regional arrangements bring together a wider range of stakeholders and allow for a closer alignment between the level of decision-making authority and the scope of a policy outcome's impact (Foster 2001). Expanding the scope of conflict to a regional level may be desirable for groups that were previously excluded under local decision-making institutions, as it provides additional venues to express and advance their interests (Schattschneider 1961).

#### MPOs key to the US National Transportation System

Gerber and Gibson 9, (Elisabeth R.,Professor of Public Policy, Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy; Research Associate, Center for Political Studies, and Clark C., Department Chair Professor of Political Science Director of International Studies Ph.D. Duke University, 1995 Comparative Politics, Political Economy, “Balancing Regionalism and Localism: How Institutions and Incentives Shape American Transportation Policy,” American Journal, 53(3), pg. 633-648, June)

We focus our empirical analysis on MPOs for a number of reasons. First, in terms of substantive importance, MPOs are a common and important form of regional governance that has received little scholarly attention. MPOs allocate hundreds of billions of dollars in federal funds each year and are key players in the planning and implementation of the U.S. national transportation system. MPO decisions result in real and significant consequences for individuals and communities. Second, MPOs have a good deal of discretion over exactly how to allocate the funds they receive.7 While the federal government places certain restrictions on funding categories, MPOs spend their monies on a wide variety of projects, both within and between these categories. Third, MPOs provide unique analytical advantages. MPOs exist in all 50 states, allowing a multistate analysis that captures significant variation in the composition of decision-making bodies, the institutional structures that define the organizations, and the social, political, economic, and legal contexts in which MPOs operate. At the same time, however, MPOs are sufficiently similar to one another in terms of their structures, resources, mandates, and activities so as to limit the number of variables necessary to explain and understand variation in their activities and policy outputs. MPOs differ in several ways from many other common forms of regional governance, but we believe that studying them allows us to explore some of the most important examples of regionalism while allowing enough variety to produce generalizable results.8

#### Regional Policies solve inequity caused by poor infrastructure.

Bullard 7, (Robert Doyle, Dean of the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at [Texas Southern University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_Southern_University). Previously Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at [Clark Atlanta University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Atlanta_University), father of environmental justice, “Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity”) DMD

For generations, coming to the United States has meant that no matter what your social standing, religion, race, ethnicity, or political beliefs, you could attain the good life if you worked hard and played by the rules. Today, equal access to opportunities and fair play continue to be cherished American values, and we all believe that opportunities such as education, health care, housing, and jobs should be within reach for everyone. But for many people, the American dream is difficult to attain because opportunities are literally out of reach. Decades of runaway sprawl development have resulted in a geographically segregated society in which relatively affluent people, businesses, and economic opportunities have relocated from older areas to newer sprawling communities. PolicyLink founder Angela Blackwell (2002) illustrates this dramatically by noting that "when we finally gained access to better schools and hospitals, the good schools and hospitals moved away. When we got a shot at decent housing and jobs, the good housing and jobs went away." How can we ensure that lower-income people—the ones who get left behind in older communities—can have an equal shot at the American dream if metropolitan sprawl continues its outward expansion, and takes jobs and wealth along with it? Despite such disturbing trends, some glimmers of hope suggest that through coalition building and smart regional policies, we can make progress toward this goal.

#### MPOs are key to solving the status quo inequities created by local and state governments.

Bullard 7, (Robert Doyle, Dean of the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at [Texas Southern University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_Southern_University). Previously Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at [Clark Atlanta University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Atlanta_University), father of environmental justice, “Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity”) DMD

Surface transportation policies at the local, regional, state, and national levels have a direct impact on urban land use and development patterns. The types of transportation facilities and services in which public funds are invested provide varying levels of access to meet basic social and economic needs. The way regions develop land dictates the need for certain types of transportation, and on the other hand, the transportation options in which regions invest influence patterns of urban development. While many lament the trend toward suburban sprawl as damaging to the environment or unaesthetic, those who support social equity should also be concerned about the associated impacts. Substantial investment in highway development and other transportation programs that encourage private automobile use has supported low-density developments that extend increasingly farther and farther from the central city, and to residential and commercial areas that are increasingly spread out, producing "edgeless cities" (Lang 2003). In addition to being costly to state and local governments, transportation policies that encourage these growth patterns play a substantial role in producing some indirect, negative social and economic effects, including perpetuating residential segregation and exacerbating the inability of minorities to access entry-level employment, which is increasingly found in suburban areas. MPOs are well suited to provide leadership in the areas of metropolitan development and civil rights

#### **MPOs are key in transportation planning and social equity**

Bullard 7, (Robert Doyle, Dean of the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at [Texas Southern University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_Southern_University). Previously Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at [Clark Atlanta University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Atlanta_University), father of environmental justice, “Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity”) DMD

The federal role in transportation expanded substantially during the second half of the twentieth century. The interstate highway program of the 1950s was followed by an ambitious mass transit initiative during the 1960s and 1970s. As federally supported large central city projects. federal programs included requirements for project review at the metropolitan level. MPOs were established to perform a key role in regional transportation planning, and federal transportation laws created and heavily funded these regional planning bodies to coordinate federal transportation programs. During the final decade of the twentieth century, MPOs assumed responsibilities beyond transportation planning with one of the new planning requirements being social equity, also known as environmental justice, to be included as provisions of regional plans.

#### MPOs have a superior structure to state governments

Bullard 7, (Robert Doyle, Dean of the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at [Texas Southern University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_Southern_University). Previously Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at [Clark Atlanta University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Atlanta_University), father of environmental justice, “Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity”) DMD

There is considerable potential for MPOs to efficiently and effectively confront questions of equity within metropolitan areas. The structure of MPOs is such that political and geographic fragmentation can be reduced, eroding the potential for continued housing market segregation, economic and social segregation in schools, and increasing suburban affluence at the expense of central city infrastructure and other public services (powell and Graham 2002). One challenge for MPOs is coordinating local government competition while at the same time maintaining standards of fairness and equity relative to transportation investments.

MPOs only need federal funding

Bullard 7, (Robert Doyle, Dean of the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at [Texas Southern University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_Southern_University). Previously Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at [Clark Atlanta University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Atlanta_University), father of environmental justice, “Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity”) DMD

ISTEA made MPOs primarily responsible for planning and allocating transportation funding in metropolitan areas by providing funds directly to them. Although MPOs have been in existence since the 1950s, generally operating as either a subdivision of state DOTs or a function of a regional COG, ISTEA and the USDOT's implementing regulations made them more influential, and gave them uniform functions and responsibilities. ISTEA also broadened the membership of the policy-setting boards of MPOs governing large areas, requiring that they include representatives from local governments in the region, agencies operating major transportation systems, and state officials. ISTEA and its implementing regulations required MPOs and state planning agencies to develop twenty-year regional plans outlining in detail the priorities, policies, and strategies for the region's transportation system. MPOs were also required to prepare, with community involvement, a TIP listing the transportation projects that would be undertaken within three years.

#### **Giving more power to regional planning groups solves social equity**

Bullard 7, (Robert Doyle, Dean of the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at [Texas Southern University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_Southern_University). Previously Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at [Clark Atlanta University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Atlanta_University), father of environmental justice, “Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity”) DMD

While state DOTs control the majority of overall transportation planning decisions, MPOs play an important role in shaping urban transportation policies that affect the major concentrations of population within states that also include significant numbers of minorities and low-income individuals. Both of these organizations can play an increasingly crucial part in promoting social equity through the broad view of social inclusion.1 Some argue that transportation service provision, the consequences of interaction between land use and transportation decisions, and issues of spatial equity are effectively addressed on a regional basis and at appropriate stages in the planning process. To be effective, this requires balancing the roles of state, regional, and local planning agencies through a coordination mechanism that does not currently exist.

#### **A stronger Federal role with the MPOs will solve**

McDowell 99, (Dr. Bruce D., AICP Intergovernmental Management Associates, “Improving Regional Transportation Decisions: MPOs and Certification”, September, http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/reports/1999/9/transportation%20mcdowell/mcdowell.pdf) DMD

Federal field personnel who can represent both highway and transit programs, and perhaps also the various modes of freight transportation, should attend MPO meetings regularly, actively participate in MPO deliberations, help to bridge gaps between the MPO and SDOT and between the states in interstate areas, and help make the link back to federal strategic planning. In this kind of role, they would be in a position to be part of the MPO process rather than just an outside observer prone to second-guess the results after the fact. It would be expected that the federal member(s), being a full participant, would abide by the MPO decisions, unless the MPOs actions were clearly in violation of federal law. This approach could reduce paperwork and delays in the work of the MPOs and help make MPO decisions less subject to being overturned upon later review. Many federal employees might need a culture change to fit into this new role. It is very different from the typical compliance-checking role that is common today. Guidelines for taking on such a role have been prepared by the National Academy of Public Administration." Necessary changes aside, there is evidence that such a process could work. In the Chicago area, which has one of only four relatively new joint FHWA-FTA metropolitan offices, the federal highway and transit representatives have been attending and participating in MPO meetings regularly, along with SDOT representatives. As a result, the revised plan and new TIP prepared by one of the region's MPOs were approved by both the state and the federal government within five days after they were adopted by the MPO.41 This quick action was unprecedented and was a dramatic tum-around from recent experience in that region.

# Politics Link Turns

### Plan Popular - CBC

The 2013 Congressional Black Caucus budget proves members support public and urban transit policies
CBC 11 (Congressional Black Caucus, Alternative Budget Fiscal Year 2012: The Responsible Path Towards Investing in America, April 14, 2011, [http://thecongressionalblackcaucus.com/wp-content/uploads/budget-breakdown.pdf](file:///C%3A%5CUsers%5CSteve%20Pointer%5CDesktop%5CGolden%20Spike%20Lab%5CProcess%5C%22), pg. 8) PCS

The CBC Budget provides additional funding for this function to apply towards NASA Aeronautics Research; the Grants-in-Aid for Airports program; the National Infrastructure Bank; Bus and Rail State of Good Repair; Urbanized Area Transit Formula Grants, Amtrak; Public Transit, Highways, Aviation, Ports, Railroads, Bridges**,** and other infrastructure investments. The CBC Budget also invests a significant portion of this increase towards the President’s goal of a nationwide high-speed rail network. Increased and sustained investments in transportation and infrastructure projects will create jobs and help accelerate our economic recovery.

The CBC supports spending in infrastructure projects
CBC 11 (Congressional Black Caucus, Commission on Budget Deficit, Economic Crisis, and Wealth Creation Report, February 15, 2011, <http://thecongressionalblackcaucus.com/wp-content/uploads/BudgetCommissionReportFinal1.pdf>, pg. 16) PCS

Crafted by Rep. Bobby Scott, the Congressional Black Caucus budget also increased spending in education, job training, infrastructure and advanced research. It went on to restore the spending for community development grants that President Obama cut from his budget, made no cuts to Medicaid and Medicare and increased revenue through taxes on capital gains, a tax on those making over $1 million and the closing of corporate tax loopholes. "The members of the Congressional Black Caucus believe that budgets serve as a window into the moral compass of a nation's conscience -- and our nation's compass is horribly off," said a CBC release. "Recklessly cutting vital programs like job training, education and health care to millions of hardworking American families is not a road map to balancing the budget."

The Congressional Black Caucus’s budget reflects strong support for transportation investment
Fudge 12 (Marsha, Representative from Ohio’s 11th Congressional District, member of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressional Black Caucus Alternative 2013 Budget, Project Vote Smart, March 26, 2012, <http://votesmart.org/public-statement/682512/congressional-black-caucus-alternative-2013-budget>) PCS

A budget, Mr. Speaker, is a reflection of priorities. It exemplifies objectives and goals**.** The Republicans' priorities are clear:cut taxes for the most wealthy Americans while achieving deficit reduction through drastic spending cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, SNAP, and other important programs. The Republican budget would abandon the economic recovery we are in and implement policies that ship American jobs overseas. It would assume deep cuts in transportation spending next year, ignore job creation, and reject sensible proposals for economic growth and future competitiveness. The Congressional Black Caucus will present a budget this week--thank you to my colleague, Mr. Scott--that would protect seniors who rely on Medicare, the disabled who need Medicaid, and the unemployed who would go hungry without SNAP. It would support our economy through investment in transportation and infrastructure and would encourage American innovation. The Republican budget would reject investments in innovation by cutting funding for research and development. It would ignore the benefits of these investments on future generations. Should the Republican budget go into effect, we would miss a great opportunity to support American innovation and to develop emerging technologies that create the jobs of the future**.** In addition, the Republican budget would fail our students by proposing drastic cuts that would devastate education funding and increase costs for college students. It would allow higher interest rates on student loans starting this year and eliminate the income-based repayment plans that help graduates manage their loans.

