# AT Air Pollution

## No Impact

#### Air Pollution Solves Cancer and doesn’t result in lung disease

Loris and Lieberman, 2008

(Nicolas is a Herbert and Joyce Morgan fellow at The Heritage Foundation, Ben is a Non Staff Member at the Heritage Foundation, The Heritage Foundation “EPA Should Not Increase the Ozone Regulation Burden” February 6th 2008, [http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/02/epa-should-not-increase-the-ozone-regulation-burden accessed 7/12/12](http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/02/epa-should-not-increase-the-ozone-regulation-burden%20accessed%207/12/12)) ZLH

Lowering ground-level ozone standards is not entirely beneficial for quality of health. The EPA distinguishes between "good" ozone and "bad" ozone: It maintains that ground-level (or "tropospheric") ozone is a pollutant and a health risk, while stratospheric ozone protects the public and the environment by shielding Earth from the Sun. However, ground-level ozone also reduces exposure to ultraviolet rays. In fact, Randall Lutter and Christopher Wolz suggest in Environmental Science and Technology News that a decrease in tropospheric ozone of 10ppb would result in increases in cataracts and non-melanoma skin cancer.[7] Subsequently, tightening the ground-level ozone standard could actually have detrimental health effects. The EPA identifies a number of health risks associated with breathing ozone, most of which involve harmful respiratory effects. Still, the correlation and severity of these risks, especially for asthma, are unclear. From 1980 to 2005, when levels of ozone and other pollutants fell in the United States, the number of asthmatics increased by 75 percent. In fact, some of the lowest asthma rates in the world are found in highly polluted developing countries in the former Soviet Union, while countries in Western Europe have considerably higher asthma rates and relatively lower levels of air pollution.[8]

#### Death from pollution is a relic of the past

Dunn 8

(John D., Civilian Faculty, Carl R. Darnall Army Medical Center, June 23 2008 “Comments on the CARB Diesel and Small Particles research and policy making. Critique of “Estimating premature deaths from small particulates and diesel fumes in California.” Pg 8-9 <http://heartland.org/sites/all/modules/custom/heartland_migration/files/pdfs/23441.pdf> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

It appears that these studies are mischievous and deceptive and they will panic politicians to do more to hurt the California economy for no real benefit to the citizens of California. S-137 People do not die of air pollution in America. The bad old days of London and Pittsburg dirty air are gone. Modern medicine would have saved those folks too because the last 50 years have completely changed our ability to treat respiratory illness. Air quality in California, the rest of America is benign and getting better all the time. CARB refuses to tell the truth on that, instead focusing on the negative. The days of the killer smog and soot in America are gone. This panic mongering has to stop and physicians in public health research have a professional duty to shut up the chicken littles. Regulatory and economic burdens of new CARB regimes of air quality controls, chasing after small particles and diesel exhaust, will jeopardize the economic wellbeing of the state of California and its residents. It is well known in public health epidemiology that poverty is an independent predictor of premature deaths. Will CARB be responsible for those deaths created by lost jobs and other economic hardships? Those will be real deaths, not the desk top toxin deaths predicted by the CARB.

#### Effects of air pollution treatable and negligible

Dunn 6

(John D., Staff, Heartland Institute, December 1 2006 “EPA Makes Mistakes in Proposed Air Quality Standards” <http://news.heartland.org/newspaper-article/2006/12/01/epa-makes-mistakes-proposed-air-quality-standards> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

Toxic air pollution existed in the past and still may occasionally occur in some places on the planet as a local phenomenon, as particulate and other noxious air pollution in industrial areas, from various sources. However, trends in U.S. air pollution in the past 30 years, as reported and confirmed by EPA, have all been positive and are attributable to changes in industrial processes, regulatory efforts, and cleaner use of petroleum and coal. People today do not go out into the streets of America, and then choke and die. The days of the people of London and Pittsburgh wearing dark clothes to mask the effect of soot and smoke are long gone. Any study or discussion of air pollution is focused on a moving, improving problem. The death and illness rates during smog and air pollution catastrophe periods in the past were also affected by less-effective medical management and heavier cigarette smoking. In addition, airway diseases, the main deleterious health effect of any air pollution, were less treatable before the 1970s, and pulmonary medicine has changed dramatically for the better since then.

#### Air pollution is not verifiably harmful

Dunn 6

(John D., Staff, Heartland Institute, December 1 2006 “EPA Makes Mistakes in Proposed Air Quality Standards” <http://news.heartland.org/newspaper-article/2006/12/01/epa-makes-mistakes-proposed-air-quality-standards> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

The main epidemiological and toxicological flaws of the EPA health effects studies and recent policymaking are as follows: 1. The Dockery 1993 and Pope 1995 studies did not show valid evidence of death effects, since they showed a death effects relative risk below 1.1, a negligible relative risk that is 10 percent of the minimum relative risk all epidemiologists consider necessary for proof of causation. A 200 percent or 300 percent change in death effect is generally regarded as the lower limit to establish causality. There is a greater relative risk of whole milk causing lung cancer than the relative risk EPA has shown for air pollution. 2. This relative risk problem cannot be overcome by EPA and health effects researchers emphasizing the misleading use of the term statistical significance, which is not a proof test. A finding can be statistically significant and reliable but absolutely wrong. 3. The health effects research used by EPA has consistently ignored the concept of threshold for toxicity. Toxicology science recognizes the idea of threshold of effect and the maxim that the dose makes the toxin. EPA consistently ignores this principle in projecting exceedingly small doses as having a potentially toxic effect. 4. The studies cited by EPA fail to show actual causality or even epidemiological proof, but instead rely on "associations" between various diseases and bad air (in historical instances, no less, not contemporary America). Associations are not proof, however. They are simply observations of clusters of events that may or may not mean something and are subject to the influence of confounding factors. For example, ice cream consumption and drowning or boating accidents are associated by season, but ice cream eating doesn't cause water accidents. 5. The "precautionary principle" used by EPA as stand-alone policy justification is nothing more than a dressed-up version of anxiety, cannot pass muster for admissible scientific evidence in federal court, and fails to include risk/benefit analysis. 6. EPA has a mandate to act only on the basis of acceptable scientific evidence of health effects, and is obligated to avoid speculative "precautionary principle" approaches to regulatory policy. 7. Under no valid scientific analysis can EPA use the methodologies or the results of its "supporting" studies to justify more burdensome air pollution regulations. In fact, there is strong evidence for rescinding the last round of National Ambient Air Quality Standards. 8. Nonetheless, EPA and its health effects researchers have made public announcements proclaiming that thousands are dying in America due to air pollution, when the studies do not show any proof of death effect at all. 9. Based on the information reviewed in this critique, it is clear EPA should revisit its old regulations; forgo new, more onerous, and more expensive regulatory interventions; and suspend its rulemaking regarding air pollution until it can find valid and reliable science on health effects.

## A2 Asthma

#### Dust mites cause asthma, not pollution

Environment & Climate 97

(News Staff, June 1st 1997 “Air Pollution and Asthma: Look Again” <http://news.heartland.org/newspaper-article/1997/06/01/air-pollution-and-asthma-look-again> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

The disturbing spread of asthma in Europe and the U.S. over the last several decades has prompted many observers to see a link between this chronic and debilitating disease and high levels of air pollution. But there is mounting evidence that no such correlation exists. Comparisons have been made between the prevalence of asthma and allergy in highly polluted Leipzig in the former East Germany and clean, green Munich in the West. Surprisingly, asthma and allergies are less prevalent in dingy Leipzig than in the sparkling Bavarian capital. Comparisons between environmentally correct Sweden and polluted Poland show the same phenomenon. Writing in a recent issue of Science, William O.C.M. Cookson and Miriam F. Moffatt explain this by observing that for asthmatics, the problem is indoors (and in their genetic makeup), not outdoors. "For asthmatics the most important source of allergens is the house dust mite," they note. "These mites thrive in warm, moist conditions and are ubiquitous in human bedding."

#### Air pollution has no connection to respiratory problems

#### Schwartz 7

(Joel, Senior Scientist @ Reason Foundation’s Environmental Program, October 1st 2007, “The American Lung Association's Fear Campaign” <http://news.heartland.org/newspaper-article/2007/10/01/american-lung-associations-fear-campaign?quicktabs_4=2> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

That's not the only evidence that belies claims that air pollution causes asthma. Every air pollutant we measure has been dropping for decades, even as the prevalence of asthma has risen. International data also show air pollution isn't causing asthma. The prevalence of asthma is greatest in wealthy countries with low air pollution, while highly polluted developing and ex-Soviet Union countries have low asthma prevalence. The former East Germany is Exhibit A. Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, eastern Germany had awful air pollution and low asthma. After reunification, eastern Germans adopted Western lifestyles. Air pollution dropped, and asthma rose to West German levels. Ozone Not Causing Asthma The Children's Health Study came up with other surprising results. For example, the most polluted areas in the CHS exceeded the federal eight-hour ozone standard more than 100 days per year during the eight years of the study. But these relatively high ozone levels had no effect on children's lung growth or capacity. Growing up in an area with average PM2.5 levels twice as high as the federal standard was associated with only a 1 to 2 percent reduction in lung capacity. And even the most polluted areas of the country no longer come anywhere close to twice the federal standard. Air pollution can exacerbate pre-existing respiratory conditions, but the effect is tiny at worst. Both federal and California regulators estimate that eliminating all human-caused ozone in the United States (somewhere around one-quarter to one-half of ozone is natural or transported from other countries) would prevent no more than 1 to 2 percent of all asthma emergency room visits and respiratory hospital admissions.

## A2 Inflammation

#### No inflammation from air pollution

Huess 8

(Jon M. Principal Scientist Air Improvement Resource, Inc. July 11th 2008 “Comments on Air Resources Board May 22, 2008 Draft Staff Report “Methodology for Estimating Premature Deaths Associated with Long-term Exposures to Fine Airborne Particulate Matter in California”” S-20 <http://www.arb.ca.gov/research/health/pm-mort/pm-mort_supp.pdf> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

One of the methods used to study ambient PM in a semi-controlled way is to expose humans or animals to ambient air particles that have been concentrated by a factor of 6 to 12. In studies with concentrated ambient air particles (CAPS), no consistent pattern of inflammatory changes has emerged. Some of these studies are referred to in Table 7 of the Pope and Dockery review as having somewhat mixed results, but with small increases in neutrophils and fibrinogen consistent with mild inflammatory responses to PM. The few statistically significant changes that have been reported in these studies are small, transient, and within the normal physiologic range. It is not clear if these changes are small but real changes that are not consistent because of the varying composition of the PM or if they are changes within the normal range solely due to chance. The synopsis of a recent HEI report on CAPS, diesel exhaust exposures and inflammation notes that “a consistent pattern of inflammation after exposure to a variety of PM mixtures in many studies has not emerged to date.” The synopsis notes for example that “many markers of inflammation were studied but few changed; of those that changed, the magnitude of the change was modest.” It was also noted that “because so few markers of inflammation changed in the current studies, it is possible that these changes occurred by chance.” Thus, with exposures to elevated concentrations of concentrated ambient particles there are, at the most, small transient changes that are within the normal physiologic range and not of clinical significance. Such changes are not likely able to explain the epidemiologic associations. In another recent CAPS paper, Kodavanti et al. 31 report on a series of short-term exposures of two strains of rats, one of which was bred to be spontaneously hypertensive. Six one-day exposure studies of the two strains of rats exposed to PM2.5 between 1138 and 1765 µg/m 3 found no biological effects compared to filtered air controls. Seven two-day exposure studies with PM2.5 between 144 and 2758 µg/m 3 reported small changes in a number of biochemical markers. However, the authors concluded that no biological effects correlated with CAPS mass. Rather, the authors concluded that the biological effects appeared to depend on chemical composition. This study adds additional support to the conclusion from a great deal of toxicological data that it is PM composition not PM mass that determines any PM health effect.

