TransitCenter

INCLUSIVE TRANSIT:

Advancing Equity Through Improved Access & Opportunity

TransitCenter is a foundation that works to improve urban mobility. We believe fresh thinking can change the transportation landscape and improve the overall livability of cities. We commission and conduct research, convene events, and produce publications that inform and improve public transit and urban transportation. For more information, please visit www.transitcenter.org.

1 Whitehall St. 17th Floor
New York, NY 10004
646-395-9555
www.transitcenter.org
@transitcenter

Publication date: July 17th, 2018

Acknowledgements

Inclusive Transit was written by Zak Accuardi. The author thanks his colleagues for their guidance, support, and feedback throughout the research and writing processes, including Tabitha Decker, Steven Higashide, Julia Ehrman, Rosalie Ray, Mary Buchanan, Jon Orcutt, and David Bragdon. While this paper is primarily a review of existing literature, it has also been informed by invaluable conversations with transit agency practitioners and transit advocates. The author is also indebted to generous peer review comments provided by Medford Auguste, Joan Byron, Naomi Doerner, Carl Green Jr., Rachel Hyden, Alex Posorske, and Rachel VerBoort. Any errors or omissions are the sole responsibility of the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:


268
RTA
ST.ANTHONY
ST.ANTHONY
KNEELING BUS
RTA
OFFICI

INCLUSIVE TRANSIT:

I. Inequitable Access to Opportunity

Access to high-quality public transportation can make cities more inclusive by increasing mobility and opportunity, particularly for people with low incomes and people of color. The role of a community is essential to fair and just transportation planning and decision-making processes. This can lead to prioritizing transportation investments that better enable people to meet their day-to-day needs—getting to work, school, the grocery store, the doctor's office, and social and leisure activities. Allowing people to meet these needs creates long-term economic opportunities and helps people escape poverty. In addition to transit's well-documented environmental and economic benefits, public transportation can be a powerful tool to advance racial equity and social justice in American cities.

Yet typical transit agency equity policy consists of little more than the box-checking exercise required by federal "Title VI" regulation, which is designed to limit further harm to people of color—not to advance equity. Compliance with a hard-to-enforce federal statute[1] is not enough in cities striving to combat systemic inequities perpetuated by decades of racist policies that have excluded people of color from access to opportunity and wealth in cities. Transportation leaders have too often turned a blind eye to the historical and ongoing social justice implications of the institutions that build and operate transportation systems in the U.S.

Transit systems that are designed to work for a city or region's most vulnerable populations will work for everyone. By establishing more inclusive planning practices transit agencies can build trust with the communities they serve. In turn, transit riders who feel respected by their transit system will be more inclined to keep using it. In other words, equity is not merely the right thing to do—it is also good for business, and a strategic imperative.

Boarding a DART bus in Dallas, Texas

The legacies of urban renewal's racist policies vary from city to city, but can be recognized throughout the US. In cities like Syracuse, Little Rock Baltimore and Minneapolis, redlining and major highway construction erased African-American and immigrant neighborhoods. Planners and policy-makers must engage at the local level with this history in order to make our cities inclusive places to live. Formerly red-lined urban neighborhoods often face the highest affordability and displacement risks when major real estate and transportation investments are made, adding insult to decades of injury and generating inevitable pushback from long-time residents worried about cost of living and rent increases in their communities.

Unfortunately, many of the same funding and planning policies that gave rise to today's inequitable system persist. This is especially apparent in the neglect of urban bus systems, which carry racial and cultural stigmas formed during the height of white flight in the 1960s and 70s. In the words of one commentator in a recent University of Texas report, "Dallas' income inequality and lack of upward mobility are directly related to the failures of its public transit agency[2]." The Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART) system, which boasts the nation's "longest light rail network," appears to have lost sight of its mission to provide "efficient and effective" transportation that "improves the quality of life" for Dallas area residents.