The CBC supports transportation infrastructure investment- especially policies that benefit unemployment in African American communities
CBC 11 (Congressional Black Caucus, Alternative Budget Fiscal Year 2012: The Responsible Path Towards Investing in America, April 14, 2011, [http://thecongressionalblackcaucus.com/wp-content/uploads/budget-breakdown.pdf](file:///C%3A%5CUsers%5CSteve%20Pointer%5CDesktop%5CGolden%20Spike%20Lab%5CProcess%5C%22), pg.6) PCS

In the name of cutting spending, Republicans in Congress have recklessly swung the axe at programs that help vulnerable Americans. The blade did not spare Community Development Block Grants, food assistance programs like the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program of Women Infants and Children (WIC), and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), community health centers (CHCs), and heating assistance for low-income families (LIHEAP). The Republican Budget all but wipes out these necessary programs at a time when more and more families are being pushed into poverty under the guise of deficit reduction. Controlling the debt and deficit must be a top priority, but it is downright immoral to do it on the backs of the most vulnerable families who struggle to make ends meet every day. The CBC is committed to ensuring that all can share in our recovery. While the improvements thus far in our economy and job market are positive, the most vulnerable throughout the country have yet to feel the benefits of our recovery**.** For instance, while unemployment overall has decreased unemployment in the African American community has increased. Through additional investments above the President’s Budget in transportation, education and job training, and income security programs, the CBC Budget provides states with the resources necessary to continue to preserve the social safety net while promoting sustainable job creation and economic growth. This proposed investment in infrastructure is supported by business, specifically the United States Chamber of Commerce. Specifically, the Chamber states that “without proper investment and attention to our infrastructure systems, the nation’s economic stability, potential for job growth, and global competitiveness are at risk.” The CBC wholeheartedly agrees with the Chamber on this fact and our budget reflects the need to invest in our nation.

CBC Chairperson Emanuel Cleaver supports the plan- equal access to transportation key to solving unemployment
NPR 11 (National Public Radio, Interview with CBC Chair Rep. Emanuel Cleaver: Jobs Take Focus at CBC Legislative Conference, September 21, 2011, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=140666555>) PCS

However, what I learned from that is there's an inextricable connection between jobs and transportation, because the jobs that were already in existence were in locations where those who were unemployed had difficulty reaching. The jobs are being created almost all around the country in the suburban areas, and African-Americans and Latinos - who are at 11.3 unemployment - and they're having difficulty getting from that urban core to the jobs in the suburbs,primarily because most of the cities in the Midwest and in the far West don't have the kind of transportation systems that are available on the East Coast. So, we can't solve the problem of unemployment unless we also solve the problems of transporting individuals from the urban core to the suburbs.

The CBC supports transportation as a way to address economic inopportunity- members support long term investment strategies like the plan
CBC 11 (Congressional Black Caucus, Commission on Budget Deficit, Economic Crisis, and Wealth Creation Report, February 15, 2011, <http://thecongressionalblackcaucus.com/wp-content/uploads/BudgetCommissionReportFinal1.pdf>, pg. 16) PCS

The FY2012 budget should adopt many of the President’s proposals outlined in his 2011 State of the Union address – continued and sustained investments in education, advanced research and development, clean energy, and our nation’s crumbling infrastructure. The United States will not be able to compete in the global economy if we can’t ensure a quality education for every American child, if we can’t effectively address our energy needs, and if we can’t manage to efficiently transport goods and services. The U.S. has a long structural racial inequality problem, particularly in the realm of wealth, which is a paramount indicator of well being, and the only way to address this problem is with public actions. Ironically, the nation’s wealthiest households and corporations have and continue to receive the disproportionate share of public subsidies. Getting the economy moving is the prime way to reduce the deficit. Recognizing this it is vital we bolster economic opportunity for all American’s through both short- and long-term investment – investment that not only improves individual American citizen’s economic opportunity, but expands the productive capacity of the broader American economy. **The current focus on deficit reduction focuses on further limiting government’s spending on programs that generally aid families that need that help the most** and that have received the lest support during the current economic downturn. Efforts to increase savings among the general public through tax reform and policy programs will increase the national saving rate, even while the government invests more to encourage growth. Stabilizing the mortgage crisis and promoting asset development will have the most impact on helping lower and middle class Americans recover from the recession, and in turn help the overall budget deficit picture.

#### Transportation investment in public transit is popular amongst the CBC because of its economic value

CBC 11 (Congressional Black Caucus, Commission on Budget Deficit, Economic Crisis, and Wealth Creation Report, February 15, 2011, <http://thecongressionalblackcaucus.com/wp-content/uploads/BudgetCommissionReportFinal1.pdf>, pg. 16) PCS

Likewise, increased economic productivity hinges upon progress in revitalizing our nation’s infrastructure. As a string of recent tragedies suggests, vital sectors of the US infrastructure are crumbling. Investing in roads, dams, sewers, bridges and ports—the life- blood of daily commerce—is one of the most efficient means to rapidly boost economic growth. For example, investments in transportation infrastructure have produced demonstrable economic ripple effects. It is estimated that for each billion dollars spent on transportation infrastructure, 47,000 jobs are created. Mark Zandi, a leading economist, determined that every one dollar invested in infrastructure yields $1.57 of additional economic benefit. Improvements in transit systems are also critical in order to secure gains in the quality of life of millions of working Americans. Public transit is obviously cheaper than owning and operating a vehicle. The rising cost of maintaining a vehicle—fuel and parking, for instance—makes public transit an even more vital resource for low-income populations. Modernizing and expanding transit systems could help these populations to save money and provide them access to employment opportunities across greater distances. The President’s commitment in the State of the Union Address to provide 80% of Americans access to high-speed rail within the next 25 years is a pioneering step in the right direction.

### CBC – Fed Action Key

#### Federal government action is key- CBC agrees NPR 11 (National Public Radio*, Interview with CBC Chair Rep. Emanuel Cleaver: Jobs Take Focus at CBC Legislative Conference*, September 21, 2011, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=140666555>) PCS

MARTIN: And is that a policy issue? CLEAVER: Well, I do think that there's a policy issue in here. One is that we've got to start putting more money into UMTA, the Urban Mass Transit Administration. MARTIN: I guess what you're saying is you do see opportunities here for government entities to be helpful. CLEAVER: This is one of the reasons we have a federal government. The federal government is the only system of government that will be able to help in dealing with this problem, moving people to where the jobs are. MARTIN: And if you're just joining us, we're speaking with Congressman Emanuel Cleaver. He's the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, which is known as the CBC. We're talking about jobs and other issues, which are on the agenda of the Congressional Black Caucus' annual legislative conference, which kicks off today. You were quoted by the McClatchy newspaper service as saying that "if Bill Clinton had been in the White House and had failed to address this problem, we probably would be marching on the White House."

### CBC Key to Agenda

#### The CBC has influence on legislation due to high-ranking officials and clear set goals Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies 10 (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, ***Congressional Black Caucus Wields Increasing Power***, March 2010, [**http://www.jointcenter.org/research/congressional-black-caucus-wields-increasing-power**](http://www.jointcenter.org/research/congressional-black-caucus-wields-increasing-power))

As it celebrates its 40th anniversary, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) has set an ambitious agenda for the new Congress. With a former member of the CBC serving as the President of the United States and other members serving esteemed roles in Congress, the CBC is in a position to have extraordinary influence on key legislation during the next two years**.** The Chair of Congressional Black Caucus, Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA), told FOCUS in an exclusive interview that the Caucus priorities for the 111th Congress will include economic recovery, poverty relief, job creation, health care reform, the 2010 Census and global security. She called the economic recovery package, which had passed the House and was pending in the Senate at the time of this writing, “an excellent start,” noting the loss of three million jobs in the current downturn and its disproportionate impact on the African American community in terms of foreclosures and job losses. But the Congresswoman added that “some of us thought it should have been a trillion dollars plus” package. She also indicated that members of the Caucus were not pleased with some of the tax cuts that had been included in the package for the purpose of attracting Republican votes. Ultimately, the bill passed the House without a single Republican member voting for it.

#### There’s a high potential for the Black Caucus to exercise influence due to their size and sustainable membership- Clyburn appointment proves Dade 10 (Corey, national correspondent for the NPR Digital News team, 15 years of journalism experience, writes news analysis about federal policy, national politics, social trends, and cultural issues, *Black Caucus Flexes Muscle in Dispute With Pelos*i, NPR News, November 16, 2010, <http://www.npr.org/2010/11/16/131370775/black-caucus-flexes-muscle-in-dispute-with-pelosi>) PCS

House Democratic leaders have yet to satisfy the demands of African-American lawmakers that Rep. James Clyburn of South Carolina be given real authority as the third-ranking Democrat under Pelosi once the party returns to the minority in January. Some caucus members have suggested that they might side with moderate Democrats in a vote to restrict Pelosi's power if she doesn't clearly define the proposed role she has created for Clyburn, the highest-ranking African-American lawmaker in Congress. For the time being, the black caucus has decided to withhold its approval of the Pelosi leadership team. The maneuver signals the potential for the Congressional Black Caucus to wield more intraparty influence after becoming one of the few Democratic contingents to survive the Nov. 2 elections with its membership intact. After the Republican wave decimated the ranks of Blue Dogs and moderates, the black caucus's 41 House members will make up nearly a quarter of that chamber's Democrats in the new Congress.

### CBC Key to Election

#### The Congressional Black Caucus are key to recapturing pivotal votes that were lost in the 2010 mid-term elections

Dade 10 (Corey, national correspondent for the NPR Digital News team, 15 years of journalism experience, writes news analysis about federal policy, national politics, social trends, and cultural issues, Black Caucus Flexes Muscle in Dispute With Pelosi, NPR News, November 16, 2010, <http://www.npr.org/2010/11/16/131370775/black-caucus-flexes-muscle-in-dispute-with-pelosi>) PCS

The caucus members' greatest impact may be seen outside the Capitol leading up to 2012. They will be counted on to help generate large turnouts of black voters, who will be pivotal in helping to re-elect President Obama and in the Democrats' aim to retake the House. Senior analyst David Bositis, at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, estimates that roughly 35 million people who voted for Obama in 2008 didn't vote in November — presenting a potentially captive audience for Democrats. Their ability to turn out black voters also will be a critical part of the Democrats' strategy of retaking moderate congressional districts won by Republicans this year. Higher black turnout on Nov. 2 might have prevented nearly two dozen seats from going to the GOP, according to Bositis and some Democratic strategists. Clyburn, in a letter written to fellow House members accepting Pelosi's offer to remain on her team, addressed the potential strength of the black and Hispanic caucuses: "The road back to the majority runs largely through these caucuses and the communities they represent."

### Politics – Link Turn – African American vote

#### Obama will not get black vote now, needs policy geared specifically to African Americans, key to re-election

Mercury News 6/8 (Laura Chilaka, Staff writer, “Obama losing support among African Americans; women, gays, lesbians pleased with his recent work,” <http://www.mercurynews.com/breaking-news/ci_20815049/obama-losing-support-among-african-americans-women-gays>) APB