## Their Studies Are Flawed

#### Impact studies are flawed – confounding

Green & Schwarz 2

(Kenneth & Joel, Chief & Senior Scientists @ Reason Foundation’s Environmental Program, “Air Pollution Risk Exaggerated” May 1 2002 <http://www.heartland.org/environmentandclimate-news.org/article/398/Air_pollution_risk_exaggerated.html> accessed 7/12/12) ZLH

It is thus difficult to tell in an ecologic study whether observed health outcomes are the result of pollution exposure ... or other differences between people who live in high- and low-pollution areas. For example, if it turned out that people in high-pollution areas are more likely to drink or smoke, there’s a danger of inadvertently confusing an effect of alcohol consumption or smoking with an effect of pollution. This problem is known as confounding. Other confounders include diet, exercise frequency, income, marital status, “body-mass index” (BMI, a measure of obesity), and educational attainment. The Pope study researchers accounted for most of these confounders in their analysis. But the factors were assessed only when people entered the study in 1982 and not afterward. If any of these factors changed after 1982, and if the changes were correlated with pollution levels, then the study results would suffer from uncontrolled confounding. For example, if people in areas with higher pollution were also likely to get fatter between 1982 and 2000 when compared with people in lower pollution areas, researchers could mistake an effect of body weight for an effect of air pollution. Similar concerns apply to other confounders, such as diet and smoking. For example, if the prevalence of smoking decreased more slowly in higher pollution areas during the last 20 years, then smoking might have actually been responsible for effects the Pope study attributes to air pollution. Because the risks of smoking and obesity are so much larger than the risks the Pope study estimated for fine particulates, even a small difference in smoking and obesity trends between areas with differing pollution levels could swamp the claimed effect of differences in air pollution. For example, the Pope study found that a 70 percent increase in the concentration of fine, airborne particle levels increases risk of dying prematurely by 6 percent. But for a six foot, 200-pound, non-smoking man, gaining just 15 pounds increases the risk of an early death by 17 percent. Two other findings in the Pope study suggest the authors’ efforts to control for confounding were incomplete. First, the study found particulate exposure increases the risk of lung cancer for men, but not for women. Second, the association of air pollution and either cancer or cardiopulmonary mortality held only for people with a high school education or less. There are also other potentially confounding factors the Pope study did not assess at all, including income and wealth, and physical activity levels. These factors also have a strong relationship to health and could have changed over time in ways that could cause misattribution of health effects to air pollution when they were actually due to other factors.

Impact studies flawed – assumptions

Green & Schwarz 2

(Kenneth & Joel, Chief & Senior Scientists @ Reason Foundation’s Environmental Program, “Air Pollution Risk Exaggerated” May 1 2002 <http://www.heartland.org/environmentandclimate-news.org/article/398/Air_pollution_risk_exaggerated.html> accessed 7/12/12) ZLH

While it is very important to determine whether low-level exposure to airborne particles poses a risk to human health, such research must be based on sound assumptions in order to provide valid information about health risks. Nevertheless, the Pope study authors made a number of questionable assumptions that should have steered them away from claiming to have generated the “strongest evidence to date” regarding the relationship between airborne particles and human health. Regarding exposure, the study’s authors assumed that everyone within a zip code was exposed to the same level of particulate pollution, though evidence shows such exposure can vary widely. Not only does exposure vary from place to place in concentration, but it also varies in the chemical composition of the particles. The authors also assumed people told the truth on the initial questionnaires regarding how much they smoked and drank. But survey researchers have observed people tend to under-report those behaviors. Thus, if the authors used survey responses to account for smoking and drinking, they could be underestimating that risk in their study population. The authors also assumed health-related behaviors did not change after the entrance survey in 1982. For example, the authors assumed that persons who were nonsmokers when they entered the study never took up smoking. Similarly, they assumed that people who filled out surveys in 1982, and later died in the same area where they originally lived, had stayed there throughout. This problem also applies to other health-related factors, such as change in weight and diet after entering the study.

Mortality predictions have been confounded

Moolgavkar 8

(Suresh H Director of the Center for Epidemiology, PhD, May 22 2008 “Review of 'Methodology for Estimating Premature Deaths Associated with Longterm Exposures to Fine Airborne Particulate Matter in California'”<http://www.arb.ca.gov/research/health/pm-mort/pm-mort_supp.pdf> accessed 7/12/12)ZLH

In view of the inconsistencies reported in the studies based on the ACS cohort, how can any of the coefficients be used to derive reliable quantitative estimates of the impact of fine PM on mortality? The discussion above suggests strongly that, even if the association between ambient fine PM and mortality is real in these long-term studies, the magnitude of the association has been greatly exaggerated, as a result of either inadequate control of confounding, use of inappropriate statistical models, and consideration of only contemporaneous levels of air pollution, as I have discussed above. If the reported positive associations between fine PM and mortality in these re-analyses are due to uncontrolled confounding, what are the possible confounders? Two strong candidates are changing smoking habits and changing life-style factors. We know that there have been profound changes in life-style and smoking habits over the period of this study. Healthier life-styles – eating better, exercising more, smoking less – are more likely to have been adopted in the more affluent, better-educated communities, which are also exposed to lower pollution concentrations. Thus, the reported association between either fine PM or SO2 and mortality may simply reflect the impact of changing life-style factors, including changes in smoking habits, on mortality. In particular, smoking is such a strong risk factor for mortality that controlling changing habits well enough to assure absence of residual confounding is extremely difficult. The strong effect modification by level of education in the Krewski re-analyses suggests that socioeconomic and related factors, such as changes in smoking habits and life-style, need very careful control in these studies.

## Air Quality Good Now

#### Air quality is improving in the status quo

Feulner 05

(Edwin, PhD, president of the Heritage foundation, “Back to Earth,” the Heritage foundation, April 22nd 2005 <http://www.heritage.org/research/commentary/2005/04/back-to-earth> accessed 7/12/12) ZLH

Moreover, that increase occurred even as the planet’s population grew by hundreds of millions of people. As Lomborg notes, “this means that more than three-quarters of a billion more people got access to clean drinking water and sanitation” during those 30 years. Those people are also breathing more healthful air. “We often assume that air pollution is a modern phenomenon, and that is has got worse and worse in recent years,” Lomborg writes. In fact, though, “the air of the western world has not been as clean as it is now for a long time.” To prove that, Lomborg uses government statistics to calculate the cost of air pollution. After all, bad air is expensive -- it tends to make people sick, and it tends to shorten lives. Lomborg found that, since 1977, “average air pollution costs have dropped almost two-thirds, from $3,600 to $1,300” in 1999. That demonstrates that our air is getting better -- much better. And Lomborg notes this is happening even as the American economy more than doubled and as the number of car miles traveled has doubled over the last 30 years. “There is also good reason to believe that the developing world, following our pattern, in the long run likewise will bring down its air pollution.” In addition, our cleaner planet is producing enough to feed billions of people.

#### Air pollution is at safe levels and declining

Green & Schwarz 2

(Kenneth & Joel, Chief & Senior Scientists @ Reason Foundation’s Environmental Program, “Air Pollution Risk Exaggerated” May 1 2002 <http://www.heartland.org/environmentandclimate-news.org/article/398/Air_pollution_risk_exaggerated.html> accessed 7/12/12) ZLH

The Pope study authors contend the study provides “the strongest evidence to date that long-term exposure to fine-particulate air pollution common to many metropolitan areas is an important risk factor for cardiopulmonary mortality.” Media reports on the study were uncritical in repeating the study’s findings, giving short shrift to its many limitations. But even if we take the results at face value, the study greatly exaggerates actual risks, and does a poor job of placing the risk of particulate air pollution into the context of other risks people face. The study’s authors may well have mistakenly attributed to air pollution health risks that are actually caused by other factors. But even ignoring that concern, the study found a relatively small risk from particulates. For example, the study found reducing particulate levels by 60 percent would reduce the risk of dying during a 16-year period by about 6 percent. A six foot, 215 pound, non-smoking man can achieve the same risk reduction by losing about five pounds; he can get three times the risk reduction by losing about 20 pounds. The Pope study also found most of the health benefits from reducing airborne particulate levels accrue from reducing particulates down to a concentration in air of about 18 micrograms per cubic meter (mcg/m3). Reductions below this level provided little or no additional health benefit. But according to the Pope study’s pollution measures, all but 2 of 51 metropolitan areas were already below 18 mcg/m3 as of 1999-2000. National fine-particulate monitoring data also show few areas of the country now have particulate levels above 18 mcg/m3. Thus, even if the small additional health risk reported by the Pope study is real, few people are exposed to it. Ongoing reductions in particulate levels also mean future particulate levels will be even lower, further reducing risk. For example, total particulate emissions dropped 75 percent between 1940 and 1997, while per-capita emissions dropped more than 85 percent. Total particulate levels in air declined about 50 percent between 1960 and 1990, while coarse plus fine particulates declined 19 percent between 1991 and 2000. The health hazards discussed in the Pope study occur only after many years of exposure to elevated particulate levels. Continuing declines in particulate pollution suggest that remaining risks will not persist for long enough to damage health in the future.

## No Diesel Pollution

Diesel emissions down – California proves

Schaffer 8

(Frederick A., MD, Diesel Technology Forum, July 11th 2008,  [http://www.arb.ca.gov/research/health/pm-mort/pm-mort\_supp.pdf accessed 7/12/12)ZLH](%20http://www.arb.ca.gov/research/health/pm-mort/pm-mort_supp.pdf%20accessed%207/12/12)ZLH)

Declining statewide PM emission levels are at apparent variance with the sharply downward trend of diesel emissions in California, attributable to clean diesel technology and the development of ultra low-sulfur diesel fuel. According to the draft staff report, in fact, since 1999, annual average PM 2.5 levels have decreased 30% statewide, the statewide average PM concentration has declined to new low levels, and PM 2.5 exposures are much reduced from earlier levels. Research sponsored by the Diesel Technology Forum and conducted by Sierra research substantiates this trend in PM emissions. Our research reviewed the emissions inventory data from CARB taking in consideration all adopted diesel -- related regulations and their published benefits, and found that brake and tire wear will be the primary sources of fine particles in Southern California air as early as next year, with diesel PM falling to a less significant level of the overall statewide inventory. We incorporate by reference and submit this report SR2005-02-01 “The Contribution of Diesel Engines to Emissions of ROG, NOx, and PM2.5 in California: Past, Present and Future” with these comments and encourage its review and incorporation into your decision-making process.