Misplaced, inequitable planning and funding priorities are also apparent in the nation's largest transit market. At a cost of $10 billion, New York City's East Side Access project is forecasted to support 162,000 daily trips from the city's Long Island suburbs once complete. Meanwhile the city's bus riders—already taking two million trips daily—compete for budgetary table scraps. Long Island Railroad riders' median income is a staggering five times higher than New York City's median bus rider—$144,251[3] and $28,455[4], respectively. Regardless of Title VI, state and federal tax dollars are often allocated to projects that, on balance, widen gaps in transportation access for low-income/low-wealth people and people of color.

Much transit equity research to date has focused on federal policy, with limited planning-oriented guidance for local and regional public transportation practitioners. Transit equity research has also neglected the need for state, metropolitan, and local transportation funding in addition to governance reform. These jurisdictions wield the most influence over transportation projects that could benefit people of color and people with low incomes.

nterstate 94 sliced through residential neighborhoods in Minneapolis in 1967

Milwaukee, WI, provides a relevant case study in the need for local, regional, and state reforms. With just under 600,000 residents, the City of Milwaukee is one of the most segregated cities in the U.S.[5] The Milwaukee region's total population is about 1.5 million, yet the Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission (SEWRPC), Milwaukee's metropolitan planning organization, assigns an equal number of votes to each of its three member counties. This includes Walworth County, with a population of 100,000. The City of Milwaukee has zero votes[6]. To make matters worse, the Wisconsin Department of Transportation is among the most highway-oriented in the U.S., allocating more than 75 percent of its budget to highway maintenance and expansion and only 7 percent to transit—much higher and lower, respectively, than neighboring Michigan (45/28), Minnesota (36/21), Illinois (29/42), and Iowa (51/16)[7].

Transit agencies cannot change toxic political dynamics, but they can structure policies and take actions that help restore a more equitable distribution of power. Making progress to advance equity is often dependent on action from elected officials, whose commitments to equitable transportation and housing policies will inevitably be tested by construction and real estate interests, "not in my backyard" opposition, and other well-funded, politically powerful constituencies. Nonetheless, savvy transit agencies and other transportation leaders can work to institutionalize planning practices that amplify community voices and reorient accountability structures to give low-income and communities of color agency in the planning and decision-making process.

Inclusive Transit identifies opportunities for public transportation planners and policy-makers who want to make their cities more equitable. Transit agency– and local government–driven transit improvements are no substitute for state and national social policies, but local and regional transportation authorities can nonetheless make significant improvements to the lives of their low-income communities and communities of color. This paper provides a menu of case studies from which planners and policy-makers can identify practices that may apply in their local context. The cases explored and recommendations emphasized here are built on inspiration from and research conducted by national social justice advocates—like PolicyLink and its Transportation Equity Caucus, the Center for Social Inclusion (now Race Forward), the Transportation Equity Network, and the Government Alliance on Race and Equity—scholars, and local and community-based transit advocates across the U.S.

While public transportation planning practice has traditionally lacked an explicit focus on closing accessibility gaps, leading agencies have begun to identify and implement promising planning practices to address this oversight.


CARMONY.
HAPPIER DRIVERS,

II. Recommendations

1. INVESTMENT IN TRANSIT SERVICE AND CAPACITY SHOULD DIRECTLY ADDRESS INEQUITIES IN ACCESS TO TRANSPORTATION

- **Focus on improvements to bus systems people use before politically-driven capital projects like suburban rail lines**
- **Set transit investment priorities and performance metrics according to community values and local context, and report on performance transparently**
- **Use spatial analysis to identify and target transit investment to high-need populations**

San Francisco MUNI's equity strategy prioritizes transit interventions that improve opportunity for the city's highest-need populations, in particular low-income residents and residents of color.

2. TRANSIT ACCESS PRACTICES SUCH AS FARE POLICIES SHOULD TARGET HIGH-NEED COMMUNITIES

- **Pursue progressive fare policies to reduce financial burdens on low-income transit riders**

- **Identify funding sources with greater proportional contributions from high wage-earners than from people with low incomes.**

- **Balance regressive funding sources by targeting investments in low-income communities and communities of color**

King County Metro's ORCA LIFT program and Austin's Transit Empowerment Fund are two of a growing list of programs that provide discounted transit fares to low-income transit riders.