WASHINGTON — President Obama pleased gays and lesbians when he endorsed same-sex marriage. He thrilled women when he signed the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. But when it comes to African Americans, a group that gave Obama 96 percent of its votes, there is disappointment over what many believe is the president’s failure to address their concerns. With black unemployment at 14 percent — nearly double the rate among whites — and a steep rise in rise in poverty and incarceration rates, many blacks are expressing frustration at the president’s leadership. While no one expects African Americans to make an exodus to presumptive Republican nominee Mitt Romney, there is concern among Democrats over whether Obama will benefit from as large a turnout and the same level of enthusiasm as he enjoyed in 2008. An analysis by the California News Service shows that had blacks voted for Obama at the same rate they did for John Kerry four years earlier, Obama would have lost in North Carolina and Virginia. BLACK SUPPORT FALLING African American support for the president is the highest out of any subgroup polled by Gallup at 88 percent, but it has dropped eight points since Obama took office in January 2009. The California News analysis found that Obama would have prevailed in most swing states even with lower levels of black support. However, if the race tightens in states like Ohio and Florida, both with over 10 percent of black voters, the size of African American turnout could be crucial. David Bositis, who studies African American voting patterns at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, said Obama will need strong black support to keep several states in “the Democratic column.” Obama helped fuel high expectations among African Americans during his presidential campaign, and he received more black votes than any candidate in history. After Obama was elected, polls showed that African-Americans looked at themselves differently. A January 2010 Pew survey revealed huge optimism. The percentage of African Americans who thought blacks were better off than they were five years before nearly doubled. Yet Obama, whether by accident or design, has not made race a focal point of his presidency. The lack of policies specifically geared toward African Americans have many blacks — who are regarded as the most loyal Democratic constituency — angered that their votes are being taken for granted. The frustration was piqued by the president’s same-sex marriage endorsement, which did not play as well among African Americans as the rest of the Democratic base. “I cannot support him,” said Emmett Burns, an African American state legislator representing an overwhelmingly black district in Baltimore County when asked about Obama’s policy on same-sex marriage. “He has taken the black vote and people for granted.” ECONOMIC BURDEN African Americans have suffered in the current economy. The black unemployment rate remains higher than the national average in all 50 states, according to an analysis released by the Economic Policy Institute. The unemployment rate among black Californians is more than 20 percent, as compared to 10 percent for whites and 9 percent for Asians. More than one third of African Americans live below the poverty line, according to the Kaiser Family Foundation. And the U.S. Bureau of Justice estimated in 2008 that there were over 846,000 black men in prison, making up 40 percent of all inmates. Obama has had few announcements aimed specifically at African Americans, though his stimulus bill gave $850 million to historically black colleges. Many of Obama’s advocates — including the president himself — say that he must be president of all Americans and not just a subgroup. However, they point out that many of his policies have greatly benefited African Americans. “The stimulus saved literally thousands and thousands of black jobs,” Bositis said. “When money ran out and the federal government stopped providing money to states, state governments fired workers. There has been over a million people fired from state and local governments, and a lot of those have been black.” In August 2010, the president signed the Fair Sentencing Act which addressed the issue of crime and punishment in the black community, reducing the glaring disparity in punishment for those charged with crack offenses and those with powder cocaine offenses. Some felt he was acting on behalf of a particular group when he endorsed gay marriage last month, a position which is much less popular among blacks than the rest of the Democratic base. “Obama has done irreconcilable harm to himself. Black voters will sit it out — they will not vote for Romney — they will sit it out, like I am going to do,” Burns said. African Americans have traditionally voted overwhelmingly Democratic. In 2004, John Kerry received 88 percent of the African American vote. In 2000, Al Gore received 90 percent. Bositis said that African Americans’ distance from the Republican Party was cemented by the politics of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. “There has been a slow but steady movement of Southern white conservatives to the Republican Party — these are the same people who discriminated against black people. Blacks are not going to vote for a party that is dominated by their worst enemies,” Bositis said. GOP PUSH However, the Republican Party has made a push for the black vote this upcoming election. The GOP has created an outreach program to recruit more black voters, including launching a new website that features testimonials from the party’s most prominent black elected officials — Florida Rep. Allen West, South Carolina Rep. Tim Scott and Florida Lt. Gov. Jennifer Carroll. At the same time Republicans have introduced numerous voter identification laws, which critics charge are aimed at preventing minorities from turning out to the polls. Eight states adopted laws last year requiring voters to present state-issued photo IDs when they arrive at the polls, a constraint which has a disproportionate affect on minorities. African American voter registration has dropped seven percent since 2008, according to the US Census Bureau. Harris, who recently wrote a piece for the Washington Post entitled “Still Waiting for Our First Black President,” believes that Obama needs to do more overtly for the black community. “On the one hand, the president and his administration have a philosophy of universal approaches — that is pushing public policy to attract everyone — but that is only one strategy and for the black community there needs to be multiple strategies,” Harris said. Harris also said that African Americans must pressure the Obama administration into pursuing a “target policy” — pushing policies that target specific groups — rather than waiting for the president to do it himself. “If you look at other constituencies that lobby government officials for support of legislation, they don’t just stop at members of Congress or state and local governments, they also challenge the White House,” he said. “The problem is that black advocates aren’t asking the president to do anything.”

### Turnout Key- African Americans

#### African American voter turnout key to Obama win

Babb 5/14/12

 (MacKenzie C. Babb, Staff Writer, “African-American Voters Set to Play Key Role in November Election” <<http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2012/05/201205145640.html#axzz1z530AFkm>>

Washington — African-American voters are set to play a key role in the November presidential election, continuing a trend of increased black voter turnout that helped to secure Barack Obama the presidency in 2008 over opponent John McCain. “White voters preferred McCain to Obama 53 to 47 percent,” said Lorenzo Morris, an expert on African-American political participation, during a Washington Foreign Press Center briefing May 4. “High black voter turnout in 2008, the highest ever and the highest of any minority group, was at 65 percent [and] helped to make the difference” in tipping the scales for Obama’s victory. Morris, a political science professor at Howard University in Washington, said that while turnout has not been historically high among black voters, it has recently begun to see steady growth. He added that he expects turnout among minority voters in November to drop only slightly from 2008. The political scientist said Obama has not been as popular as many expected during his historic presidential term, in part because has not met the expectations of the most liberal Democrats. “However, he has retained almost unilateral appeal within the black community,” Morris said, adding that this popularity will be key to mobilizing minority voters who could once again be the election’s deciding factor. He said most African-American voters, along with other minority voters, maintain an ideological position that is “relatively far to the left,” leading the majority of these voters to cast ballots for Democrats. Political analyst Larry Sabato said that in recent years, black voters have chosen Democratic candidates at between 90 percent and 95 percent. During a May 9 interview, the University of Virginia professor said this trend was especially pronounced in the 2008 presidential election. “Not surprisingly, given the historic candidacy of Barack Obama, African-American turnout was up, comprising about 13 percent of the national total, and Obama received over 95 percent of the vote to McCain’s 4 percent,” Sabato said. “In 2012, I expect the numbers to be roughly similar.” But Sabato said African-American voters have not always leaned to the left. He said following the Civil War, African Americans with the right to vote tended to vote Republican — the party of President Abraham Lincoln. “President Lyndon B. Johnson changed all that with his championing of President John F. Kennedy’s Civil Rights Act in 1964; Johnson received 96 percent of the black vote that year,” Sabato said. “Now the black vote is critical to Democratic chances in any state with a substantial black population.” Johnson, Morris noted, was also the only Democratic presidential candidate to win the majority of white votes since World War II; white voters have favored Republican candidates in all other postwar presidential races. “Without minority voters, no Democrat is going to get into the White House,” Morris said. The two analysts said that while minority voter turnout is difficult to predict at this early stage, it will likely once again be a key factor in deciding the election.

### Plan Popular – Chamber of Commerce

#### The Chamber of Commerce loves the plan – will lobby to support itU.S. Chamber of Commerce 12 (United States Chamber of Commerce***, Jobs Agenda: Infrastructure***, 2012, [**http://www.uschamber.com/infrastructure**](http://www.uschamber.com/infrastructure)) PCS

The U.S. Chamber is leading the charge to modernize and expand our nation’s transportation, telecommunications, energy, and water networks. Without proper investment and attention to our infrastructure systems, the nation’s economic stability, potential for job growth, and global competitiveness are at risk. The Facts- Transportation: One-third of major roads are in poor or mediocre condition, 25% of bridges are structurally deficient or functionally obsolete, and the air traffic control system faces a multiyear overhaul. If transportation networks continue to deteriorate, the Chamber’s Transportation Performance Index projects that over the next five years, the economy could forgo as much as $336 billion in lost growth.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce supports legislation regarding public transit because of its ability to steady the economy
U.S. Chamber of Commerce 12 (United States Chamber of Commerce, Jobs Agenda: Infrastructure, 2012, <http://www.uschamber.com/infrastructure>) PCS

Janet Kavinoky, executive director of transportation and infrastructure for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, issued the following statement regarding today’s joint announcement by Senator Barbara Boxer and Congressman John Mica on a path forward for the transportation reauthorization bill: “The U.S. Chamber congratulates Chairmen Boxer and Mica and House and Senate leadership for moving towards a final agreement on the highway and public transportation reauthorization bill. “It is time for Congress to pass a transportation reauthorization bill and send it to the president for his signature. We are increasingly confident that this agreement will include critical reforms that will greatly improve the business of transportation investment in this country. The conference committee appears poised to advance policies that will consolidate overlapping and duplicative federal programs; streamline the project delivery process to shorten project times and save limited federal dollars; give states the flexibility to target federal funds where they are most needed; and increase opportunities for private investment. It is our hope that the Congress will also provide much needed certainty by maintaining funding levels over the next year and a half. “Legislation to improve this country’s transportation system is long overdue and will help stabilize critical parts of the economy and strengthen our competitive edge.” The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is the world’s largest business federation representing the interests of more than 3 million businesses of all sizes, sectors, and regions, as well as state and local chambers and industry associations.

#### Chamber of Commerce will work to spin the plan as a competitiveness measure

U.S. Chamber of Commerce 12 (United States Chamber of Commerce, Multi-Industry Letter on Making Transportation Job #1 in 2012, January 25, 2012, <http://www.uschamber.com/issues/letters/2012/multi-industry-letter-making-transportation-job-1-2012>) PCS

To grow, the United States must invest. There are few federal efforts that rival the potential of critical transportation infrastructure investments for sustaining and creating jobs and economic activity over the short term. Maintaining—and ideally increasing—federal funding for road, bridge, public transportation and safety investments can sustain and create jobs and economic activity in the short-term, and improve America’s export and travel infrastructure, offer new economic growth opportunities, and make the nation more competitive over the long-term. Program reform would make the dollars stretch even further: reducing the time it takes transportation projects to get from start to finish, encouraging public-private partnerships and use of private capital, increasing accountability for using federal funds to address the highest priority needs, and spurring innovation and technology deployment. We recognize there are challenges in finding the resources necessary to adequately fund such a measure. However, with the economic opportunities that a well-crafted measure could afford and emerging political consensus for advancing such an effort, we believe it is time for all involved parties to come together and craft a final product.

### Link Turn – Urban Areas

#### Plan is popular - Urban District representatives prioritize mass public transit.

Sherman et al 12( Jake Congressional reporter for POLITICO , Adam Snider Transportation reporter for POLITICO, Burgess Everett Transportation reporter for POLITICO “Infrastructures long, long road” <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0212/72397.html> )

The road to passing Speaker John Boehner’s energy and infrastructure bill looks to be as bumpy as the highways it’s trying to fix. GOP leaders insist they will bring their energy-expanding and road-building plan to the floor this month, but it’s clear they have a ways to go before uniting the Republican Conference. And thanks to controversial additions like oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and the Keystone XL pipeline, Democrats won’t be any help. In short, the shiny, job-creating object of the GOP’s first-quarter agenda is facing an uphill battle. Concerns span the spectrum. Some rock-ribbed, red-blooded conservatives think the leadership is continuing flawed ways of funding road and bridge repair. “Two-thirds of every dollar collected in the user fee known as gas tax … two-thirds goes to something other than roads and bridges,” said Iowa Rep. Steve King, who thinks too much money goes to mass transit. Members whose districts abut urban areas — like Rep. Mike Fitzpatrick in Philadelphia’s suburbs — fret about the bill shortchanging mass transit. “We need to make sure the way they allocate and the formulas they use don’t negatively impact a robust investment in infrastructure,” Fitzpatrick said. “For a district like I represent … Philadelphia and suburban Philadelphia, access to viable transportation that’s affordable is important.”

#### Public transportation is incredibly popular now.

Equity Caucus as Transportation 11(“Statement by the Equity Caucus at Transportation for America on President Obama's State of the Union Address” pg 1 January 25th 2011 <http://www.wowonline.org/documents/CaucusSOTUStatement.pdf>)

Millions of Americans rely exclusively on public transit, walking, or biking to get to work, to the doctor’s office, to school, and to the grocery store. Nearly 20 percent of African American households, 14 percent of Latino households, and 13 percent of Asian households live without a car. Fifteen percent of Native Americans must travel more than 100 miles to access basic services. Smarter transportation investments can unleash the under-realized economic power of communities across America. We look forward to working with President Obama and Congress to move forward a surface transportation authorization in 2011 with investments that: Create affordable and flexible transportation options for everyone, regardless of income, race, age, disability, or background; Create, protect, and ensure fair access to quality jobs, training, and contracting opportunities in the transportation industry; Promote healthy, safe, and inclusive communities with housing opportunities for families of all incomes; and Encourage fair and transparent investment of public dollars invested in transportation. The American people want these changes, too. A recent Transportation for America poll revealed that more than two-thirds say they “would like more transportation options.” By investing in transportation projects, America can get people back to work now, lay a strong foundation for future economic growth, and expand opportunity for millions of people. But we must target our investments equitably to the people and places that need them the most. Americans are ready to get back to work building our future.