# AT Racism

#### The plan creates low paying jobs confine African Americans to a subaltern role

Hamilton et al. 11 (Darrick, Algernon Austin, and William Darity Jr., Hamilton is a Ph.D Professor at Milano School of International Affairs, Management, and Urban Policy, Austin is Director of the Race, Ethnicity, and the Economy program at the Economic Policy Institute and is a Sociologist of Racial Relations, and Darity Jr. is Professor of Public Policy in the Sanford School at Duke University, Economic Policy Institute, “WHITER JOBS, HIGHER WAGES- Occupational segregation and the lower wages of black men”, February 28th, <http://www.epi.org/page/-/BriefingPaper288.pdf>, AH)

Discrimination and occupational crowding into low-wage jobs- Given the above evidence, Bergmann’s occupational crowding hypothesis appears to be a more plausible explanation for the systematic underrepresentation of black men in high-paying jobs and overrepresentation in low-wage jobs than the argument that black men simply make poor career choices or do not have the right hard or soft skills. Even after accounting for distributional differences in educational attainment, we estimate an inverse relationship between occupational wages and black male representation across various occupational categories regardless of the particular skills used in those categories. For instance, the relationship exists in white-collar, blue collar, and service occupations. Data based on black and white men’s college major choices is not consistent with the two groups having dissimilar career aspirations. Moreover, it is not apparent why black men would be any less financially motivated than white men. After considering differences in educational attainment, occupational skill, and career interests, we are left with labor market discrimination as the key explanation for a racially segregated labor market that systematically crowds black men into low-paying, less-desirable jobs and out of high-paying, more-desirable jobs. The findings in this study fit well with other recent research. Pager, Western, and Bonikowski (2009) find that employers are more likely to steer black job applicants than white applicants to lower-paying positions. In contrast, the authors find that white job applicants are sometimes steered to higher-paying jobs. This dynamic would produce both wage and occupational disparities like the ones found in this study. Acs and Loprest (2009), using the 2007 Survey of Employers in the Low-Skill Labor Market, find that, after taking into account individual, job, and employer characteristics, black workers earn 12% less than white workers. Tomaskovic-Devey, Thomas, and Johnson (2005, 83) conclude that part of the reason for blacks’ lower wages is “because the human capital they do possess is devalued in the labor market.” America not only has segregated schools (both between and within) and neighborhoods, it also has segregated occupations. Black men are disproportionately confined in lower-paying occupations. Until we more effectively combat labor market discrimination, black men will continue to earn less than white men. As a consequence, black families and black communities are likely to continue to maintain a subaltern status in our society.

#### African Americans will be sorted into the low-wage jobs created by the aff

Hamilton et al. 11 (Darrick, Algernon Austin, and William Darity Jr., Hamilton is a Ph.D Professor at Milano School of International Affairs, Management, and Urban Policy, Austin is Director of the Race, Ethnicity, and the Economy program at the Economic Policy Institute and is a Sociologist of Racial Relations, and Darity Jr. is Professor of Public Policy in the Sanford School at Duke University, Economic Policy Institute, “WHITER JOBS, HIGHER WAGES- Occupational segregation and the lower wages of black men”, February 28th, <http://www.epi.org/page/-/BriefingPaper288.pdf>, AH)

In 2008, the year of the election of the nation’s first black president, black men earned only 71% of what white men earned. In this report we examine how occupational segregation based on race is related to this disparity. We find that even after taking educational attainment into account, black men are overrepresented in low-wage jobs and underrepresented in high-wage jobs. Neither hard skills, soft skills, nor black men’s occupational interests provide convincing explanations for black male sorting into low-wage occupations. The most plausible explanation we find is that labor market discrimination excludes many black men from high wage jobs. Therefore, effectively combating employment discrimination will contribute significantly to closing the racial earnings gap and improving the socioeconomic position of black families and black communities. The data we have examined for this report reveal that: • After taking educational attainment into account, seven out of eight (87%) of U.S. occupations can be classified as racially segregated. • Occupations with smaller shares of black men have higher wages. The average of the annual wages of occupations in which black men are overrepresented is $37,005, compared with $50,333 in occupations in which they are underrepresented. • A $10,000 increase in the average annual wage of an occupation is associated with a seven percentage point decrease in the proportion of black men in that occupation. • The racially uneven distribution of occupations does not result from racial differences in occupational preferences. This is especially true in the management and professional occupations. • The relative success black men have in finding work in occupations that require high levels of “soft skills” (also referred to as interpersonal skills or “people skills”) is inconsistent with the explanation that black male deficiencies in soft skills are a driving force in their subpar labor market outcomes. The following section looks at categories of occupations and details the pattern of black male exclusion from high paying occupations and concentration in low-paying occupations. The second section discusses some interesting anomalies across occupations that differ in their level of representation of black men (for example, firefighting supervisors vs. police supervisors). Wages and the occupational representation of black men In 2008, the median hourly wage for black male full-time workers was $14.90, while the median for white male fulltime workers was $20.84, nearly $6 higher (see Table 1). This wage disparity is not due primarily to differences in educational attainment between black and white men. Even when one looks at male full-time workers of the same educational level, one sees significant black-white wage disparities. Among workers with a high school diploma (or GED) or a bachelor’s degree, black men earned only 74% of what white men earned. One possible explanation for this wage disparity is that black men tend to be crowded into lower-paying occupations—even when they have similar educational attainment as white men. This theory of “occupational crowding” was put forth by Barbara Bergmann (1971) almost 40 years ago. She argued that black workers are denied employment in more desirable high-wage occupations and crowded into less-desirable low-wage occupations. The result is an oversupply of workers in the crowded occupations, which has the effect of lowering wages further in those jobs. Bergmann states that employers’ refusal to hire qualified black workers in desirable jobs may stem from their distaste for associating with blacks, misperceptions concerning the productivity of black workers, or a fear of negative reactions from their customers or current nonblack employees if black employees are hired. 1 Even the black workers who are able to attain employment in white-dominant sectors receive relatively lower earnings than white workers because of the implicit threat that their only alternative is employment at even lower wages in sectors having an overrepresentation of black workers.

#### Africans Americans will be crowded into the low-paying jobs created by the plan

Hamilton et al. 11 (Darrick, Algernon Austin, and William Darity Jr., Hamilton is a Ph.D Professor at Milano School of International Affairs, Management, and Urban Policy, Austin is Director of the Race, Ethnicity, and the Economy program at the Economic Policy Institute and is a Sociologist of Racial Relations, and Darity Jr. is Professor of Public Policy in the Sanford School at Duke University, Economic Policy Institute, “WHITER JOBS, HIGHER WAGES- Occupational segregation and the lower wages of black men”, February 28th, <http://www.epi.org/page/-/BriefingPaper288.pdf>, AH)

America is still racially segregated in the workplace. Even after accounting for educational attainment, black males are crowded into low-wage occupations and crowded out of high-wage occupations. We examined if these racial differences resulted from differences in occupational preferences, and whether they resulted from racial differences in the distribution of soft skills that are not captured by traditional measures of educational attainment. In neither case were we able to generate any substantial evidence that explained the disparate pattern of racial occupational sorting. In contrast, our analysis presents considerable evidence that is consistent with the finding, born out by audit study research, that identifies labor market discrimination as a mechanism for this sorting. Much has been accomplished in the 40-plus years since the publication of Barbara Bergmann’s (1971) seminal work on occupational segregation and the landmark passage of U.S. civil rights legislation. Blacks have held the highest positions in virtually every occupation in America, including president. Nonetheless, the nation still remains challenged by a racially segregated workforce and labor market discrimination, albeit less blatant than in our Jim Crow past.

#### **The plan creates low paying jobs that fuel racism**

Lowe 12 (Frederick H., Staff, *The North Star News*, “Black Men Concentrated in Low-Paying Jobs Regardless of Education”, January 19th, <http://www.thenorthstarnews.com/Story/Black-Men-Concentrated-in-Low-Paying-Jobs-Regardless-of-Education>, 7/12/12, AH)

Labor-market segregation consigns black men to low–wage jobs despite their educational achievements and their abilities to interact successfully with customers, according to an Economic Policy Institute Briefing Paper. “Black men are overrepresented in low-wage jobs and underrepresented in high-wage jobs,” write authors Darrick Hamilton, Algernon Austin and William Darity Jr., in the paper, “Whiter Jobs and Higher Wages: Occupational Segregation and the Lower Wages of Black Men." “Neither hard skills, soft skills, nor black men’s occupational interests provide convincing explanations for black male sorting in low-wage occupations,” the paper added. Austin is director of the Race, Ethnicity, and the Economy Program at the Economic Policy Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank concerned with achieving a fair, prosperous economy. Hamilton is an associate professor at Milano School of International Affairs, Management, and Urban Policy, an affiliated faculty member in the Department of Economics at The New School for Social Research. He is co-author of "Occupational Segregation and Lower Wages of Black Men." Darity is a professor of African and African-American Studies and Economics at Duke University's Sanford School of Public Policy. In 2008, the year Barack Obama was elected the nation's first African-American president, black men earned only 71 percent of what white men earned. The briefing paper also noted that after educational attainment is taken into account, 87 percent of U.S. occupations can be classified as racially segregated and that occupations with smaller numbers of black-male employees have higher wages. “The average of the annual wages of occupations in which black men are overrepresented is $37,005, compared with $50,333 in occupations in which they are underrepresented,” wrote the authors. They added that a $10,000 increase in average annual wage of an occupation is associated with a 7 percent drop in the proportion of the black men in that profession. Educational achievement does not explain wage disparities between black men and white men, the study found. “Among workers with a high school diploma (or GED) or a bachelor's degree, black men earned only 74 percent of what white men earned,” the report said. Economist Barbara Bergmann said black men earn much lower wages than white men because of “occupational crowding.” Black workers are denied employment in more desirable high-wage jobs and are crowded into less-desirable low-wage occupations. The result is an oversupply of workers in the crowded occupations, which has an effect of lowering wages further in those jobs, Bergmann said.

Only addressing a single factor of oppression creates false distinctions that result in a divide and conquer takeover by the right and perpetuates structural inequality

Ehrenreich 2002

(Nancy Ehrenreich – Prof. of Law @ U. of Denver – Winter 2002 U. of Missouri at Kansas City Law Review “SUBORDINATION AND SYMBIOSIS”)

I have argued that, through a discourse of distinctness that treats systems of subordination as separate and discrete, opponents of progressive claims are able to play groups off against each other-justifying subordination along one axis by derogating the victim or elevating the perpetrator along another axis; deflecting claims of one type of subordination by calling them another; and purporting to find conflict and inconsistency where there is actually multiple identity and mutual reinforcement.  
All of these tactics are made possible by the assumption that systems of subordination operate independently. By treating as separate and distinct what are really overlapping systems, legal actors are able to justify acts of subordination, deflect allegations of bias, and generate a divide-andconquer rhetoric that inhibits progressive coalitions.