3. DIALOGUE BETWEEN TRANSIT LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITIES CAN BUILD CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF NEEDS AND REDUCE RESISTANCE TO TRANSIT PROJECTS OR CHANGES

- **Make public input more accessible by conducting outreach in impacted communities, and going beyond traditional public meetings**
- **Build trust through community organizations and funding community members as intermediaries in the outreach process**
- **Ensure decision-makers reflect the communities they represent by making racial diversity a hiring criterion**

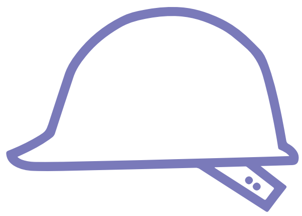
New York City DOT's Street Ambassador program proactively engages community members to build trust and ensure projects respond to community priorities.

4. TRANSIT PLANNING SHOULD ACCOUNT FOR HOUSING AFFORDABILITY, AND IMPROVE ACCESS TO AND FROM AFFORDABLE HOUSING

- Identify housing displacement risk and account for it in planning.
- Encourage municipalities to reduce or eliminate parking requirements, and use zoning to increase housing affordability
- Actively pursue transit-oriented development, with strong affordability requirements

Metro Washington, D.C., and Metro Los Angeles require affordable housing in joint developments, with Metro LA striving for 35 percent affordability.

5. TRANSIT OPERATIONS AND CAPITAL PROJECTS SHOULD SUPPORT EMPLOYMENT IN LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITIES OF COLOR



- Use transit operations and capital projects to create local community-based workforce development opportunities

- Plan for and financially support mitigation of construction impacts on small- and local-businesses

The Minneapolis-St. Paul region's Metro Transit offered significant support to small businesses to help them stay open during Green Line rail construction.

6. TRANSIT AGENCIES SHOULD DECRIMINALIZE FARE EVASION

- Rely on transit staff instead of police to handle routine fare enforcement. Enforcement staff should be trained in cultural competency
- Track and share enforcement data by race and income

Portland's TriMet has updated its fare evasion enforcement regime to allow community service time in lieu of payment and to funnel first-time offenders into a low-income fare program.

Incorporating equity goals, and equity-driven processes into the fabric of agency planning and policy decisions will require leadership and investment from multiple government stakeholder groups:

- ***Transit agency boards and senior leadership set agency policy and have the power to enshrine equity values in budgetary decisions, community outreach and engagement, and both project- and system-level planning analysis***

- ***Public transportation planners and project managers can champion and implement inclusive outreach and engagement processes, and challenge outdated assumptions to ensure they conduct thorough planning analyses***

- ***City and regional elected officials, who control key transportation and housing policy levers, have the same power to make equity a public priority reflected in strategic planning and policy-making and can coordinate land-use and transportation decisions to maximize affordable and equitable access to opportunity***

III. The Landscape of Transportation Equity

Having access to fast, frequent, reliable, affordable transportation options creates economic opportunity. Recent studies find that short commute times are more strongly correlated to upward economic mobility than racial or income integration[8], and that urban sprawl itself—reinforced by car-oriented policies and urban design—limits upward mobility[9].

In American cities today, personally owned vehicles almost universally provide residents with the most reliable transportation access. And yet car ownership places a heavy financial burden on households[10], comprising 29 percent of household budgets for low-income working families on average. Improved transit access helps low-income people escape poverty by providing them with a more affordable transportation option.[11]

Car ownership costs are not only high but also unpredictable – unexpected repairs are needed, a job is lost or other financial burdens arise. These factors cause low-income households to frequently go in and out of car ownership[12], adding uncertain transportation reliability to the list of things those households must deal with on a day-to-day basis. Any income gains associated with car ownership can be more than offset by additional vehicle expenses[13]. Seven percent of White American households do not own a car, compared to 13 percent of Hispanic and 20 percent of African-American households[14].