# K of Politics DA

#### By placing other political concerns above the plan, the negative fuels the traditional mode of political thinking that prioritizes the privileged

Bullard et al 4 (Robert Doyle, Glenn Steve Johnson, and Angel O. Torres, Bullard is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism & New Routes to Equity*, p. 9) AH

Transportation planning has duplicated the discrimination used by other racist government institutions and private entities to maintain white privilege. The transportation options that are available to most Americans today were shaped largely by federal policies as well as individual and institutional discrimination. Transportation options are further restricted by both the geographic changes that have taken place in the nation's metropolitan regions and historical job discrimination dictating limited incomes.27 Transportation decision-making is political. Building roads in the job-rich suburbs while at the same time blocking transit from entering these same suburbs are political decisions buttressed by race and class dynamics. In cities and metropolitan regions all across the country, inadequate or nonexistent suburban transit serves as invisible "Keep Out" signs directed against people of color and the poor.

#### The politics DA proves the aff – there is a systemic exclusion in current transportation policy

Bullard et al 4 (Robert Doyle, Glenn Steve Johnson, and Angel O. Torres, Bullard is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism & New Routes to Equity*, p. 9) AH

Conceptually, Highway Robbery extends and expands the analysis put forth in Just Transportation—using the same environmental-justice and transportation-equity lenses -but incorporating the changes and new developments that have taken place since 1997. One book could never tell the many transportation horror stories that exist in this nation, and this one only scratches the surface of this national tragedy. Of the hundreds of books that cover a wide range of transportation topics, few have dared to treat transportation racism as a central theme. Our analysis exposes the nation's dirty secret and forces transportation racism out of the closet. The authors assembled for this volume come from diverse racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds. Whether activist or academic, lawyer or client, planner or resident, personal transportation experience infuses each perspective. In nine chapters, the authors present real case studies that call into question the fairness and legality of many US transportation policies, practices, and procedures. They also question the willingness of government to vigorously enforce existing transportation and civil rights laws with regard to race, color, or national origin. The authors clearly show that the nation is far from achieving colorblind transportation planning and spending in metropolitan regions coast to coast.

## AT: Politics- Critique of Political Capital

#### Conserving political capital is always the excuse for never acting in an oppressed groups interests

Jones, Communications Director for the Human Rights Program @ Harvard Law School, 2009

(Michael A., May 6, *Gayrights.change.org*, “Does Obama have Enough Political Capital to Nominate a Lesbian for the Supreme Court”, <http://gayrights.change.org/blog/view/does_obama_have_enough_political_capital_to_nominate_a_lesbian_for_the_supreme_court> , Accessed: 7/7/2009)

Two of the ugliest words in politics (imho) are "political capital," because they generally are used when a group is about to be thrown under the bus.  We've [heard it used](http://nymag.com/daily/intel/2009/03/obama_to_face_dont_as_dont_tel.html) in debates about overturning "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," as well as when [it comes to other LGBT rights issues](http://www.queerty.com/friday-forum-can-we-start-calling-obama-gay-friendly-yet-20090320/), like repealing the Defense of Marriage Act.

#### Political capital is not an accurate metaphor- the Senate is an inherently conservative institution, and is structured in a way that makes it easy for special interests to block reform. The deck is always stacked against major change, regardless of presidential capital.

Yglesias, Associate Editor of the Atlantic Monthly, 2009

(Matthew, June 15, “The Limits of Political Capital”, <http://yglesias.thinkprogress.org/archives/2009/06/the-limits-of-political-capital.php> Accessed: 7/7/2009)

I think the answer to the puzzle is simply that “political capital” is a pretty misleading metaphor. The fact of the matter is that the Senate is what it is—to wit, an institution with an enormous status quo bias, that’s also biased in favor of conservative areas. On top of that, the entire structure of the US Congress with its bicameralism and multiple overlapping committees is biased toward making it easy for concentrated interests to block reform. Between them, Dianne Feinstein, Barbara Boxer, Chuck Schumer, Kristen Gillibrand, Bill Nelson, Dick Durbin, Roland Burriss, Arlen Specter, Bob Casey, Sherrod Brown, Carl Levin, Amy Klobuchar, Kay Hagan, Bob Menendez, Frank Lautenberg, Mark Warner, Jim Webb, Patty Murray, Maria Cantwell, Ted Kennedy, John Kerry, and Evan Bayh [represent 50 percent of the country’s population](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._states_by_population). But that only adds up to 22 Senators—you need thirty-eight more to pass a bill.

Meanwhile, the fact of the matter is that in recent years plenty of incumbent Republicans have been brought down by primary challenges from the right and as best I know zero Democrats have been brought down by primary challenges from the left. This has been a huge advantage for the Democrats in terms of winning elections—it’s an important part of the reason Democrats have these majorities. But it also means that when it comes to policymaking, Republicans have a lot of solidarity but Democratic leaders have little leverage over individual members. In other words, nobody thinks that Collin Peterson (D-MN) is going to lose his seat over [badly watering down Waxman-Markey](http://wonkroom.thinkprogress.org/2009/06/13/peterson-not-smart/) and that matters a lot more than airy considerations of capital.

#### Political capital is an excuse to rank and choose priorities such that identity politics is always left behind

Ruby-Sachs, J.D. from the University of Toronto and practices civil litigation, 2008

(Emma, 11/24, “[Ranking the Issues: Gay Rights in an Economic Crisis](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/emma-rubysachs/ranking-the-issues-gay-ri_b_146023.html)”, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/emma-rubysachs/ranking-the-issues-gay-ri_b_146023.html>, Accessed: 7/7/2009)

On Friday, [the Washington Times reported](http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/nov/21/obama-to-delay-repeal-of-dont-ask-dont-tell/) that Barack Obama will be waiting until 2010 to push for the end of Don't Ask Don't Tell. Obama staffers say the delay is necessary to allow for consensus building. The move raises a number of questions and concerns. At first brush it seems like smart politics: avoid a Clintonesque botch and give yourself some time to get support before taking on the gay issues. In fact, as a person as well as a lesbian, I find myself worrying more about health care and the economy than the ability of LGBT people to serve openly in the military. But just how should we be ranking identity politics in this grab bag moment of crisis and transition? The classic approach to politics is to rank priorities and measure the finite bowl of political capital. If Obama pushes hard on a [green new deal](http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=548&ArticleID=5957&l=en), he likely won't have much left for universal health care. If he backs off of serious economic regulation, then he might get more support for social programs from Republicans. Because gay civil rights struggles affect fewer individuals and relate to less quantifiable harms, it's hard to justify putting them at the top of the list. The alternative is to reject the ranked priorities political model altogether. There is little evidence that sway and support is finite in the American political system. Political capital relates to the actions of the leader, yes, but can be infinitely large or non-existent at any point in time. In some ways, the more you get done, the more the bowl of capital swells. Ranking America's problems to conserve political influence is a narrow minded approach to solving this crisis. Putting banks at the top of the list avoids the plight of large employers (like car companies - as much as we love to hate their executives). Sending health care and other social programs to second or third place, leaves those immediately affected by the crisis with nothing to fall back on. Finally, ignoring the disenfranchisement of a segment of the population breeds discontent, encourages protest, boycotts (a definite harm in this economy) and violence. It divides families (especially those who are still unable to sponsor their partner into the United States), imposes higher tax burdens on gay couples, denies benefits to gay spouses in many employment situations and polarizes social conservatives and social liberals in a time when consensus is essential. The first years of the Obama presidency cannot be about determining who and what matters and who and what doesn't. There should be no ranking of political promises and political objectives. As President of the United States, we expect Obama to be able to multitask. As LGBT people, we should not stop fighting for the end of DADT, but also the repeal of the Defense of Marriage Act and the implementation of hate crime legislation that recognizes LGBT victims. Identity politics do not need to fall to the back burner just because times are tough. Working towards full LGBT rights should, and hopefully will, remain a priority for all of us.

# AT States CP

## States Bad - Equity

The states are the root of the equity problem and cannot solve, only federal guidance will solve
Kahn 3 (Mafruza Khan, Corporate Research Project at Good Jobs First,“Missing the Bus How States Fail to Connect Economic Development with Public Transit” P.1 <http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/sites/default/files/docs/pdf/bus.pdf>)

**A 50-state survey of economic development subsidy programs – such as loans, grants, and tax incentives – reveals that** not one single state **effectively coordinates its economic development spending with public transportation planning. That is, according to the state officials who administer them, no state has a policy or even a small cluster of subsidies that either requires or encourages companies that receive subsidies in urban areas to locate the projects at locations accessible by public transportation.** A small number of states have transit-oriented development programs, but funding for them comes predominately from federal transportation programs that require matching funds from state and local transportation agencies, not state development programs. And some state subsidies, by virtue of their eligibility rules, go to projects in core urban areas that are likely to be served by transit, but the overlap is de facto, not intentional. **This lack of connection between economic development and public transit is remarkable given how many programs and dollars are involved. The 50 states have an estimated total of more than 1,500 development subsidy programs**. 1 Many are locally administered and/or bundled with local subsidies; **total state and local spending for economic development was estimated at $48.8 billion** as of 1996 and is believed to be higher today. 2 State spending for public transportation totaled $11.6 billion in 2001; federal spending for public transportation, which flows through state and regional bodies, totaled $7.3 billion in 2001. 3 The 50-state survey also finds that only four states – Ohio, Minnesota, Maine and Connecticut – have any kind of system to collect even fragmentary data on corporate relocations that receive economic development incentives. In other words, only four states collect data that could help them determine if their economic development programs are reducing or increasing access to jobs for workers who cannot afford a car, or if they are harming or improving commuter choice when jobs get relocated. These are troubling findings, given the sprawling patterns of development in most major metro areas that have created a “spatial mismatch” between core areas (inner cities and inner-ring suburbs with high concentrations of unemployment and poverty) and newly developing areas (job-rich outer-ring suburbs and exurbs). **Thinly distributed in autodependent areas, these outer-ring jobs are typically not accessible or poorly accessible by transit systems that were originally created to transport workers to the core. Sprawl effectively cuts central city residents off from regional labor markets, exacerbating the concentration of poverty in core areas**. In some cases (see our case study here), **subsidized corporate relocations area actually take transit-accessible jobs off the public transit grid.**

#### State actions and the logic behind the CP are inherently racist

Stanford Journal of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties 6
 (Aug 2006, "Arizona's Proposition 200 and the Supremacy of Federal Law: Elements of Law, Politics, and Faith" <http://www.heinonline.org/HOL/Page?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/stjcrcl2&id=307>)

Though not a major problem given the political legitimacy and responsiveness of state government vis-a-vis the federal government, I do pause here to flag one civic concern: **the legacy of oppression and discrimination that particular minority communities associate with their** state governments **has not yet, unfortunately, been relegated to the annals of ancient history**. Not only do **segregationist policies, denial of the franchise, and ruthless state-sponsored violence come to mind for many poor black southerners when they think about their relationship to the state government**; they may also have salient memories of King v. Smith types of intrusive, humiliating home visits related directly to welfare administration. n167 In light of PRWORA's abandonment of federal welfare entitlements, the oppressive and discriminatory policies and attitudes of the 1950s and 1960s, which had been reined in by the federal protections afforded by way of Goldberg and King, may potentially be revived.