Attacks on only one facet of oppression are more likely to fail, this failure will reinforce both aspects of the oppression

Ehrenreich 2002

(Nancy Ehrenreich – Prof. of Law @ U. of Denver – Winter 2002 U. of Missouri at Kansas City Law Review “SUBORDINATION AND SYMBIOSIS”)

If different systems of subordination actually reinforce each other, then a policy that attacks one will not necessarily shore up the other. If an attack is made with the multiplicity of identity and the dynamics of symbiosis in mind, it might succeed in weakening all the systems that are implicated in the social practice(s) it wishes to change. n293 Moreover, an attack that is not made in such a way, focusing instead on only one system of subordination, is likely to be unsuccessful. By failing to challenge the other systems that support the one it seeks to change, it risks ultimately (if indirectly) strengthening rather than weakening its target.  
Thus, the zero sum problem is a false concern. The point is to look for the solution that challenges both (or all) systems simultaneously. For example, bell hooks rejects the false conflict between "feminists" and "African Americans" over rap music. The misogyny in the music must be condemned, hooks argues, but so also must the right's single-minded focus on misogynist behavior by young black musicians, to the exclusion of the endless other examples of misogyny in the society. n294  
Similarly, Leti Volpp rejects the false conflict between feminism and multiculturalism that is often cited in the literature on the cultural defense. n295 Many debates about the defense, she explains, see it as raising a choice between protecting women from patriarchal cultures and protecting non-Western cultures from ethnocentric attitudes about gender. In contrast, Volpp points out that the supposedly "patriarchal" cultures from which individuals asserting the defense come are in fact sites of conflict and controversy between the sexes. Thus, to equate such cultures with the patriarchal viewpoint held by some of their members is to be both sexist (ignoring women) and racist (holding a unidimensional and negative image of non-white societies). Once again, then, racism and sexism reinforce each other and must be jointly attacked. n296

#### Reducing debate about racism to the opposition to “white supremacy” allows racist ideologies, thoughts, and actions to reassert themselves in the guise of condoning difference.

Flood 1997

(Christopher Flood, University of Surrey, “Pierre-André Taguieff and the Dilemmas of Antiracism”, L'Esprit Createur, Volume 37, Number 2, Summer 1997, pp. 68-78, muse)

As the Appel and Droit's article suggested, the other controversial position adopted by Taguieff related to the ongoing debates over how best to fight against the apparent rise of racism in France and how to reverse the trend of increasing support for the FN. The culmination of Taguieff's extensive writings on the subject thus far has been the monumental work, Les Fins de Tantiracisme, but more recently he has given a broad-ranging interview to the philosopher-journalist Philippe Petit, published as a short book under the title La RÃ©publique menace.7 Taguieff shares the desire to see the rise of the FN halted. To that extent his thinking coincides with the diffuse ideological currents which go under the names of antifascism and antiracism. However, he has argued that the theoretical dimension of antiracism has been incoherent and that most of the practical strategies developed so far have been misconceived, however honourable their intention. He has become a vociferous critic of groups such as SOS Racisme. He has also been scathing on the subject of Bernard-Henri Levy and other antiracist publicists whom he accuses of renouncing rational argument in favour of pietistic moralism and polemic—Philippe Petit's interview with Taguieff offers him the wonderfully leading question: "Qu'est-ce qui vous irrite le plus dans l'intervention de Bernard-Henri Levy?" (Republique, 48). Like many intellectuals, Taguieff is not averse to the posture of the solitary, embattled defender of truth, surrounded on all sides by ignorance and misunderstanding. His stance in the introduction of Les Fins de l'antiracisme is a case in point. There is an element of pedagogical arrogance in its claim to superior understanding of the errors of those who have previously addressed the problem. He anticipates that he will be attacked as a heretic by the complacent dogmatists whom he seeks to correct, but he purports to reform the antiracist movement by supplying it with a real conceptual basis and preparing the way for a more sophisticated and effective programme of action. In fact, the failures of antiracism provide ideal targets for Taguieff's analytical rigour. The philosophical argument is intended to support the practical as Taguieff contends that it is impossible to pursue an effective struggle against racism if neither racism nor antiracism is clearly defined and understood: Trop d'antiracistes aujourd'hui sont assures de voir et tenir la solution autant que l'explication alors meme qu'ils n'ont ni pos ni vu le probleme. Il est temps de suspendre methodiquement nos assurances et nos certitudes "antiracistes", de reveiller la raison antiraciste longtemps assoupie, bercee par le concert de la vulgate et du spectacle. Reconnatre qu'il y a problÃ¨me: il faut savoir ce qu'on condamne, et pourquoi on le condamne. (Fins, 123) In Les Fins de l'antiracisme, building on arguments previously developed in La Force du prejuge, it is emphasized that racist attitudes, racist behaviour and racist ideology are analytically and practically independent of each other, even though they often appear in combination. In each of these spheres there are multiple variants produced by different sets of determinants. For example, in the ideological field, racism has historically been intertwined with liberal-progressive ideas deriving from the Enlightenment, but also with reactionary traditionalism, with socialism, with nationalism, with colonialism and imperialism (Taguieff distinguishes the two) and with eugenicism. Taguieff further argues the complexity of identifying contemporary racism, which does not necessarily take the forms which it did in the past. It does not always involve an explicit assertion of biological inequality. There are other forms, notably cultural differentialism which enables its advocates to claim that they are not racists but defenders of the integrity of all ethnic cultures. Thus, racism can be articulated in praise of difference and otherness. Taguieff constructs a typology of ideological racisms, which correlates with a symmetrical typology of antiracisms. He explores the variants in terms of their historical development, their ramifications and their interrelationships. He equally shows how antiracisms can too easily slide into racisms and more generally how incoherent, internally heterogeneous, and even mutually contradictory, antiracist discourses are. Moreover, Taguieff, who considers himself a realist in such matters, has little sympathy for the antiraciste's Utopian, historicist visions of the march of progress towards the inevitable unification of mankind, conceived by some as the abolition of all differences, but by others as the egalitarian sanctification of all differences. As he waspishly observes, the theoretical incoherence of antiracism is matched only by the dogmatism of its leading exponents, and the ideological poverty of the movement makes it particularly susceptible to manipulation by politicians for party political purposes or to exploitation by the media as a spectacle. Although he draws attention to the breadth and diversity of racism, Taguieff shares the widespread preoccupation with the influence of the FN in particular. In the long perspective, he sees the emergence of the FN as a symptom of public reaction to the effects of the present chaotic transition towards economic globalization and cultural homogenization, which is affecting France among other countries. Globalization has produced a localist reaction. Instead of erasing national attachment it has reinforced it as a focus of the fundamental need to belong. Among the reasons for the failure of antiracism, according to Taguieff, is the fact that it has become antinational, thereby rejecting what most people cherish in their attachments to national independence, national community, and the traditional role of the state.

#### Raising the struggle racism to the status of a “moral obligation” prevents debates about solutions to combat racism – allows new forms of racism and turns the case

Winant 2006

(Howard, Temple University, "Race and Racism: Towards a Global Future." Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol.

29, no. 5 (September 2006), pp. 986-1003. http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/routledge/01419870.html)

These contradictions are indications of the uncertainties of the current moment in racial politics. The necessarily brief review presented here suggests that a new racial hegemony has by no means been secured. There are fundamental instabilities in the ideologies of colorblindness, racial "differentialism," and "nonracialism." Racial biologism is prospering; is it still a "backdoor to eugenics" (Duster 2003 [1990])? Race/gender/class "intersectionality" denotes the instability in practice -- both at "micro-social" and at "macro-social" levels -- not only of race and racism, but also of other axes of oppression. The link between racism and empire was wrongly considered terminated; instead it has been reinvented, principally through US neoconservatism. In fact none of the "posts-" -- post-civil rights, post-apartheid, post-coloniality -- is sufficiently "post"; none denotes a full break with the conditions their very names contain; all necessitate uneasy and continuous adjustments, both on the level of policy and politics, and on that of personal experience and identity, to the ongoing operation of racial conflicts. 17 So what is the meaning of these racial contradictions for the future? What do they suggest about the development of a new racial justice agenda, both globally and locally? Although the intellectual endeavor required to rethink global racial conditions is rather daunting, the political and personal commitments we "movement scholars" have undertaken do not permit us to desist from trying to make sense of the current world racial situation and of our role within it. Neither do they allow us to "stop thinking about tomorrow," as the popular song would have it. Simply reasserting the continuing significance of race, while not mistaken, nevertheless has serious limits. Such an approach is insufficiently pragmatist, as well as deficient in its democratic commitments. As we learn from racial formation theory and critical race theory, race is a flexible concept that is constantly being reshaped in practical political activity. That the civil rights movement and the racial nationalisms of the 1960s were absorbed and rearticulated in a new racial hegemony was not only a contradictory outcome, one that combined some real achievements with some painful defeats; it was also a valuable lesson about racial politics.

### Evaluate the CP – Finnis

#### And, if we win that our counterplan solves the aff, it accesses their entire ethics framework. It’s irresponsible to refuse our CP if it solves the aff and we have a net-benefit.

John Finnis, Professor of Law & Legal Philosophy, 1980, Natural Law and Natural Rights, p. 111-2

The sixth requirement has obvious connections with the fifth, but introduces a new range of problems for practical reason, problems which go to the heart of ‘morality’. For this is the requirement that one bring about good in the world (in one’s own life and the lives of others) by actions that are efficient for their (reasonable) purpose(s). One must not waste one’s opportunities by using inefficient methods. One’s actions should be judged by their effectiveness, by their fitness for their purpose, by their utility, their consequences… There is a wide range of contexts in which it is possible and only reasonable to calculate, measure, compare, weigh, and assess the consequences of alternative decisions. Where a choice must be made it is reasonable to prefer human good to the good of animals. Where a choice must be made it is reasonable to prefer basic human goods (such as life) to merely instru­mental goods (such as property). Where damage is inevitable, it is reasonable to prefer stunning to wounding, wounding to maiming, maiming to death: i.e. lesser rather than greater damage to one-and-the-same basic good in one-and-the-same instantiation. Where one way of participating in a human good includes both all the good aspects and effects of its alternative, and more, it is reasonable to prefer that way: a remedy that both relieves pain and heals is to be preferred to the one that merely relieves pain. Where a person or a society has created a personal or social hierarchy of practical norms and orienta­tions, through reasonable choice of commitments, one can in many cases reasonably measure the benefits and disadvantages of alternatives. (Consider a man who ha decided to become a scholar, or a society that has decided to go to war.) Where one is considering objects or activities in which there is reasonably a market, the market provides a common de­nominator (currency) and enables a comparison to be made of prices, costs, and profits. Where there are alternative techniques or facilities for achieving definite objectives, cost-benefit analysis will make possible a certain range of reasonable comparisons between techniques or facilities. Over a wide range of preferences and wants, it is reasonable for an individual or society to seek to maximize the satisfaction of those preferences or wants.