Indeed, institutional racism at the state and local level is alarmingly enduring. Professor Cashin, for one, devotes considerable attention to how states profoundly discriminate against their African-American welfare populations. n168 And another, Professor Susan Gooden, presents a particularly salient case study of Virginia welfare services. In her study, she documents and contrasts state administrators' disparaging and ungenerous treatment of black welfare recipients with their treatment of similarly situated white clients who were always given first notice of new jobs, offered the "newest" work clothes, and given access to automobiles. n169 Understanding discrimination is not just an academic exercise, but also a visceral part of the welfare experience. **The civic harms associated with returning power to the states cannot be disregarded as historically contingent. Such harms persist today.**

#### State control of transportation infrastructure only enforces more inequity

Cashin 5’ (Professor of Law, Georgetown Law Cashin, Sheryll (2005). [The failures of] integration: How race and class are undermining the American dream. New York: PublicAffairs <http://firstsearch.oclc.org/WebZ/FSFETCH?fetchtype=fullrecord:sessionid=fsapp8-58811-h3xejef6-nc5v4n:entitypagenum=16:0:recno=9:resultset=5:format=FI:next=html/record.html:bad=error/badfetch.html:entitytoprecno=9:entitycurrecno=9:numrecs=1> p. 181-183)

**All communities, including less affluent, middle income and older communities would like to be chosen for valuable** federal and **state public investments in infrastructure. Massive federal transportation funds are not limited to spending for new highways. Federal transportation funds can go to extensions of subway or light rail lines, bicycle paths, or expansion and improvement of existing roads. The development dreams of a mayor of a new suburban town can be realized only when the necessary infrastructure—roads, sewers, utility lines, and so on—is in place. Cars and people have to have a means of getting in and out. Water and electricity have to go in; sewage and run-off have to be channeled somewhere. How can new communities afford to pay for such expensive new infrastructure?** They don't. **An individual suburban community, particularly a highly residential one, typically cannot pay for all of the infrastructure that its impressive new development requires. A person who moves to a new suburban subdivision, therefore, is not fully internalizing the cost of this lifestyle choice. Other taxpayers subsidize his choice**, and some would argue, **to an excessive degree**. A study of new development surrounding Phoenix in the 1990s provides a cogent example of this widespread phenomenon. It found that **new developments occurring around the fringes of the city were subsidized at a rate of $14,000 to $15,000 per unit and that a cross-subsidization of suburban households was occurring,** paid for with inner-city dollars**.** **So we have an ironically inequitable situation in most metropolitan areas. Our separatism enables a privileged minority to receive subsidies from tax and fee payers in less well-off communities that contribute mightily to the favored quarter's advantaged position.** At the same time, with strategic use of advantaged position. At the same time, with strategic use of their local zoning powers, they are able to isolate and wall themselves off from society's most pressing burdens. This is not a new thesis; empirical studies show that low-density suburban sprawl does not pay for itself **and that public infrastructure subsidies are influencing which communities are blessed with economic growth of the most valuable kind.**19 **One would think that individual communities fortunate to be the beneficiaries of such public largesse** and its attendant economic **growth would have an obligation to share some of their increased tax base with the communities that subsidized them. But that is not the way** our separatist system currently operates, save for a precious few progressive metropolitan regions that go against the grain of extreme parochialism in local governance. Instead, **our separatism has created a closed loop of entrenched advantage.** The wealthiest communities are the winners in the competition for high-end development—the clean commercial businesses and executive-style housing that generate the most tax revenues and the least demands for government services. Hence they are able to keep taxes low, funding a less needy populace from a broad, rich tax base. Lower tax rates attract more and more businesses, which in turn lowers the overall tax burden even more. In contrast, the non-wealthy developing suburbs are left to fend for the remaining new development—typically lower- value homes and multifamily apartments—which adds to the tax base in the short term but creates a vicious cycle of rising service costs that come with having more schoolchildren per square mile. These costs are much more difficult to meet on a modest tax base. Working-class suburbs, then, are either forced to raise taxes to meet new service demands or provide less attractive services, both of which makes these communities less attractive in the competition for economic growth. Central cities may be somewhat better off in this metropolitan competition because they typically have a central business district that bolsters their tax base.

#### States routinely violate federal anti-discrimination policies in transportation – the CP can’t solve transportation equity

Bullard 8 (Ware Professor of Sociology and Director, Environmental Justice Resource Center, Clark Atlanta University. Growing smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, And Regional Equity. P.117-118)

**The Greater Rochester Area Coalition for Education, representing a group of disadvantaged and minority students in the Rochester City School District, is suing the state of New York, alleging that concentrated inner-city poverty makes it impossible for city residents to get the sound, basic education required by the** state **constitution** {Payttter v. State 2001). A group of disabled persons in Rochester sued **the** regional **bus company**, claiming that it **routinely failed to provide timely transportation to people with disabilities in compliance with the** federal **Americans with Disabilities Act** (ADA). As people spread farther and farther out in low- density subdivisions, the bus company struggles to serve them, thus restricting the disabled from participating in the ordinary life of their community. **A** federal **judge ruled that the bus company regularly violated the ADA** and ordered it to formulate a plan to rectify the poor service [Anderson v. Rochester-Genesee Regional Transportation Authority 2001). **In Los Angeles, a group called the Bus Riders Union, represented by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, sued the MTA under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which requires that** federal **funds be spent in a nondiscriminatory manner.** The plaintiffs alleged that **inner- city residents lacked adequate bus service because inequitable funding and operating practices in the MTA's service area disproportionately burdened inner-city neighborhoods.** The citizens' group won a historic out-of-court settlement that includes major fare concessions and major new investments in the bus system {Labor/Community Strategy Center v. Los Angeles Metropolitan Transit Authority 2001). As the spotlight intensifies nationally on metropolitan growth, we can reasonably expect more actions in the courts to address the negative civil rights consequences of sprawl. This does not mean an excessive reliance on legal remedies, or on the courts, to either create a new category of prescriptive rights or expand the courts' authority into the field of social engineering. Rather, it is an expectation that the courts will enforce rights already guaranteed by the Civil Rights Acts by addressing the underlying causes of spatial inequity, not just legal discrimination.

#### States consistently fail at solving the equity gap

Kahn 3 (Mafruza Khan, Corporate Research Project at Good Jobs First,“Missing the Bus How States Fail to Connect Economic Development with Public Transit” P.13 <http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/sites/default/files/docs/pdf/bus.pdf>)

**The failure of the 50 states to connect their economic development programs with public transportation has profound implications that go to the very reason for the existence of development incentives. Simply put, the disconnect suggests that much** state development spending is not intentionally helping to reduce poverty. The vast majority of development subsidies are cast, by their legislative advocates if not also in their formal intent language, as expenditures designed to increase economic opportunity for low- and/or moderate-income people who most need the help. Indeed, one of the largest federal assistance **programs**, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Community Development Block Program, has long **mandated that cities and states spend at least 51 percent of the grants to primarily benefit low- and moderate-income persons**. Obviously, low-wage workers who can’t afford a car, and low- to moderate-income families who cannot afford a car for each working spouse, fit the profile of intended economic development beneficiaries. **But as our findings show,** states are consistently failing **to even gather data on the development-transit connection**, much less require it. As transit advocates pointed out during the reauthorization of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program in 2002, better agency coordination is essential to provide America's neediest families with the basic resources they need to achieve self sufficiency. A good example is JARC's requirement that human services and transportation agencies coordinate on statewide planning and the Workforce Investment Act’s requirement for coordination among economic development activities. Similarly, **economic development spending needs to be coordinated with transportation planning in order to serve those who need it the most. Auto dependence disproportionately affects the poor and the working poor.** The average American household spends 20 cents of every dollar on transportation, and those expenditures are dominated by auto-related costs (transportation costs are second only to housing costs in family budgets). Low-income families pay an even greater percentage; for the lowest income quintile of households, it is estimated that 40 percent of the household budget is spent on transportation. 21 **So by subsidizing job growth that is not connected to transit service,** states **are actually** making the problem worse, by forcing low-income families to spend more on transportation than they would if jobs were accessible by transit. Finally, fueling greater auto dependence is also making the states’ fiscal crises worse. Sprawling patterns of development cost taxpayers more, as numerous studies have shown.

Federal funding is key to upgrade and repair public transit
TEN 9 (Transportation Equity Network, Stranded at the Station: The Impact of the Financial Crisis in Public Transportation p. 24, August 18, 2009, http://www.t4america.org/docs/081809\_stranded\_at\_thestation.PDF) LLD

As these stories clearly show, public transportation agencies are doing everything they can to avoid imposing draconian impacts on the riders who rely on them. Already lean in most cases, they are slimming down further through innovative cost savings and taking all prudent measures to weather the current, prolonged storm**. These essential service providers are no longer merely cutting “fat” – if there was much, if any, to cut – but are eliminating lifeline services and raising fares for people who can ill afford it, especially now**. **State and local governments and their taxpayers understand that they are the first line of support.** Some are stepping up to fill the budget gaps. **But states, in particular, can do more to put their transit systems on a stable footing by providing more money**, but also by giving agencies greater flexibility in allocating their resources and in tapping new sources of revenue. **The federal government should also play a role in the solution to this problem by providing greater flexibility, fairness, and funding** in the next six-year transportation law. Increased federal support for transit **and the flexibility to use transit resources more efficiently** is critical **if we are to realize the mobility, economic, health, and environmental benefits that transit provides**. It is our hope that this report, which provides a national snapshot of the pain being felt by transit riders across the country, will help serve as a catalyst for building a system that realizes the myriad benefits outlined above and creates a robust, resilient transportation network that works for all Americans.

#### Federal investment now is key to stopping negative impacts

Aggazio 3’ (Senior Speechwriter/Public Affairs Specialist at [U.S. Department of Transportation](http://www.linkedin.com/company/us-department-of-transportation-dot?trk=ppro_cprof), APTA Public Transit At Risk of “Failing”, New Study on America’s Infrastructure Shows Public Transportation Needs More Funding, <https://apps.asce.org/reportcard/pdf/apta_asce_final1.pdf>, 9/4/3)

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 4, 2003 – **The nation’s public transportation infrastructure is declining due to inadequate funding,** according to the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE). This year’s ASCE Progress Report, an update to the organization’s 2001 Report Card for America’s Infrastructure, found that America’s transit systems will receive a failing grade if the **current trend continues. The 2001 Report Card graded transit’s condition and performance as “C minus.” Aging facilities and fleets, increased demand for services, and record-high levels of riders have created severe stress on America’s transit systems**. **While public transportation funding has increased over the past few years, financial support has not kept pace with transit’s increasing demand and popularity**. According to the report, **unless government spending at all levels increases** by 362 percent -- to reach $43.9 billion -- **physical conditions will continue to decline**. “Today’s report clearly demonstrates that America’s mobility is at tremendous risk,” said William W. Millar, president of the American Public Transportation Association (APTA), the national trade group representing transit systems. “Without increased federal investment now, our transit systems will become less efficient, service will be reduced, and future repairs will be more costly. The consequences, which will affect every American, mean more traffic congestion and air pollution, lower productivity, and a drain on the nation’s economy.” With transit ridership at a 40-year high and growing faster than any other mode of transportation, APTA recommends doubling the annual federal transit program to $14.3 billion by Fiscal Year 2009 when Congress reauthorizes the Transportation Equity Act for the 21 st Century (TEA 21), the program 2 responsible for America’s surface transportation infrastructure, including transit. TEA 21 expires on September 30, 2003. In anticipation of this deadline, APTA has documented serious unmet needs in excess of $43 billion a year. These needs include: · Our nation’s buses and trains are aging and need replacement: 43 percent of America’s passenger rail cars and locomotives exceed the federally recommended service life; 22 percent of the nation’s bus fleet is over the federal age limit; and an additional 47 percent of buses will become too old to meet these recommendations during the next federal funding program. · To improve the current physical condition and service performance, public transportation requires up to $43.9 billion in annual capital investment. APTA is calling for increased funding and a stronger TEA 21 program to prevent a further decline in transit infrastructure and transportation options. “**We need to invest in public transportation at a level that ensures we can provide the mobility, economic, energy, and environmental benefits that improve the lives of all Americans**,” said Millar

#### Local actors fail when dealing with transportations policies aimed at reducing issues related to urban sprawl such as pollution

Downs 99(Anthony Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute. “SOME REALITIES ABOUT SPRAWL AND URBAN DECLINE” pg 4-5. August 2011) ZLH

A second corollary is that the more localities within a region adopt policies that reduce their own future population growth, the more likely that growth will shift outward towards the edge of the region – thus, the greater the degree of future sprawl there. This corollary assumes the region has no stringent urban growth boundary prohibiting growth at its outer edges – a condition prevalent in over 99 percent of United States metropolitan areas. So local anti-sprawl policies are likely to aggravate sprawl at the regional level. Another fundamental reality is that nearly all major directly-growth-related problems are regional in nature, not local. This is most obvious concerning air pollution and traffic congestion. Both involve conditions that arise throughout a region and flow freely from one part to many others. The same conclusion applies to all the other directly-growth-related problems described above. Therefore, policies adopted by individual localities cannot effectively cope with these problems, unless those policies are coordinated in some way.

Nevertheless, most elected officials at all levels want to place control over growth-related public policies in the hands of individual local governments, acting independently. Politicians adopt this attitude because doing so is highly popular with both local officials and most suburban residents, all of whom who want to retain maximum control over who lives in their own communities. In a democracy, politicians are motivated to adopt policies that are very popular with voters, regardless of whether or not those policies have any chance of actually achieving their stated goals. Therefore, in most United States metropolitan areas, nearly all growth management powers are entirely controlled by local officials, even though that means the resulting policies cannot effectively solve most directly-growth-related problems, which are regional in nature.

## States Bad - Budgets

#### States budgets are limited by austerity, no new improvements in SQ.

Denvir 6/21/12 (Daniel, staff writer for the Philadelphia City Paper and a contributing writer at Salon. “Public transportation: 'Don't like the cuts? Take a hike' The old consensus that mass transit drives the economy is gone: austerity-crazed Republicans aim to run it into the ground [http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/daniel-denvir)-](http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/daniel-denvir%29-)SI

 The New York subway: mass transit ridership is growing year on year, but in many cities, the infrastructure is crumbling. Americans have since the second world war built an entire way of life around the automobile. It turns out, however, that our faith was an unsteady one and, in the face of high gas prices and young people's increasing [preference for urban living](http://www.good.is/post/young-people-are-driving-less-and-not-just-because-they-re-broke/), we are heading back to subways, trains, buses and trolleys in droves. In the first quarter of this year, we took an additional 125.7m trips on mass transit compared with the same time period last year – an increase of 5%. Yet, Republican-led austerity is pushing public transit, like most everything public, into severe fiscal and physical crisis. All at the very moment when we want and need it the most. Nationwide, 80% of mass transit systems either did move to boost fares and cut services or considered doing so in 2010, [according to the most recent report from the American Public Transportation Association](http://www.apta.com/mediacenter/pressreleases/2011/Pages/110817_ServiceCut_Survey.aspx). Fare hikes and service cuts may be coming to Philadelphia, home to the nation's sixth largest transit system – and the subject of a [report I wrote for Thursday's City Paper](http://www.citypaper.net/cover_story/2012-06-21-why-septa-is-heading-for-a-crash.html). The Southeastern [Pennsylvania](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/pennsylvania)Transportation Authority (SEPTA) projects a $36m deficit beginning in July 2013 and already lacks the funds necessary to fix crumbling, century-old bridges and electrical equipment. [Boston's MBTA proposed](http://articles.boston.com/2012-06-20/metro/32320100_1_state-surplus-bus-agencies-service-cuts) "massive fare increases and widespread cuts" to close a $160m deficit in January. On Tuesday, the Massachusetts legislature came through with last-minute funding. The one-year fix, however, ensures that the fiscal crisis will soon return. Political and popular will, however, can still make big projects happens. In Los Angeles, local sales tax hikes have funded an impressive [expansion of light-rail lines](http://www.sacbee.com/2012/05/27/4519118/its-costly-but-los-angeles-is.html). But the Metropolitan Transit Authority has also [cut more than 650,000 hours of bus service in recent years](http://articles.latimes.com/2012/apr/24/local/la-me-mta-civil-rights-20120424), a major hardship for the working poor [who depend on buses](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/04/us/04bus.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all) to commute across the sprawling and car-dominated metropolis. [The Bus Riders Union accused the agency](http://www.thestrategycenter.org/blog/2012/04/24/updated-fta-ruling-out-la-metro-civil-rights-violations-were-calling-obama-intervene) of having "knowingly discriminated against bus riders of color"; the Federal Transit Administration, which undertook a civil rights investigation, called the cuts "disturbing". Shifting to mass transit is not only critical to staving off an ecological crisis, it is also key to getting out of our economic one: the [expansion of rail and bus lines drives development](http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/economic_impact_of_public_transportation_investment.pdf), creating jobs while making it easier for the rest of us to get to our existing ones. The reverse is also true. The dismantling of mass transit has, like cuts to other public services, erected a massive roadblock on the path to economic recovery: 706,000 public sector jobs have been eliminated since the stimulus topped out in April 2009, according to a [Wednesday report in the New York Times](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/20/business/public-workers-face-continued-layoffs-and-recovery-is-hurt.html?pagewanted=all). While the private sector adds jobs, public sector austerity is driving the American economy off the tracks. Pittsburgh, which is set to cut about half of its bus lines, is a case in point. DialAmerica delayed plans to open a new 150-person call center in the city because the company, [according to a recent report in the Wall Street Journal](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304791704577418643668145680.html), says they are concerned that employees wouldn't be able to get to work. Pennsylvania Republican Governor Tom Corbett, who signed Grover Norquist's tax pledge during his 2010 campaign, has refused calls from labor and business leaders to raise revenue to deal with the state's infrastructure needs – estimated by his own transportation commission to be $3.5bn in necessary work. When I asked what the governor planned to do about the crisis in Philadelphia, I was told that we were on our own. "It is incumbent upon SEPTA," PennDOT spokeswoman Erin Waters told City Paper, "to meet operational and safety requirements." There was a time when business-minded conservatives understood that, ultimately, government did serve some purpose – if only to create an environment favorable to business. Members of both parties have for decades supported basic funding of the nation's trains and buses. But Corbett's counterparts in Washington now deliver that same heady combination of obliviousness and hostility. The derision of mass transit as a socialist import of European origin, which happens to be perceived also as a welfare subsidy for the black and urban poor, has now seized the entire Republican body politic. Most bizarrely, Tea Party activists around the country have attacked everything from bike lanes to high-speed trains as part of a [United Nations conspiracy to create a "one-world order"](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/04/us/activists-fight-green-projects-seeing-un-plot.html?pagewanted=all). "Federal transportation and infrastructure policy has traditionally been an area of strong bipartisan agreement," Aaron Naparstek, a Loeb Fellow at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design and founder of[Streetsblog.org](http://www.salon.com/2012/02/13/the_tea_partys_war_on_mass_transit/www.streetsblog.org) told [Salon](http://www.salon.com/2012/02/13/the_tea_partys_war_on_mass_transit/): "Now, it seems, [Republicans](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/republicans) want to turn cities into a part of the culture wars. Now it's abortion, gay marriage and subways." Earlier this year, House Republicans proposed eliminating the 20% of transportation dollars dedicated to mass transit since Ronald Reagan first signed it into law in 1982. In response, mass transit advocates [mobilized suburban Republicans](http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0412/75221.html), alongside big business, to oppose the move: mass transit serves as important connective tissue in the [large metropolitan economies that drive the economy](http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/02/24/usa-states-cities-idUSN241581220110224) on a regional and national level. Yet, long-term transit funding is still uncertain, as Republicans now insist that a new transportation bill include an unrelated amendment designed to fast-track approval for the controversial Keystone XL pipeline – together with a move that will save few dollars but sends a potent message to the base: an amendment to bar the use of federal dollars for bike lanes. The last six-year transportation bill expired three years ago, and funding has, since then, been dolled out in three- and six-month increments. Meanwhile, the financial titans who brought us to edge of abyss are profiting from cash-strapped transit agencies, which are paying out millions of dollars every year to Wall Street, thanks to toxic derivatives. In a little-discussed but critical moment of the pre-crash deregulatory fever, transit agencies – along with school districts and city governments – agreed to esoteric "interest-rate swaps" with banks in order to protect against high interest rates on bond payments. The theory was that banks would get paid at a fixed rate, in exchange for them paying transit agencies at the variable rate. But after the financial system went into crisis, the Federal Reserve drove interest rates to rock-bottom levels. As a result, transit agencies and other public entities are now stuck owing billions in interest payments to the very same banks taxpayers had just bailed out. [A recent study by the ReFund Transit Coalition found (pdf)](http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CFkQFjAE&url=http://refundtransit.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/STRAT_TransitSWAPS.pdf&ei=VUHjT-u1EKe_0AGD8-3TAw&usg=AFQjCNHhFBZ-gJTcVAJlZ8EdPJ6ei0RIOw&sig2=Eo2DZZ7vWe0ng31hGTCiIA) that in the 12 regions surveyed – including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco and Los Angeles – agencies lose more than $529m each year to Wall Street banks. Transit riders and workers will have to organize throughout American cities and suburbs if there is to be any hope – not only of saving mass transit, but of undertaking the large-scale expansion we need for our economic and ecological well-being. Last week, the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) and Good Jobs First announced plans to do just that, creating [Americans for Transit](https://www.facebook.com/AmericansForTransit) to fight cuts and help organize rider groups nationwide. "Transit is a major social justice issue of our day," says ATU International president Larry Hanley. "Ridership is the highest in decades, but riders have suffered the worst wave of fare hikes and service cuts in post-war history."

#### 80% of public state transit is being cut due to lack of funding.

APTA 11 (The American Public Transportation Association (APTA) is a nonprofit international association, engaged in the areas of bus, paratransit, light rail, commuter rail, subways, waterborne passenger services, and high-speed rail , “Nearly 80 Percent of Public Transit Systems Forced to Implement Fare Increases or Service Cuts Due to Flat or Decreased Local and State Funding” <http://www.apta.com/mediacenter/pressreleases/2011/Pages/110817_ServiceCut_Survey.aspx>) SI

Washington, DC- Public transit systems are faced with implementing new service cuts and fare increases on top of cuts and increases enacted during the past budget cycle, according to a new study released by the American Public Transportation Association (APTA). Nearly eighty percent of public transit systems have already implemented fare increases or service cuts in 2010 or are considering them for the future because of flat or decreased local and/or regional funding. The report, [“Impacts of the Recession on Public Transportation Agencies,”](http://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/Impacts-of-Recession-August-2011.pdf) noted the top three causes of stress in operating budgets among public transit systems were local/regional funding, state funding and increasing fuel prices. Seventy-one percent of responding agencies saw flat or decreased local and/or regional funding, and 83 percent saw flat or decreased state funding. These decreases are on top of an already stagnant funding situation in 2010. “Public transportation systems are currently experiencing decreases in their funding during a time when many are serving increased number of riders,” said APTA President William Millar. “Systems are forced to continue to freeze positions and lay off workers, which makes providing necessary transit service even more difficult.” Larger agencies particularly have faced challenges due to the lack of state, local and regional funding. Six in ten (63 percent) larger agencies implemented or approved hiring freezes, more than the number from the previous 2010 survey (54 percent). Seventy-five percent of larger agencies reduced the number of positions and 46 percent of larger agencies reported implementing or approving layoffs. In addition, 85 percent of transit agencies have seen flat or decreased capital funding. This results in nearly one in three (31 percent) delaying vehicle acquisitions and 20 percent delaying capital maintenance. APTA says the phasing out of the federal government’s American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (ARRA) has increased stress on state and local budgets. The association notes that ARRA provided a needed boost for state and local infrastructure projects. “With the challenges on the state and local level, this is a time for increased federal investment in public transportation to help with job creation and stimulating the economy,” said Millar. “Federal investment is essential to preserve critical maintenance and replacement of older vehicles for larger systems and to maintain crucial day-to-day operations for smaller transit systems. Clearly, local and state governments will not be able to make up the difference as these needs increase.” Recently the U.S. House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee proposed to cut an additional 37 percent in federal funding to public transportation and all surface transportation programs. “If the House proposal is implemented, it will have a chilling effect on our country’s ability to create jobs and provide access to jobs necessary to move the economy forward,” said Millar. Noting that public transit investment returns almost four dollars in economic benefits for every one dollar spent and that each billion dollars the federal government puts into public transit yields 36,000 jobs saved or created, Millar went on to say, “now is the time to invest more in public transit, not less.”

#### Transit cuts at state and local levels are targeting transit-dependent populations

TFA 09 (Transportation for America, Institute to improve national transport, “Stranded at the Station: Mapping the Transit Funding Crisis “ <http://t4america.org/resources/transitfundingcrisis/>) SI

WITH PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION RIDERSHIP AT RECORD HIGHS, transit agencies across the country are facing unprecedented fiscal crises in this economic downturn, with many laying off workers, cutting back service drastically, and raising fares at the worst possible time. Americans took nearly 10.7 billion trips on public transportation in 2008, a four percent increase over 2007 and the highest level since 1956. Public transportation use has increased 38 percent since 1995 — nearly triple the growth rate of the population of the United States. Incredibly, these record ridership numbers are being met with one trend at transit agencies from coast to coast: Service cuts, layoffs, and fare increases. Americans without access to an alternative form of transportation, the majority of whom are older, African-American or Hispanic and senior populations, are being left stranded without access to lifeline services. How have you been impacted by these service cuts, fare increases, or job losses? [Tell us your story today and we’ll help share it with Congress.](http://action.smartgrowthamerica.org/t/3224/petition.jsp?petition_KEY=475) “As employers and commuters everywhere know only too well, public transportation is an essential service that is critical to our economy,” said James Corless, director of Transportation for America. Noting that Congress had acted recently to provide an emergency infusion of general fund dollars into the highway trust fund, he added, “We need to see the same sense of urgency for the rest of the transportation system. But more than that, we need a long-term, sustainable source of funding for building, operating and maintaining the entire network.”

#### States can’t even afford to give free rides to disabled seniors – can’t resolve equity

Wronski 6/27/12 (Richard, Chicago Tribune reporter “Budget cuts may limit free rides for seniors, disabled“ <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-06-27/news/ct-met-rta-free-rides-20120628_1_free-ride-cards-free-rides-rides-on-mass-transit>) SI

A state law signed by Gov. Pat Quinn last year gives low-income senior citizens and disabled people access to free rides on mass transit, but budget cutting by the General Assembly may stop some of those people from getting the benefit this year. That possibility emerged Wednesday when officials at the Regional Transportation Authority warned that the Illinois Department on Aging would stop processing applications for the Circuit Ride Free cards as of June 30.   The Department on Aging has issued conflicting information, however. The department's website and a news release Monday maintain that it will continue to process the applications, but a spokesman said there was no funding for the program. What this means is unclear for potentially hundreds of low-income seniors and disabled people who apply for the free-ride cards after June 30. Those who already have the free-ride cards need not worry, officials said, because previously issued cards are valid for the next two years. What was clear Wednesday, however, was that two governmental entities were announcing contradictory information. RTA Executive Director Joseph Costello and deputy Jordan Matyas said they were continuing to discuss the problem with officials from Quinn's office. "

## States Bad - Tyranny

#### The idea of devolution producing innovation and protecting liberty is a romanticized delusion. States protect parochial interests and respond only to interest groups which serve to subjugate minorities.