# AT Employment/Poverty

### Not Solve Employment

#### Minimum wage is a major cause of unemployment – reduces business confidence of employees

Ostrowski 06 How To Help Low-Wage Workers (Without Raising the Minimum Wage) by James Ostrowski by This article was originally published by Free New York as Policy Report No. 5. November 23, 2006 James Ostrowski, an associate policy analyst of the Cato Institute, was vice chairman of the New York County Lawyers Association Committee on Law Reform.<http://www.lewrockwell.com/ostrowski/ostrowski77.html>

The Minimum Wage Law Causes Unemployment This discussion of the legal ramifications of the minimum wage laws leads directly to an economic analysis of the law. The law will cause all those workers whose productivity falls below the new wage rate to be fired. Keep in mind that raising the minimum wage imposes new costs on the employer for Social Security, unemployment insurance and other costs. All these costs and not just the marginal wage increase will be considered by the employer in determining whether and which workers to fire. Also, it is a mistake to assume that merely because a certain worker is retained under the new law, that such retention will be permanent. The sudden firing of a worker can cause disruption that outweighs the marginal lost profits from temporarily keeping a worker who produces less gross revenue than he or she is paid. Rather, the true effects of the law are best seen in the longer term. For example, where have all the theater ushers gone? They were not all fired at once but gradually disappeared as it became more expensive to hire them. There are studies that purport to disprove with statistics what economic logic tells us: the minimum wage causes unemployment. One study concluded that employment in fast food restaurants increased when the minimum wage increased. However, all economic logic says is that, all things being equal, the minimum wage will cause unemployment, or to put it differently, the minimum wage will lead to a situation in which fewer people are employed than if there was no minimum wage. Thus, we can say that, in the example cited, without the minimum wage, employment would have grown even faster. It is also true that an empirical study that showed that employment rose when the minimum wage was repealed would not definitely prove the theory because employment might have risen for some other reason! Economic logic tells us that the minimum wage causes unemployment compared to economies without a minimum wage. In the real world, there are so many variables that affect the level of employment that no empirical study can definitely disprove our thesis. Without veering into the complex subject of the methodology of economics, suffice it to say that we use economic theory to explain real world experience, not the reverse. Tragically, those priced out of the labor markets by the minimum wage are often young, unskilled, high school drop-outs, or minorities. Those who most need that first unskilled, low-wage job are most likely to be economically and legally unemployable after the wage rate is raised. Thus, the first obvious effect of the minimum wage is to cause unemployment among the least skilled and most disadvantaged workers! Can't employers keep such workers on the payroll and simply shift the cost to their customers in the form of higher prices? Economist Walter Block says no: It is my view that in equilibrium nothing will be shifted onto consumers. Instead, what will happen is that those whose marginal revenue product (MRP) (productivity) falls below the new minimum wage level will simply no longer be employed. The only additional costs will not be those of paying someone more than his MRP. For example, paying $7.00 per hour to someone who is only worth $6.00. (At a minimum wage of $5.15 such a person could be employed. But at $6.00 MRP, he can no longer be employed, in equilibrium.) No, the only costs will be rearranging things so that there is now a greater demand for a few people with higher productivity, say $10 per hour (and more sophisticated capital equipment) to take the place of all those whose productivity falls into the range $5.15—$7.00. These people, like our guy with MPR = $6, can no longer work. This disruption is costly.

#### The lack of an education is a major obstacle to people attaining better economic opportunities. Education is key to gaining a steady employment

Strauss 11 The Connection Between Education, Income Inequality, and Unemployment Posted: 11/02/11 12:50 PM ET Steven Strauss was founding Managing Director of the Center for Economic Transformation at the New York City Economic Development Corporation. He will be an Advanced Leadership Fellow at Harvard University for 2011-2012. He has a Ph.D. in Management from Yale University. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/steven-strauss/the-connection-between-ed\_b\_1066401.html

High and rising income inequality in the United States has recently been widely commented upon. What has not been as widely discussed is the role educational attainment has played in these disparities. Indeed, America is in some ways two different countries economically, segregated by educational achievement. Table 1 below shows a significant relationship between income levels and educational attainment. Basically, the higher the education level, the higher the income. For example, people with professional degrees earned 6x as much as people who did not graduate from high school (in 2009: $128,000 vs. $20,000). However, this is not just an income effect. Table 2 demonstrates that US unemployment rates and educational attainment are also strongly related to each other. The better educated the group, the lower the unemployment rate -- and this striking result is consistent over a ten-year period and is highly significant. These figures strongly suggest weak demand in our economy -- over a long period -- for less educated workers, and greater demand for more educated workers. Even assuming an imperfect labor market, this indicates rising wages for workers in demand (high educational attainment), and weak-to-flat wages for workers not in demand (low educational attainment). At the extremes, if you have less than a high school education, you've spent the last 10 years in a recession -- with the lowest unemployment rate being 7%, and the highest reaching 15%. If you have a four-year college degree and at least some graduate school, recessions have been mild -- with current unemployment rates of 4.5%, compared to an overall rate of 9%. In many ways, our two economies have created two separate societies. Those with low educational attainment drift permanently between recessions and depressions, with little stability. Those with high educational attainment experience increased wealth, only mild recessions, and interesting projects with personal growth. Additionally, these numbers suggest that our lack of highly-skilled knowledge workers is a major binding constraint on the growth of the American economy. In 2006 and 2007, unemployment rates for the highly-skilled group were as low as 2% -- a figure viewed as basically beyond full employment. These results also imply that further economic growth in 2007 would have resulted in even higher wages (and more income inequality) for the more highly educated group. Interestingly, it appears that high school students are already reacting to these price signals from the market. In 2000, 63% of high school completers enrolled in college. By 2009, this number approached 70% (SAUS, Table 276). Some potential policy implications: Finding employment for older workers with limited educational attainment may be challenging. A significant number of people may prematurely withdraw permanently from the labor force. The next cyclical economic upswing will likely again see shortages of highly-skilled workers. Visa reform allowing increased importation (or retention) of 'top talent' would greatly benefit our economy, by reducing a major constraint on economic growth. Most flat tax proposals appear to only increase income inequality (by lowering taxes for higher income groups) without addressing the structural unemployment issues. With due respect to our presidential hopefuls -- flat taxes, regulatory reform and fiscal austerity don't address a major cause underlying income inequality and unemployment. Instead, their proposals might just make things worse.

#### High Unemployment is due to mismatched skillsets, it is far more important to train workers with the right skill set which would reduce unemployment

Shapiro 12 Skills Mismatch' Causing High Unemployment? Not Quite Lila Shapiro is a Business Writer at the Huffington Post. She previously worked at Talking Points Memo, editing TPMCafe. First Posted: 02/21/2012 7:09 pm Updated: 06/14/2012 6:05 pm http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/21/skills-mismatch-unemployment\_n\_1292273.html

One popular explanation for the stubbornly high unemployment rate is that businesses want to hire -- but they simply can't find workers with the right skills to take the jobs. On Sunday, the Washington Post reported that there were as many as 600,000 jobs unfilled in the manufacturing industry, and that factory owners are having an increasingly difficult time filling spots, despite millions of jobs lost in the past decade. But some labor and manufacturing experts say the real story is far more complex than a "skills mismatch." And some say that the basic premise -- 600,000 unfilled jobs -- paints a deeply misleading picture. "I do not find any credible evidence of anything approaching a shortage in manufacturing workers anywhere in the country," said Andrew Sum, a professor of economics at Northeastern University who specializes in education and the labor market. The Bureau of Labor Statistics also calculates job openings in manufacturing -- and its numbers are less than half those cited by the Post, which attributed its figures to the Manufacturing Institute, an industry trade group. According to the government data, last year the average number of vacancies was less than 230,000. There are seven to eight times that many unemployed manufacturing workers, Sum said. The Post reported that the shortage of skilled workers has also pushed up wages. But here, too, Sum said, the evidence does not match up. Since the beginning of the century, manufacturing wages for production workers have barely increased, Sum said. And in the last two years, as employers have said they've been having difficulty filling spots, wages have declined slightly. "If there was a big shortage of workers, than we should find wages rising. But this just isn't the case," Sum said. "That doesn't mean that specific companies won't ever have trouble finding a machinist, but when you add it all up, it doesn't amount to very much." Some academics and labor advocates say a problem with the skills mismatch argument is that it shifts the blame for the jobs crisis onto workers who lack skills, and away from cash-rich companies declining to hire. The supposed mismatch also relaxes debate on the need for fiscal stimulus policies to increase payrolls. "The point of the argument is to then say: 'We don't need to ramp up demand or infrastructure investment. We need to fix people,'" said Paul Osterman, a professor of human resources and management at the M.I.T. Sloan School of Management. This rhetoric, Osterman added, fits well with another priority for business owners: "Firms are always interested in shifting the costs of training to the public sector," he said. Over the past 30 years, experts say, most in-house training programs at manufacturers have disappeared. The programs have never been entirely replaced, even as private and public training programs have been created, with a wide range of success in employment placement. Recently, more companies have looked to states to train their workforces. North Carolina, for example, spent $1 million to develop a custom curriculum at a community college for workers at a Caterpillar plant. The primary beneficiary, The New York Times reported, was Caterpillar itself. In President Barack Obama's proposed 2013 budget, he would invest $8 billion to support job training partnerships between community colleges and businesses, a proposal that generated genuine excitement among those seeking a way out of what is sometimes called "the jobless recovery." But while many applaud job training programs at community colleges, the schools have been overwhelmed with students in recent years, and most experts say Obama's funding is not near enough to help the more than 21 million Americans who are unemployed or underemployed. "Many students do well in job training programs and better efforts at getting young and unemployed workers into some of the better programs would be good policy," said Lawrence Katz, a professor of economics at Harvard University. "But it is probably not realistic to think this will have a large effect on unemployment."

### Not Key to Econ

#### Low wage jobs aren’t key to the economy

Young 12 (Lin, newspaper contributor, “Low-wage jobs aren't the answer” Tampa Bay Times, <http://www.tampabay.com/opinion/letters/thursdays-letters-low-wage-jobs-arent-the-answer/1239814>, 07/07/12) VZ

Some argue our nation is still in a recession, while others say we are headed into another one. Regardless, the nation cannot come out of recession or avert one without economic growth. Economic growth is expressed as growth in the gross domestic product, which measures the production of goods and services in this country. About two-thirds of our GDP is consumer spending. A consumer is merely an American with a job and a paycheck that is sufficient to cover basic bills and allow for discretionary spending on goods and services. Although a low-wage job might enable some people to get off food stamps, they will likely not spend much more on groceries, or anything else, than they were before. People with low wages can barely make ends meet. They simply don't have the money to spend our nation out of recession. It will take Americans with living-wage jobs that provide enough income for significant discretionary spending to pull this nation out of recession.

#### Turn: low wage jobs prevent economic growth

WOCPN 12 (Women of Color Policy Network, “CEPR Report Focuses on the High Percentage of Low Wage Jobs in the United States,” New York University Robert F Wagner School of Public Service, <http://wagner.nyu.edu/wocpn/blog/2012/01/26/cepr-report-focuses-on-the-high-percentage-of-low-wage-jobs-in-the-united-states.html>, 01/26/12) VZ

A recent report, by the Center for Economic Policy Research, shows that of all OECD nations the United States has the largest share (24.8 percent) of its labor force working in "low-wage work." The report, by CEPR Senior Economist John Schmitt, makes the important point that economic growth alone will not cure the American low-wage problem. The report highlights that: "Higher levels of GDP per capita, for example, are not associated with a reduction in the share of low-wage workers. [...] there is no relationship between the level of per capita GDP and the low-wage share. Nor is rapid growth associated with a shrinking low-wage share. [...] the relationship between real growth in a country's GDP per capita over the period 1980-2010 is not meaningfully related to a country's low-wage share in 2009." The CEPR analysis highlights that if economic gains are not shared equitably across society, earnings in low-wage positions will remain stagnant. The report notes that one of the reasons that the United States suffers from the highest level of low-wage work amongst industrialized nations is the lack of "inclusiveness" in the U.S. labor market. The report offers a definition of "inclusiveness" stating that nations with more "inclusive" labor markets also have an accessible safety net, strong collective bargaining institutions, and a higher share of GDP devoted to social transfers. Additionally, the CEPR report highlights that low-wage work is "not a clear-cut stepping stone to higher-wage work."