Cashin, Georgetown University Law Center, 99

(Sheryll, Associate Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Empowerment Zones, Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), “Federalism, Welfare Reform, and the Minority Poor: Accounting for the Tyranny of State Majorities”, Columbia Law Review, Vol. 99, No. 3 (Apr., 1999), pp. 552-627, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1123518>, Accessed: 29/06/2009)

The idea that states are more likely to foster citizen participation simply because they are closer to the people than the national government is an unproven theoretical assumption of federalism - an oft-repeated mantra, probably grounded in romanticism, that has come to be accepted by many as truth.99 Yet, as an empirical matter, citizen participation in national politics is stronger than it is in state and local races,100 despite pol- ling data that suggests citizens have slightly higher confidence in their state, rather than federal, governments.101 In addition, while this defense celebrates citizen participation as a benefit conferred by federalism, it fails to account for the ugly side of state and local control of political processes, namely, the potential subordination of weak minorities by entrenched majorities. Federalism does not necessarily increase citizen participation, "it simply authorizes [states] to decide for themselves how much participation is desirable."102 Indeed, if the New Federalist fervor is meant to empower citizens, then one can argue that replacing entitlements that enable beneficiaries to act for themselves with block grants actually moves power away from the people and toward state government.103 In the Federalist Papers, James Madison argued for the creation of a national government precisely because he feared that smaller governments, particularly cities, were more susceptible to the tyranny of majority factions.104 As argued below, there is evidence to suggest that state and local governments are more susceptible to interest group capture, and that politically weak minority groups, such as welfare recipients, can be subjugated by political majorities in ways incompatible with sound welfare policy.105

# AT Federalism

#### Impact to federalism is empirically denied. The government has issued policy in response to inequities before.

Bullard 4 (Robert, Ware Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, “Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States,” Fordham Urb. L.J. 31,2003-2004, p. 1199-1200)ZLH

151 On February 11, 1994, President Clinton signed Executive Order 12,898, "Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations.' 1 52 This executive order reinforces what had been law for three decades.' 53 Indeed, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discriminatory practices in programs receiving federal funds.'

54 Environmental requirements also reinforce a number of regulatory laws and statutes, including Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,155 the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969,156 and the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1970.157 Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states, "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.”

#### Congress serves as the main front of civil rights disputes, not the states.

Zietlow 03(Rebecca Professor of Law, University of Toledo College of Law “CONGRESSIONAL ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND JOHN BINGHAM’S THEORY OF CITIZENSHIP” <http://economiceducation.us/law/lawreview/v36/docs/zeitlow36.4.pdf> 7/28/03) ZLH

The Citizenship Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.”78 Its companion, the Privileges or Immunities Clause, provides further that “No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.”79 The Framers intended the Citizenship Clause to clarify the fundamental relationship between the state and federal governments at the end of the Civil War and to serve as the font of civil rights that inhered from that relationship.80 The Citizenship Clause states strongly and unequivocally that there is only one class of United States citizens; the Privileges or Immunities Clause clarifies that those citizens have certain rights that cannot be denied to them due to the very nature of their federal citizenship.81 The Clauses also reflect the re-structuring of the federalist system during Reconstruction, shifting the balance of power in favor of the federal government and away from the states, and making Congress the primary protector of civil rights.

## Federalism Bad - Racism

#### Federalism perpetuates racist inequalities and undermines national welfare

Brown, University of California at Santa Cruz Politics Professor, 03

(Michael, Sandford Schram et al., Bryn Mawr College Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research social theory and policy instructor; Joe Soss, American University School of Public Affairs Government Associate Professor; Richard Fording, University of Kentucky Political Science Associate Professor, *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*, P. 55-56)

Fiscal federalism is usually justified on grounds of efficiency minimizing externalities in the provision of public goods and enhancing responsiveness to citizens’ preference for different bundles of basic services, taxes, and regulation It is usually assumed as well that decentralization of public services promotes democracy and protects individuals from overweening central authorities. Doubtless, federalism has promoted diverse responses to public problems and it might even be seen a bulwark against federal intrusion Yet these conventional justifications for federalism evade its role in perpetuating inequalities. Decentralizations to small units ignores; as Grant McConnell observed long go, “questions of power within the unit of organization” (1966), McConnell’s point, of course, was that some individuals or groups gain by decentralization while others may lose.

#### Reliance on fiscal federalism and state welfare distribution exacerbates racism and poverty

Brown, University of California at Santa Cruz Politics Professor, 03

(Michael, Sandford Schram et al., Bryn Mawr College Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research social theory and policy instructor; Joe Soss, American University School of Public Affairs Government Associate Professor; Richard Fording, University of Kentucky Political Science Associate Professor, *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*, P. 53-54)

Race and fiscal federalism have been antagonistically linked since the New Deal, when the federal government assumed greater responsibility for subsidizing the activities of state and local governments. From FDR on, national politicians chose to use state and local governments as conduits for national policies; they only differed in the latitude they granted to subnational governments. If federalism has been constitutive of the welfare state, it has also impeded the redistributive policies needed to either ameliorate or diminish poverty while permitting racial discrimination to flourish and reinforcing the hierarchy of white over black African Americans have always understood that a decentralized welfare state would only sustain the color line. During the debate over the 1935 Social. Security Act, Walter White of the NAACP warned Eleanor Roosevelt that “if the Federal Government continues to make lump grants to the States and leaves expenditures to the States it should not abandon all responsibility to see that Federal funds are not used to grind a section of its citizenry further into the dust” (Kifer 1961, z34).

Redistribution is a national function. Relying on the states to redistribute resources from wealthy citizens and places to impoverished citizens and communities is a dead end. Such a policy, Richard Musgrave observes, “can only operate within narrow limits” (1997, 67). States have few incentives to mount redistributive social programs and will seek, ordinarily, to shift the burden of spending to the national government. Tax revenues needed to fund governmental services depend on private investment and the willingness of taxpayers to pay up. Any government is an “economic parasite,” Joseph Sthumpeter memorably wrote, and it “must not demand from the people so much that they lose financial interest in production or at any rate cease to use their best energies for it” (1991, ix.z). Since capital and taxpayers are highly mobile, statements must compete for economic resources just as nation-states compete in the global economy. High-tax states intent on redistribution may find themselves at a disadvantage in attracting new investment or retaining the support of taxpayers. These costs can be avoided by transferring the burden for social expenditures to higher levels of government in effect shifting the burden and political responsibility for taxation upward.

# AT Tradeoff DAs

#### With federal funding for Mass Transit, states can focus on bridge repair

**TFA 10’** (<http://t4america.org/resources/bridges/overview/> Transportation for America, Transportation for America has formed a broad coalition of housing, business, environmental, public health, transportation, equitable development, and other organizations)

1) As our nation’s bridges continue to age, **Congress needs to provide states with increased resources to repair and rebuild** them. The federal transportation program currently provides only a fraction of the funds needed for maintenance and repair. **Although a number of states are making repair of existing assets a priority, more support from the federal government is essential**. The nation’s bridges are aging and **traffic demands are increasing, even as state and local revenues are shrinking.** Though the size of the federal program increased by 14 percent between 2006 and 2009, state-level needs increased at the same time by 47 percent. 2) Congress also must ensure funds sent to states for bridge repair are used only for that purpose. **Today, states can transfer up to 50 percent of their bridge funds to other purposes — even if they have bridges clearly in need of repair. These funds should only be used for other purposes if the state’s bridges are in a state of good repair**. In addition, states should be given the flexibility to develop long-term programs that prioritize both keeping bridges in good condition and fixing or replacing deficient bridges. Even in instances where it is more cost-effective to perform regular repair on a bridge to prevent it from becoming deficient, the current federal program only allows states to fix a bridge that is structurally deficient with a low sufficiency rating. 3) Upgrade bridges so that they are safe and accessible for all who use them. Congress should adopt a “complete streets” policy to ensure that when our aging bridges are replaced, they are designed to provide safe access for all who need them, whether in vehicles, on foot or bicycle, or using public transportation. Overview Despite billions of dollars in annual federal, state and local funds directed toward the maintenance of existing bridges, 69,223 bridges – representing more than 11 percent of total highway bridges in the U.S. – are classified as “structurally deficient,” according to the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). Structurally deficient bridges require significant maintenance, rehabilitation or replacement. A number of bridges also exceed their expected lifespan of 50 years. The average age of an American bridge is 42 years. The maintenance backlog will only worsen as bridges age and costs rise. According to FHWA’s 2009 statistics, $70.9 billion is needed to address the current backlog of deficient bridges. This figure will likely increase as many of our most heavily traveled bridges — including those built more than 40 years ago as part of the Interstate System — near the end of their expected lifespan. The good news is that some states have worked hard to address the problem and have shrunken the backlog of deficient bridges. The bad news is that, critical as these efforts are, they are not nearly enough. Two key problems persist: First, while Congress has repeatedly declared bridge safety a national priority, existing federal programs offer no real incentives or assurances that aging bridges will actually get fixed. Second, the current level of investment is nowhere near what is needed to keep up with our rapidly growing backlog of aging bridges. The Tension Between Fixing the Old and Building the New In recent years, most transportation agencies have delayed needed repairs and maintenance while focusing their energy on new construction. In 2008, all states combined spent more than $18 billion, or 30 percent of the federal transportation funds they received, to build new roads or add capacity to existing roads. In that same year, states spent $8.1 billion of federal funds on repair and rehabilitation of bridges, or about 13 percent of total funds. **States currently have the ability to “flex” or transfer out up to 50 percent of their bridge repair money into other projects or programs. After decades of aggressive highway building, maintenance bills are mounting and coming due. The aging of bridges alone makes a compelling case for Congress to allocate a much larger share of funds toward rebuilding the existing system in the upcoming, six-year transportation funding bill.** For years, the federal government has run a special bridge repair program, but a combination of the program’s shortcomings and the sheer growth in aging bridges has prevented its success. Between 1992 and 2010, the number of vehicles traveling across structurally deficient bridges declined just 2 percent, despite billions of dollars spent annually on bridge construction and repair. Needs are growing faster than the funding Congress created the Federal Highway Bridge Program to fix and replace deficient bridges throughout the country, but current funding is insufficient to keep up with rapid deterioration. The graphic above compares the size of the bridge program from 2006 through 2009 with FHWA estimates of the sums needed to catch up on the current repair backlog. While appropriations have increased by $650 million, bridge needs over the same time period have increased by $22.8 billion. By the end of the last decade, nearly 200,000 of the nation’s roughly 600,000 highway bridges were 50 years old or older. By 2030, that number could double without substantial bridge replacement. At the current rates of aging and replacement, almost half of the nation’s bridges will require major structural investments within the next 15 years. States Cannot Keep Up Without Federal Support Bridges provide crucial access between regions and cities, linking workers to jobs, goods to markets and people to essential services. According to the FHWA, transportation agencies would need $70.9 billion to overcome the current backlog of deficient bridges. This investment would be money well spent, as poor bridge conditions have major implications for traveler safety, mobility and economic activity. Allowing roads and bridges to slip into disrepair ultimately costs state and local governments billions more than the cost of regular, timely repair. Over a 25-year period, deferring maintenance of bridges and highways can cost three times as much as preventative repairs. The backlog also increases safety risks, hinders economic prosperity and significantly burdens taxpayers. Preservation efforts can also extend the expected service life of a road for an additional 18 years, preventing the need for major reconstruction or replacement. In addition to the safety imperative, investing in the construction, expansion and repair of our nation’s transportation infrastructure creates jobs today while laying the foundation for long-term economic prosperity. Repair work on roads and bridges generates 16 percent more jobs than construction of new bridges and roads. For all these reasons, Congress has repeatedly declared the condition and safety of our bridges to be of national significance. However, the current federal program does not ensure transportation agencies have enough money and accountability to get the job done. This must change.