#### Turn: low income jobs prevent workers from moving up the economic ladder

Neumark 7 (David, professor of economics at the University of California, Irvine, and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, “The Economic Effects of Minimum Wage Laws,” Georgia Public Policy Foundation, <http://www.gppf.org/article.asp?RT=4&p=pub/FreeEnterprise/Minimum070126.htm>, 01/27/07) VZ

The federal minimum wage has been $5.15 since 1997, but 18 states and the District of Columbia have minimum wages higher than the federal level. Proponents claim that raising the minimum wage is an effective way to fight poverty. They say that minimum wage laws help poor workers move up the economic ladder. But the best economic studies suggest otherwise. Economic theory says that when the price of unskilled labor rises, employers look for cheaper alternatives. For example, a manager at McDonald’s might respond to a minimum wage hike by replacing three less-skilled workers with two more-skilled workers, or by investing in equipment that allows the restaurant to produce the same amount of food with fewer workers. The empirical evidence tends to confirm these predictions. Although measuring the exact impact of changes in the minimum wage can be challenging, the best empirical research suggests that increases in the minimum wage tend to reduce the employment of low-wage workers. Even worse, minimum wages tend to reduce the education, work experience, and job training of low-income workers over the long-term. As a result, fewer will be able to eventually obtain better-paying jobs. When a minimum wage goes up, the higher wages don’t always go to the workers who need them most. Minimum wage laws create winners and losers – the winners see their wages and incomes rise, while the losers are unable to find jobs or to work as many hours as they would like. If the winners were mostly unskilled workers in poor families, a minimum wage increase might be worthwhile. Unfortunately, this doesn’t seem to be the case. Low-wage workers (earning between $5.00 and $6.25 per hour) are found in households across the income spectrum. While 14.2 percent of low-wage workers are in poor families, more than 40 percent are in families in the top half of the income distribution. Many of those workers are teenagers who earn low wages only until they acquire the skills that lead to higher-paying jobs. In a 2005 paper, I examined data from 1986 to 1995 and found that a 10 percent increase in the minimum wage tended to cause a nearly three-quarter percentage point increase in the poverty rate. Other studies that have examined the effects of the minimum wage on poverty have found that the minimum wage either has no effect on poverty, or actually increases it. Hence, the evidence suggests that higher minimum wages tend to help low-wage workers in higher-income families, such as teenagers in middle-class families, while causing some workers close to the poverty line to slip below it due to fewer work opportunities.

#### And, no mobility means no economic growth

St. Louis Post-Dispatch 11 (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, “Low-wage jobs no solution: U.S. inequality compounding bad economy,” The Daily Camera, <http://www.dailycamera.com/opinion-columnists/ci_18938916?source=rss>, 09/23/11) VZ

It should come as no surprise to anyone living in the real world that household incomes fell again last year in the United States, leaving millions more individuals and families struggling that much harder to pay their bills and meet day-to-day expenses. Median annual household income slipped another 2.3 percent from 2009 to 2010, according to the latest updates from the U.S. Census Bureau, affirming the particularly tenacious after-effects of the recession that began in 2007. Overall, household incomes have fallen from $53,000 before the recession to $49,400 last year, even though the recession officially ended in the summer of 2009. Decreasing income has meant increasing poverty. In 2010, 46.2 million of the 306 million people in the richest nation in the history of civilization lived in poverty. That was 2.6 million more than the previous year. Even more troubling are the undeniable indications of a disappearing American middle class. Economic analysts have noted that so-called middle-skilled jobs, both blue collar and white collar, took a disproportionately large hit between 2007 and 2009. The data suggest that workers who have high school diplomas but not college degrees are particularly vulnerable -- especially men. Allowing for erosion during periodic recessions, median household income in the United States is essentially the same as it was 45 years ago. Overall, there is little evidence today of the American ideal that each generation improves its financial standing over that of the previous generation. There is abundant evidence, on the other hand, that income and wealth in America have become more and more concentrated in the hands of the country's upper economic strata. Among the 34 nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United States ranks fourth from the bottom in income inequality, surpassed only by Turkey, Mexico and Chile. And U.S. inequality has been growing steadily since 1984, according to the OECD's tracking data. The U.S. economy has suffered over the last several decades from the loss of manufacturing facilities, the globalization of goods and labor and technological advances that affect more and more kinds of work. There's no reason to believe these trends will reverse. Indeed, the trends are expected to broaden, undermining the economic well being of better-educated, more highly skilled middle-class professionals. The only people likely to be insulated from the adverse effects of these dislocating changes are those who profit from them: those at the uppermost reaches of the income and wealth scales. Congress and the president, of course, face a much more immediate challenge: figuring out how to stimulate the economy quickly while helping struggling individuals and families survive in the short term. A sound economy cannot be built on a foundation of sub-minimum and minimum-wage jobs. It must include a healthy middle class with a legitimate stake in the future, people rewarded for their honest, hard work and skills with true opportunities for upward mobility.

#### Low wage jobs hurt the economy

Appelbaum 12 (Eileen, senior economist at the Center for Economic and Policy Research, “Low-Wage Jobs to Blame for Slow Economic Recovery,” U.S. News, <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/economic-intelligence/2012/04/10/job-polarization-not-to-blame-for-slow-economic-recovery>, 04/10/12) VZ

Slower-than-expected employment growth in March 2012 has brought the halting pace of economic recovery into sharp focus again. Nearly three years since the recession officially ended in June of 2009, 12.7 million people are still out of work and unable to find a job—a figure that rises to 22.8 million if workers who have given up looking but still want to work and those employed part-time because of the poor economy are included. Demand for goods and services has been slow to recover—consumer spending has been hampered by a loss of housing wealth, continued high unemployment, and economic insecurity while government spending has been hamstrung by political infighting in Washington. The job growth that has occurred has been largely concentrated in very low wage occupations. Economic theory—and common sense—tells us that high unemployment will persist until demand picks up. Businesses are not going to increase the pace at which they hire workers until the pace of spending increases. Despite the obvious employment gap that results from the shortfall in spending, some observers contend that it is a mismatch between the skills of unemployed workers and the skills employers require that is responsible for the continuing high unemployment. Many of the ills of the labor market have been attributed to a supposed hollowing out of the job distribution—to "job polarization." Indeed, the claim that middle-skill/middle-income jobs in the United States are disappearing while jobs at the top and bottom of the occupational ladder are growing has been put forward as the explanation for four decades of wage stagnation for men. Today, the claim that employers have good jobs but can't find workers with the right skills to fill them has gained currency in the popular press. Yet such an imbalance between supply and demand would cause wages to rise in those occupations, and no such increase in pay can be observed. Now a new study attributes the jobless recoveries following recent recessions to such job polarization. The study's authors argue that jobs in the middle of the skill and income distribution disappear during recessions and fail to come back during recoveries. How real is job polarization? The job polarization thesis is widely attributed to work by David Autor and his colleagues. But as Autor makes very clear, it is only the decade of the 1990s that can be characterized by a hollowing out of middle-skill jobs. In that decade, according to Autor, employment growth was most rapid in high-skill jobs, was modestly positive in low-skill jobs, and was modestly negative in middle-skill jobs. From 1999 to 2007, in contrast, Autor finds that employment growth was concentrated in the bottom third of the skill distribution, a pattern that has persisted through the recovery from the 2007-2009 recession and that is expected to persist to 2020. Looking at the nature of job growth as economic recovery took hold, the National Employment Law Project found that lower-wage occupations—retail sales persons, office clerks, food prep workers, and stock clerks topped this list—grew by 3.2 percent from the first quarter of 2010 through the first quarter of 2011, and mid-wage occupations grew by 1.2 percent, while higher-wage occupations declined by 1.2 percent. Occupational projections to 2020 tell a similar story. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects that five of the top six occupations with the most job growth from 2010 to 2020 will be low-wage jobs that require little or no post-high school education—retail sales persons, home health aides, home care aides, office clerks general, and food prep and serving workers. Personal care aides and home health aides are also the two fastest growing occupations according to these projections. Thus the job polarization of the 1990s has been replaced in the last dozen years by job growth that is dominated by occupations in the bottom tier of the skill and wage distributions. This trend is likely to continue in the absence of policies that increase demand more broadly in the economy and that improve wages and working conditions for the millions of workers—mainly women—in the occupations that are growing. Low wages in the expanding occupations limit gains in consumer spending and hamper more robust job growth.

# Amend Civil Rights Act CP

#### A civil rights act leads to other legislation and implementation

Safransky 10 (Robert J., Professor of School Law and American Government.Nova, Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 - Law and Higher Education, <http://lawhighereducation.com/31-civil-rights-restoration-act-of-1987.html>, EDUCATION LAW, 12/4/10, Accessed 7/12/12, Azimi)

In Grove City College v. Bell (1984), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. Department of Education could sanction only part of the college for refusing to comply with the requirements of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX), a federal statute that was designed to provide gender equity in athletic programming in higher education. Dissatisfied with this outcome, Congress basically superseded the Court’s judgment by enacting the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 over the veto of President Ronald Reagan. This act extended the protections of Title IX and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to institution-wide operations rather than just those departments, programs, or components receiving federal financial aid. In light of the impact that the act has had on American colleges and universities, this entry examines the litigation in Grove City that led up to the act’s enactment and discusses its key features.