#### Federal credit allows the states reallocate funds for key issues there is no tradeoff

ST. PETERSBURG CITY COUNCIL 12 Consent Agenda Meeting of April 19, 2012 The Honorable Leslie Curran, Chair, and Members of City Council http://www.stpete.org/LegisStream/MG297464/AS297484/AS297486/AI298575/DO298576/1.PDF

The FTA Section 5309 Program requires a 20% local match, which the State of Florida has agreed to provide through its toll credit program. Toll credits are a "soft match," in that the State of Florida does not actually contribute the toll credit amount ($125,000) towards the Project. Federal law permits the use of certain toll revenue expenditures as a credit toward the non- federal share of transportation projects. For example, Florida's Turnpike is paid for with tolls, but it is eligible for federal aid. A toll credit is a credit from the federal government for the unused federal matching funds that could have been requested for Turnpike construction. This credit can be used instead of state or local funds to meet federal match requirements for other transportation projects, including transit. Such credits free up state or local funds that otherwise would have been used to match federal aid for other uses.

# A2 Privatization Counterplan

#### Link Turn – privatization of mass transit leads to worse efficiency, more pollution, congestion of the roads

Scholl 06 Peer Reviewed Title: Privatization of Public Transit: A Review of the Research on Contracting of Bus Services in the United StatesLynn Scholl is a doctoral student at the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley. She is interested in equity and environmental issues surrounding transportation policy including mobility for the poor, informal transit markets, public transit finance and regulation, and housing and transportation markets. She holds a B.A. in Environmental Sciences and a M.P.P. from UC Berkeley. She has worked as a researcher on issues ranging from international trends in carbon emissions, a policy proposal to reduce criteria emissions from transportation, affordability of transportation for low-income populations, and community economic development. 2006http://escholarship.org/uc/item/8cb3s0fh

However, critics of privatization argue that several market failures counteract these theorized benefits. For example, cost-cutting behavior by transit companies oft en results in under-insurance; substandard vehicle maintenance; higher levels of pollution, congestion, and accident rates; as well as inadequate coordination and integration of routes and fares. In deregulated and informal markets, fi erce on-road competition between buses and over-entry of bus firms along profit table routes can lead to signifi cant increases in congestion and accidents. Conversely, private transit operators may leave the less profitable routes underserved. The lower wages and benefits paid by private bus companies has oft en resulted in higher labor turnover, less qualified drivers, and lower productivity, leading in turn to declines in the safety and quality of service, prompting critics to charge that cost savings are resource transfers rather than true effi ciency gains. Finally, some scholars speculate that the competitive forces leading to improved services and cost savings may erode over time, due to collusion among operators, consolidation of small firms into a few big actors, or too few bidders off ering tenders for contracted bus services.

# AT: Util

#### Utilitarian decision calculus results in arbitrary judgments based on the desires of the majority surrendering the minority to disposability

Armstrong, Dartmouth University, 1988

(Walter, Moral Dilemmas)

Some recent utilitarian’s have responded that values should be reduced not to pleasure and pain but instead to the objects or the satisfaction of desires. Desires can then be ranked by asking people what they would choose when desires conflict. However, there are reasons to deny such reductions, such as that some desires are irrational or morally wrong. Even if such reductions did work, this would not solve the whole problem. Some more conflicts cannot be resolved without exact equations between conflicting desires, between satisfaction and frustration of desires, between duration and probability of satisfaction, etc. Such exact equations cannot be justified by asking people what they would choose in conflicts, because people are not very confident or consistent about what they would choose in close conflicts. The problems are even greater when the conflicting desires are held by different people, since they might choose differently in close conflicts. Consequently, utilitarian’s cannot escape all moral dilemmas simply by totaling desires.

#### Utilitarianism inevitably resorts to tyrannical and genocidal measures to ensure survival

Callahan 73 (Daniel, Ph.D., Senior Fellow at Harvard Medical School, International Program, Director, The Tyranny of Survival, p. 98-9)

The first requirement is that a way be found to respond to the need for survival without, at the same time, allowing that need to become a tyranny. The tyrant can result either because of a panic in the face of a genuine threat to survival, because survival is invoked for self-interested or totalitarian political purposed, or because of an unnecessarily or unrealistically high standard of acceptable survival. Perhaps it is possible to do no more in the face of the last two possibilities than to be aware of their potential force, and by political and cultural debate to neutralize or overcome their baneful effect. The panic which can result from a real threat to survival will be more difficult to cope with, a panic which can lead to draconian measures in the name of self-preservation. At that point, the question must be faced whether there can be such a thing as too high a price to pay for survival. I believe there can be, particularly when the proposed price would involve the wholesale killing of the weak and innocent the sacrifice to an extreme degree of the values and traditions which give people their sense of meaning and identity, and the bequeathing to future generations of a condition of life which would be degrading and dehumanizing. The price would be too high when the evil of the means chosen would be such as to create an intolerable life, both for the winners and for the losers. While it might be possible to conceive of individuals willing to have their lives sacrificed for the sake of group survival, it becomes more difficult to imagine whole groups willing to make such a sacrifice. And there is a very serious moral question whether that kind of sacrifice should ever be asked for or accepted, even on a voluntary basis.

#### Utilitarianism disregards individual ethics and creates inequality

Shestack, Former ambassador to the UN Commission on Human Rights and President of the American Bar Association, 98

(Jerome J. “The Philosophic Foundations of Human Rights”, Human Rights Quarterly 20.2, Project Muse)

The essential criticism of utilitarianism is that it fails to recognize individual autonomy; it fails to take rights seriously. 28 Utilitarianism, however refined, retains the central principal of maximizing, the aggregate deciders or general welfare as the ultimate criterion of value. While utilitarianism treats persons as equals, it does so only in the sense of including them in the mathematical equation, but not in the sense of attributing worth to each individual. Under the utilitarian equation, one individual’s desires of welfare may be sacrifices as long as aggregate satisfaction or welfare is increased. Utilitarianism thus fails to treat persons as equals, in that it literally dissolves moral personality into utilitarian aggregates. Moreover, the more increase in aggregate happiness of welfare, if abstracted from questions or distribution and worth of the individual, is not a real value or true moral goal.

Hence, despite the egalitarian pretensions of utilitarian doctrine, it has a sinister side in which the well-being of the individual may be sacrificed for what are claimed to be aggregate interests, and justice and right have no secure place. Utilitarian philosophy thus leaves liberty and rights vulnerable to contingencies and therefore at risk. 29 In an era characterized by inhumanity, the dark side of utilitarianism made the philosophy too suspect [End Page 214] to be accepted as a prevailing philosophy. Indeed, most modern moral theorists seem to have reached an anti-utilitarian consensus, at least in recognizing certain basic individual tights as constraints on any maximizing aggregative principle. In Ronald Dworkin’s felicitous phrase, rights must be “trumps” over countervailing utilitarian calculations.

#### Utilitarianism creates bankrupt decision making and undermines value to individual life by erasing civil liberty

Callahan 73 (Daniel, Ph.D., Senior Fellow at Harvard Medical School, International Program, Director, The Tyranny of Survival, p. 98-9)

Moreover, utility is too crude a concept to support such a calculation. We have little idea of what utility will mean to generations very distant form ours. We think we know something about our children, and perhaps our grandchildren, but what will people value 8,000 years from now? If we do not know, then there is the ironic prospect that something we deny ourselves now for the sake of a future generation may be of little value to them. A more defensible approach to the issue of justice among generations is the principle of equal access. Each generation should have roughly equal access to important values. We must admit that we shall not be certain of the detailed preferences of increasingly distant generations, but we can assume that they will wish equal chances of survival. On the other hand, there is no reason to assume that thye would want survival as a sole value any more than the current generation does. On the contrary, if they would wish equal access to other values that give meaning to life, we could infer that they might wish us to take some risks of species extinction in order to provide them equal access ot those values. If we have benefited from “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” why should we assume that the next generation would want only life?

#### Arbitrary definitions of risk aversion creates irrational decision calculus

Bailey, lecturer in politics, Princeton University, 1997

(James Wood, “Utilitarianism, Institutions, and Justice,” pg. 19)

This position is an infinite risk aversion, and its dubiousness is almost transparent. If the tiniest odds of conflict between two elements of personal good is enough to end any chance of ranking two prospects, as a practical matter it is completely impossible to rank any prospects whatsoever. Almost any action I undertake will expose me to marginally greater risks along some dimension of my personal good. If I spend the evening writing my book, there is a marginal decrease (I’m pretty sure) in my chance of making true friends. Had I spent the night out being sociable, I might have increased my chance of making true friends, but the odds are then considerable that I would not have advanced the cause of scholarship. As a practical matter there is nothing I can do short of total paralysis or complete irrationality that does not imperil at some level of risk some plausible component of my personal good. Infinite risk aversion, like the argument from ignorance against consequentialism, threatens to subvert not just utilitarianism but any tenable notion of rationality as well.

#### Absolute utilitarian ethics reduce disposable populations to tyranny of the majority

Kagan, Ph.D., Princeton University, 1987

(Shelly, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, volume: 17, number: 3, 9-1987, pg. 646)

Now it might well be objected that this theory of the good neglects many other factors which can affect the value of an outcome; and many who call themselves ‘utilitarians’ have some sympathy with this complaint. But we can put this aside—for it is its maximizing theory of the right—consequentialism—which accounts for the fact that utilitarianism permits and demands too much. On any plausible theory of the good, there will be cases where the only way to promote the good would be to harm some innocent individual—and consequentialism will always permit such acts. And there will inevitably be cases where promoting the good would require tremendous sacrifices from the agent—and consequentialism will demand such constant pursuit of the good. Essentially, then, utilitarianism gives the wrong answers because of its consequentialist basis. The sins of utilitarianism are really the sins of consequentialism.

#### Power of the majority decision calculus sacrifices the individual in fear for survival—result is barbarism to kill or be killed

Callahan 73 (Daniel, Ph.D., Senior Fellow at Harvard Medical School, International Program, Director, The Tyranny of Survival, p. 98-9)

So far I have tried to analyze the concept of survival and to note the various sense in which it is used and may be understood. Perhaps it can all be summed up in the following way. The power of the drive for survival draws on biological, psychological and social roots. As individuals, we fear death and extinction. That fear seems universal, attested to by scientific, literary, religious and philosophical evidence dating back to the beginning of human consciousness. But we also fear, perhaps no less strongly, the destruction of our psychological and social worlds of meaning and identity. A blow to the ego can be, in its perceived power, as strong as a blow to the body. A blow to our primary reference group—whether that group be national, racial, religious or ethnic—can be as threatening as a blow to the private self. For many or most of us, the private self cannot be sharply distinguished from the communal self which we share with others in our group. More people commit suicide because of a shock to their sense of self-worth and identity than because of dire physical illness. And human beings seem as willing to kill or be killed in defense of their social group as in defense of their individual life. We simply cannot understand human motivation or behavior if we do not understand both the pervasiveness of the drive for survival and the great variety of ways, individual and social in which it manifests itself.

#### Util fails to properly distinguish justice between outcome and justification

Shildrick, PhD in Feminist Philosophy 2003

(Margrit, Hypatia, “Humanity: A Moral History of the Twentieth Century” by Jonathoan Glover, online: Project Muse)

Despite a plethora of endorsements from philosophers such as Peter Singer and Martha Nussbaum, it would appear that Humanity is intended primarily for the lay reader. Certainly at a time when Israelis and Palestinians remain in a murderous face-off, when the world’s primary military power, the United States, appears unmoved by “collateral” killing, and when India and Pakistan ratchet up the possibility of nuclear attack, every one of us could benefit from a little more insight into the often unchallenged slide from threat to war to moral atrocity. Glover clearly lays bare the mechanics of such developments, and effectively traces the ways in which each person might feel him or herself morally blameless by failing to grasp the outcomes of discrete individual acts [End Page 227]

In his extensive account of Nazi Germany, Glover unravels the effects of distancing, of mindless obedience to authority, of putting efficiency before feeling, and of turning away rather than intervening in obvious wrongs. The hatred felt for the Jews and other less-than-ideal Aryans, and the desire to create by whatever means a purified state are paralleled worldwide by other conflicts, driven by why Glover calls “tribalism,” or by a ruthless consequentially in pursuit of putative social utopias (144). As he remarks of the Pol Pot regime: “As so often with social engineering, those doing the calculations of happiness became so immersed in means (“the revolution”) that they lost their grip on the ends” (305). And, one assumes, vice versa. But what does this really tell us that is not already apparent in the description? The drawback of Glover’s straightforward approach is that it eschews any deep level of analysis, and relies for insight, for the most par, on our existing moral beliefs and intuitions in the face of an accumulation of horrifying evidence of individual and state brutality. To make, and offer empirical support to, similar points over and over again, albeit with some significant variations, did not enhance my comprehension of the moral enemies, but rather served to reinforce their seeming inevitability.