#### Civil Rights laws affect implementation of highway- Prefer this evidence its from the jurisdictional actor.

Larson 92-- Federal Highway Administrator ((T.D, IMPACTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS RESTORATION

ACT OF 1987 ON FHWA PROGRAMS, <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/legsregs/directives/notices/n4720-6.htm>, September 2, 1992, FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTATION, Accessed 7/12/12, Azimi)

PURPOSE. To provide guidance to Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) field officials, State highway agencies (SHAs), their subrecipients, and contractors regarding the nondiscrimination requirements of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987. BACKGROUND The Supreme Courts's decision in the case of Grove City College v. Bell, 465 U.S. 555 (1984), limited the reach of Federal agency nondiscrimination requirements to those parts of a recipient's operation which directly benefitted from Federal assistance. The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 clarified the intent of Congress to include all programs and activities of Federal-aid recipients, subrecipients and contractors. This statute clarified the intent of Congress as it relates to the scope of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and related nondiscrimination statutes. Nondiscrimination programs require that Federal-aid recipients, subrecipients, and contractors prevent discrimination and ensure nondiscrimination in all of their programs and activities, whether those programs and activities are federally funded or not. The factors prohibited from serving as a basis for action or inaction which discriminates include race, color, national origin, sex, age, and handicap/disability. The efforts to prevent discrimination must address, but not be limited to a program's impacts, access, benefits, participation, treatment, services, contracting opportunities, training opportunities, investigations of complaints, allocations of funds, prioritization of projects, and the functions of right-of-way, research, planning, and design. Authorities For nondiscrimination include but are notlimited to: Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, heAge Discrimination Acts of 1967 and 1975, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Acts of 1973, the American withDisabilities Act of 1990, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and Title 23, United States Code, Section 324. GUIDANCE The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 amended each of the affected statutes by adding a section defining the word "program" to make clear that discrimination is prohibited throughout an entire agency if any part of the agency receives Federal financial assistance. If a unit of a State or local government is extended Federal aid and distributes such aid to another governmental entity, all of the operations of the entity which distribute the funds and all of the operations of the department or agency to which the funds are distributed are covered. Corporations, partnerships, or other private organizations or sole proprietorships are covered in their entirety if such an entity receives Federal financial assistance which is extended to it as a whole or if it is principally engaged in certain types of activities. ACTION REQUIRED FHWA field officials: (1) Inform the States of the existence of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987. (2) Provided guidance and technical assistance to SHAs upon request. (3) Inform States of the need to incorporate language in the next scheduled update of their Nondiscrimination ("Title VI") Plans indicating that they are aware of the scope of the nondiscrimination provisions and that they have incorporated a process to inform persons involved in or affected by all of their programs and activities of their rights under Title VI and related nondiscrimination statutes. (4) Provide and/or coordinate training addressing nondiscrimination program requirements. (5) Provide guidance on how nondiscrimination complaints will be handled. (6) If a complaint of discrimination is received from a person who believes that he or she has been subjected to discrimination under any program or activity of a recipient, subrecipient, or contractors whether Federal-aid funds are involved in a particular program or activity or not, immediately transmit the complaint to the Director, Departmental Office of Civil Rights, and send a copy of the complaint to HCR-20. State transportation agencies: (1) Incorporate appropriate language in updates of Nondiscrimination ("Title VI") Plans to ensure that persons affected by or involved in all of a State's programs and activities are aware of their rights to not be subjected to discrimination based on race, color, sex, national origin, age, or handicap/disability. (2) Ensure that persons who believe they have been subjected to discrimination are made aware of the avenues of redress available to them and that they are provided advice on the process. (3) Monitor activities and investigate complaints filed against Federal-aid subrecipients and contractors. The SHAs are also responsible for preventing discrimination in all of their own programs and activities and attempting to informally resolve complaints filed against them throughout the complaint process. (4) Where a complainant lodges a complaint against the SHA, the FHWA will conduct or contract for the investigation or, if a class action complaint, a review. (5) In instances where the complaint is against a contractor, subcontractor, or subrecipient, the FHWA can defer to the appropriate SHA to schedule and conduct an investigation, although, initially, involvement by FHWA may be appropriate to ensure the adequacy of the investigation.

#### Civil rights legislation leads to implementation action

EPA 12—U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (US EPA, Advancing Environmental Justice Through Title VI Draft Supplement, <http://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice/resources/policy/plan-ej-2014/plan-ej-civil-rights.pdf>, Accessed: 7/12/12, Azimi)

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has made improving its civil rights program a priority and recognizes that its enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VI), as amended, and other nondiscrimination statutes are important tools in the Agency’s efforts to address discrimination and advance environmental justice. EPA implements Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, section 13 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, which prohibit discrimination based on race, color, national origin, disability, sex, and age. EPA’s regulation at 40 C.F.R. Part 7, entitled “Nondiscrimination in Programs or Activities Receiving Federal Assistance from EPA,” includes general and specific prohibitions against intentional and unintentional (i.e., disparate effects) discrimination by EPA’s assistance recipients on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, or handicap. Every EPA grant recipient, including each state environmental agency receiving financial assistance from EPA, is subject to the terms of 40 C.F.R. Part 7.

#### Civil rights legislation affects implementation of governmental action

EPA 4/13/12 (Environmental Protection Agency, Developing a Model Civil Rights Program for the Environmental Protection Agency, <http://www.epa.gov/epahome/pdf/executive_committee_final_report.pdf>, Accessed: 7/12/12, Azimi)

The Executive Committee focused on internal changes within EPA to build a model civil rights program, including new operational and management structures, better accountability systems, and ways to broaden participation across the Agency to advance civil rights. The committee did not address civil rights legal or policy questions that have remained unsettled for many years, particularly in the context of Title VI, as this was beyond the charge to the committee. The committee focused instead on the structural changes that would strengthen the Agency’s overall Title VI program. The committee views these changes as near term priorities for building a strong and sustained civil rights program. Parallel with these efforts (see recommendations that follow), EPA will continue the equally important work of consulting with the Department of Justice, engagement with external stakeholders, and coordination with other agencies through the Interagency Workgroup on Environmental Justice, to bring greater clarity to many of the legal and policy issues that remain a high priority for stakeholders, the States and Tribes, and EPA.

# Gender K Links – Spatial Mismatch

#### Spatial mismatch uses a homogenizing masculine lens that doesn`t help women

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 1-2, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

The paid-work emphasis of recent welfare programs has policymakers and scholars searching for strategies to move welfare participants, most of whom are women, into the labor market. Policymakers have seized on transportation as a simple and effective answer to welfare participants' employment difficulties, on the assumption that transportation is a significant barrier to steady employment for many welfare participants. In policy circles, the emphasis on welfare recipients and their mobility is justified by a growing body of research showing the negative employment effects associated with inadequate transportation. Policies to increase welfare participants" access to employment are largely predicated on narrowly-drawn conceptualizations of the spatial mismatch hypothesis that stress the spatial separation between the central city residential locations of welfare participants, rapidly expanding job opportunities in the suburbs, and the long commutes needed to connect them. However, a growing body of feminist scholarship and travel behavior research on working mothers demonstrates that these women's residential and work location decisions are far more complex than narrow interpretations of the spatial mismatch hypothesis suggest. Consequently, the application of the spatial mismatch hypothesis to welfare-to-work transportation policies has, in many cases, created a policy mismatch between welfare participants and their transportation needs. This paper compares the research on the spatial mismatch hypothesis v\ iill data on the travel behavior of welfare participants to show that orthodox notions of the spatial mismatch hypothesis are not relevant to many—if not most—welfare participants. In particular, I argue that an emphasis on reverse commuting to facilitate travel from central cities to outer suburbs is not likely to have significant long-term effects on employment outcomes for low-income women. The distinct travel patterns of low-income women and the complexity of metropolitan urban structure instead require a more nuanced understanding of labor market access, one that recognizes the full range of factors that influence women's employment decisions. Likewise, effective welfare-to-work transportation policies will require flexibility to adapt to the varied transportation problems faced by poor, working mothers.

#### Spatial mismatch homogenizes women under a masculine identity—3 reasons

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 6-7, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

However, a growing body of scholarship by feminists and other scholars, particularly geographers and urban planners, suggests that a narrowly drawn conceptualization of the spatial mismatch hypothesis is not appropriate as the underlying premise for designing and implementing welfare-to-work policies. Drawing from this research, underscored by data on the travel patterns of welfare recipients, I posit three reasons to challenge the relevance of these narrow interpretations of the spatial mismatch hypothesis to welfare recipients; these reasons provide the basis for developing alternative planning solutions. First is the reliance on a simplified central city-suburb dichotomy between welfare recipients and jobs; second is an overemphasis on lengthy commutes to suburban destinations; and third is an inappropriate focus on the employment behavior of men thereby neglecting the many gendered aspects of the labor market.

#### Masculine ideology of the plan covers up the preferences and workplace discrimination of women

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 6-7, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

Table 2 shows the travel patterns and auto access of working-age adults, low-income single parents, and welfare recipients in two California counties—Los Angeles and Fresno. As the data show, travel distance among low-income, single parents is quite short, even in a large sprawling metropolis such as Los Angeles. The average commute distance for low-income, single parents is less than 8 miles, compared to 12.5 miles for all working-age adults. Although small sample sizes limit comparisons of travel time by mode, the data show that the average commute time for low-income, single parents is five minutes shorter than for all working-age adults. The relatively short commutes of low-income, single mothers may be the result of economic and transportation barriers to longer-distance travel. Overall, commute distance tends to be positively correlated with earnings, with higher income commuters traveling, on average, longer distances than low-income commuters. The positive relationship between income and commute distance has been attributed to (1) the geographic dispersion of higher income jobs (Simpson, 1992), (2) the preferences of higher-income workers to trade off longer commutes for larger houses (3) the relatively higher levels of residential amenities found in many suburban areas (Muth, 1969; Simpson, 1992), and (4) the greater likelihood that higher-income workers will travel by car, the highest speed commute mode (Hu & Young, 1999). Low-income women, however, tend to be concentrated in sex-segregated occupations in which they, on average, earn lower wages than men (Sorensen, 1994), and low wages make long distance commutes less attractive (Mac Dona Id. 1999; Madden, 1981). The residential locations of poor, single mothers are often constrained to central-city neighborhoods by housing discrimination and a lack of affordable rental or publicly-subsidized units in the suburbs (Massey & Denton, 1993). In addition, travel from the central city to the suburbs, particularly on public transit, can be quite difficult since most public transit systems are best suited for travel within or to the central city (Bania el al., 1999; Rich, 1999). Reverse commutes to dispersed suburban employment sites on transit often require multiple transfers, and can take hours (Bania el al., 1999; Pisarski, 1996; Rich 1999). Given these difficulties associated with long-distance commuting to low-wage jobs, it is not surprising that long commutes are unattractive to low-income single mothers. Evidence from Los Angeles, for example, shows that, while welfare recipients who commute longer distances earn higher wages, these commutes are difficult to sustain and lead to higher turnover rates and lower overall earnings (Ong & Blumenberg, 1998).

#### Plan assumes a masculine perspective that ignores women`s social roles and corresponding transportation needs

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 11-12, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

However, low-income women have other reasons for preferring jobs closer to home. For single mothers who typically have sole responsibility for the functioning of their households, the ability to sustain employment rests on access to a variety of household-supporting destinations, only one of which is work. Long commutes are especially difficult for welfare participants who must balance the costs of traveling to and from low-wage jobs with the need to make child- and other household-serving trips. As the data in Table 2 show, travel to employment comprises less than 12 percent of all trips; even among all working-age adults, work trips comprise only 18 percent of all trips. The literature on the travel patterns of low-income women shows that, relative to low-income men, low-income women make more trips (Hu & Young, 1999; Rosenbloom, 1994), make a higher percentage of household-serving trips (Federal Highway Administration, 1995; Hu & Young, 1999; McGuckin & Murakami, 1999; Steiner. 1996; Taylor & Mauch, 1996), and have a greater propensity to make stops on the way to and from work (McGuckin & Murakami, 1999). It is likely that single mothers work closer to home than men, in part, to ease the difficulty of balancing paid work with household responsibilities (Erickson, 1977; Madden, 1981; Singell & Lilleydahl, 1986). Empirical evidence of the effect of household responsibility on commute distance is ambiguous (Gordon et al., 1989; Madden, 1981; Preston, McLafferty & Hamilton, 1993). However, existing research does not provide an effective test of this hypothesis since measures of family status—typically marital status or the presence of children—captures two contradictory effects on commute time and distance. Some single mothers prefer employment close to their homes in order to more easily shoulder household responsibilities. Offsetting the desire for proximate employment is the necessity of making numerous household-serving trips, many of them as part of the journey to work. Therefore, depending on how travel data are collected, the effect of family status on commute time or distance may be difficult to interpret.

#### The plan`s focus on masculine desires ignores women`s need to drive

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 12-13, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

Finally, most welfare recipients have access to automobiles and, therefore, have reasonably good spatial access to jobs regardless of their residential locations. For these recipients, the friction of commute distance is substantially reduced and commute direction is not an obstacle. Cars offer flexibility in trip making, a flexibility that enables women to more easily and safely manage their multiple responsibilities as heads of households (Rosenbloom & Bums, 1994). Low-income women are more likely than men to work nights and weekends (Blumenberg, 2002; Presser & Cox, 1995, 1997); cars enable women to travel safely during off-peak hours when transit service is limited, and after dark, when women's concerns for their personal safety are highest (Schulz & Gilbert, 1996). Compared to public transit, cars also enable women to more easily trip chain, make multiple stops in a tour. Given the advantages of cars, working mothers—particularly those with young and/or many children—are more likely to drive to work at all income levels than are comparable men or other women (Rosenbloom & Bums, 1994). With respect to welfare recipients and cars, early figures from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1997) reported that as few as 7 percent of all families on welfare owned automobiles. Based on this widely publicized figure, which is cited in the Job Access legislation and many other federal documents, many planners and policymakers assume that welfare participants depend primarily on transit for mobility. They have, in turn, emphasized improving public transit to increase job access among welfare recipients. However, nearly every other study of travel by welfare participants finds that most commute by car and not public transit (Blumenberg, 2002; Danziger, 2000; Federman et al., 1996; Los Angeles County, 2000; Murakami & Young, 1997). Table 2 shows that, although public transit use among welfare recipients is significantly higher than among all working-age adults, most low-income, single parents commute by private vehicle. As the data in Table 1 show, welfare recipients in Los Angeles who commute by car—even those in job-rich, transit-friendly neighborhoods—can access many more jobs within a 30-minute commute than recipients who rely on public transit Further, data from the Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey show that 82 percent of all low-income, single-parents, regardless of employment status, have at least one personal vehicle in their households (Table 2).

#### Plan is an attempt to cover up the gendered labor market which is the source of inequality in the first place

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 13-14, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

The Gendered Labor Market. Finally, the spatial mismatch hypothesis is silent on gender differences in labor markets. Gender influences the spatial location of employment opportunities, shapes women's access to the labor market, and, accordingly, influences women's transportation needs. Although occupational sex segregation has declined in recent years, it is still a fundamental characteristic of the labor market and remains quite high. As of 1990, 50 percent of all women would have to change jobs to have the same occupational distribution as men (Baunach, 2002). Occupational sex segregation affects the spatial structure of urban areas and influences women's travel patterns. For example, research points to a positive relationship between localized commutes and occupational sex segregation (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Madden, 1981). Some scholars attribute women's shorter commutes to the spatial dispersion of feminized occupations (Gordon, Kumar & Richardson, 1989; Hanson & Johnston, 1985). Others have argued convincingly that some employers locate in particular neighborhoods to take advantage of the available supply of low-wage female labor (Hanson and Pratt, 1992; Nelson, 1986). Employers' locational decisions thereby create highly localized female labor markets and enable women's short commutes. Women who commute shorter distances to feminized occupations tend to earn less than women who commute farther to male dominated occupations (Hanson and Pratt, 1995).

#### Plan relies on masculine trends that fail to assume the patterns of women

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 14-15, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

So despite widespread support for a new generation of reverse commute transit services, there is strong evidence that they will be ineffective in meeting the transportation needs of unemployed, single mothers. Most travel by welfare recipients (and other commuters, for that matter) is not in the reverse direction from central cities to suburbs. Further, even if the job prospects are better in suburban areas, long distance commutes can be costly—in terms of both time and money—and difficult for single mothers to sustain.

#### Plan relies on a masculine ideology that ignores the needs of women

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 20-21, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

Complex Travel Patterns. Simply focusing on the journey to work fails to incorporate the array of factors that influence women's travel. Not surprisingly, robust explanatory models of travel behavior consider the central role of household-serving travel in shaping commuting behavior. In recent years transportation scholars have turned to more behaviorally-based models of travel behavior that incorporate the role of out-of-home activities (work, shopping, school, etc.), the complex interactions among household members, and the influence of household structure, life-cycle stage and lifestyle choices (Meyer and Miller, 2001). Similarly, social scientists have developed multivariate statistical models such as path analysis (McLafferty & Preston, 1997) and covariance models (Wyly, 19%) to examine causal relationships between and among variables in explaining work and travel choices. Such analyses reveal complex interactions among the determinants of women's travel. Women's employment, household responsibilities, and housing choices are interrelated, and these decisions affect and are affected by women's travel behavior (Hanson and Pratt, 1988, 1995; Gilbert, 1998). Employment is not possible unless single mothers find appropriate childcare for their young children, are able purchase groceries, clothes, and other necessities for the household, can attend to the educational and health needs of their children, and have the ability to respond quickly to family emergencies as they arise. Policymakers, therefore, must move beyond a narrow focus on the commute and recognize that work-related travel is fundamentally linked to other life-supporting travel and develop policies that enable single mothers to reach an array of destinations, often in long tours of linked trips.

#### The plan makes women objects to be ferried to work—policies must assume their unique social role to achieve equality

Blumenberg 3 (7-19, Evelyn, professor of urban planning at UCLA, “En-gendering Effective Planning: Spatial Mismatch Low-Income Women, and Transportation Policy”, *UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research*, p. 23-24, http://uctc.net/research/papers/582.pdf) GSK

Policies intended to meet the transportation needs of welfare recipients, must be informed by research on the lives, work, and travel of low-income, single mothers. The male centered spatial mismatch hypothesis is likewise an inappropriate model on which to design transportation policies intended to serve working single mothers. On the scholarly front, feminists have begun to re-conceptualize the spatial mismatch hypothesis. Bumell (1997:79) argues that in a "good" model of urban structure "...an urban area does not begin with the 'featureless urban plain' hypothesized in neoclassical models; rather, it is a set of social institutions that are likely to be spatially specific..." Similarly, Preston and McLafferty (1999:388) contend that scholars must adopt a much broader definition of the spatial mismatch, one that examines "...the geographical barriers to employment for inner city residents that arise from changing social and economic relations and the impacts of those barriers on labor market achievement" Law (1999) argues that we must expand the existing framework for examining women and transportation beyond studies of journey-to-work travel and think more broadly about the relationship between gender and daily mobility. Finally, Gilbert (1998) challenges us to rethink the notion that the spatially limited daily activity patterns of low-income women are necessarily constraining since local opportunity structures such as place-based personal networks are essential in women's daily survival and, therefore, can be enabling. A number of creative welfare-to-work transportation programs have been implemented as a consequence of welfare reform and the Job Access and Reverse Commute Program (American Public Transit Association, 1999; Community Transportation Association of America, nd; Waller & Hughes, 1999). However, despite attempts—both scholarly and applied—to broaden the spatial mismatch hypothesis, welfare policy continues to rest primarily on universally-applied notions of urban form and travel behavior. This reliance on antiquated ideas has created a policy mismatch between welfare participants and the programs intended to meet their transportation needs. To facilitate the travel of low-income women, planners and policymakers must promote a more appropriate set of public policies; these policies must reflect the diversity of urban neighborhoods, extend beyond the journey to work, account for the changing needs of low-income women as they move through the welfare program, and acknowledge the central role of automobiles in metropolitan life today.

#### Plan relies on gendered assumptions that fail to assume a transition away from public transit by women

Crane 3 (Randall, Professor of Urban Planning at UCLA, “Is There a Quiet Revolution in Women’s Travel? Revisiting the Gender Gap in Commuting”, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Summer Edition 73(3), p. 313, <http://www.environment.ucla.edu/media/files/gender-japa-summer-02007.pdf>) GSK

Reliance on transit, by far the slowest average path to work, is diminishing quickly all around but particularly for minority women. This points to a lessened role for transit, nationally, as a means of transportation to work. But whether female workers are shifting from transit because they prefer cars, because their employment location requires cars, or because they have moved to the suburbs poorly served by transit is unclear. Each has different implications for transit planning and spatial mismatch trends.

#### **Urban transport is structured towards benefitting men**

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Adjunct Faculty and German Research Foundation International Fellow at USC Sol Price School of Public Policy, “Gender and Sustainable Urban Mobility”, *Global Report on Human Settlements 2013*) GSK

This background report has presented a thematic study of gender and sustainable urban transport, focusing on conditions in different human settlements around the world. Following the introduction in Chapter 1, chapters 2–7 presented comprehensive empirical evidence and trends documenting the gendered use of different transport modes and the continued prevalence of highly gendered trip patterns both in developed and developing countries. The available evidence clearly established that urban transport and land-use systems all over the world consistently under-value and under-provide services and resources designed to meet the complex travel needs of multi-tasking individuals who are managing households, working in and engaging with their local communities, taking care of children and other relatives while often working one or more wage-earning jobs at the same time. The vast majority of these individuals are female, of course, and most of them are further disadvantaged in the accomplishment of their complex tasks by patriarchal household and social structures in which men typically first appropriate the fastest and most expensive available transport technologies for themselves. The need for specific policy responses and interventions targeted at women thus stems from fundamental gender inequities related to men’s and women’s (as well as boys’ and girls’) different roles in society. In many developing country contexts, female’s complex duties include the very time-consuming and physically straining collection of water, firewood and other fuel. Time poverty thus emerges as a fundamental problem constraining women’s and girls’ movements (as well as their educational prospects) and hence needs to be addressed as a root cause for unequal mobility patterns.114 In addition, social and cultural practices and fear of sexual harassment or violence often constrain females’ mobility and their independent use of public and intermediate means of transport.

#### Transit planning comes from a masculine perspective that dominates women

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Researchers have consistently identified the fact that the planning, provision and operation of public transit is primarily undertaken by men as one of the main obstacles to properly gender-sensitizing transit operations.32 Transit agencies may have a general interest in providing adequate service to all customers, but unless a specific effort is constantly made to ask both men and women what they need and want and how services can be improved, sub-optimal solutions persist. Given that women, especially those who are older and low-income, make up a majority of captive transit riders, are more likely to travel off-peak and along lower capacity routes, and more often travel encumbered with children or groceries, special attention and advocacy is needed to meet their needs. Given that these challenges are not immediately present in their own daily routines, those (men) who plan and implement public transit services typically do not pay adequate attention to issues most important to women. As a result, bus shelters and train stations often lack basic safety and comfort features (lighting, benches, emergency call options) built-in barriers where barrier-free access could have easily been provided, etc. While these features in and of themselves are not gender-specific, the impact of omitting them is not gender neutral. (Male) transit planners are also often overly concerned with reducing point-to-point travel times and speed instead of focusing on the improvement of overall system integration, reducing wait times, and increasing flexibility and affordability. Women’s willingness to pay for special services and their latent demand is frequently discounted or not explored.