Transit is already a force for advancing equity in many communities, but it could be much more effective. People with low incomes and people of color rely on public transportation to meet their needs more often than the population at large. 24 percent of transit riders are African-American, compared to 12 percent of the U.S. population as a whole. 13 percent of U.S. households have income under $15,000, compared to 21 percent of transit riders[15]. In small and mid-sized transit markets, this number is even higher, at approximately 45 percent[16]. In Los Angeles, the second-largest transit market in the U.S., the median bus rider makes just under $15,000[17].

The same policies and planning practices that led to structural inequalities, over-investment in highways, and sprawling land use patterns have rendered public transportation inaccessible to many who would benefit from it. The Center for Neighborhood Technology estimates that only 25 percent of American households with no car live within a half-mile of any type of transit[18], let alone the frequent, reliably available, walking-accessible transit that connects households to key centers of activity and opportunity.

TITLE VI ANALYSIS

Federally-mandated Title VI service and fare change analyses have been designed to limit additional harm to people of color due to service and fare changes specifically, but do little to advance equity practice more broadly. Title VI requirements' flexibility may be necessary to make a broad, Federal mandate viable, but this flexibility can undermine the efficacy of Title VI when agencies are not careful about defining what constitutes a "major service change" or a "disparate impact".

Additional flexibility in technical Title VI guidance can also make the results of a service change analysis less meaningful. For example, the FTA allows agencies to optionally use demographic information from the census or from on-board rider surveys—in other words, either to assess impacts on riders or to assess impacts on nearby residents. Practice varies widely, and these approaches are not substitutes—they answer entirely different questions, either or both of which might be important to assessing the impact of a given service change.

Title VI provides an important safeguard against some forms of further regression, but its limitations make Title VI compliance a bare-minimum standard, not evidence of a commitment to equity.

DEFINING TRANSPORTATION EQUITY

Practitioners, advocates, and other experts alike find it challenging to agree on a definition of equity, in large part due to its complexity and context-sensitivity[19]. Still, equity definitions and frameworks consistently emphasize the importance of both meaningfully engaging and targeting investment in low-income communities and communities of color who are not typically represented in planning processes, in the planning profession, or in agency leadership positions.

TransitCenter considers transportation equity to be improved when transportation policies or investments ensure that transportation benefits accrue more in low-income communities and communities of color than to the population in general. This is most likely to happen as a result of actively and meaningfully engaging low-income and communities of color to understand their needs and priorities, including equity criteria in decision-making across the board, and going above and beyond to target investments in areas where the need is greatest. City, transit, regional, and state agencies and officials have essential roles to play in advancing transportation equity through this "targeted investment" approach, as do civic advocates, who have often been the driving force behind the strongest transportation equity efforts.

A targeted approach to transportation equity must be context-specific because the injustices that cities must work to address are themselves context-specific. Transit planning strategies intended to reduce income and wealth-inequality must be tailored to address cities' and neighborhoods' unique economic, cultural, demographic, geographic, and political histories—histories that have placed systematically unfair burdens on people of color and people with low incomes.

In many contexts, public transportation is an important means of reducing those burdens. Still, transit equity is most meaningful when considered in a broader context—the inequities that transit can help alleviate today are the result of transportation policies and practices that go far beyond the transit industry's area of influence.

IV. Equity Practice in 2018

Transportation investments can perpetuate or exacerbate inequality unless planners and decision-makers take deliberate, consistent action to advance racial equity and social justice through new policies and projects. This brief presents examples of equity-driven decision-making practice, (rooted in a framework of four key questions, adapted from Karner et al., 2016), that planners and policy-makers should answer in order to understand how their decisions can promote inclusion and equal access to opportunity.[20]

Question	Related practices
Who decides?	Fair representation among decision-makers; inclusive outreach; cultivating trust in government
Who pays?	Identifying progressive transit funding sources; equitable funding priorities; making transit fares affordable
Who benefits?	Targeting investments in underserved communities to improve access; focusing attention on buses; maximizing housing and transportation affordability; supporting high-quality employment
Who suffers?	Minimizing public health impacts; climate change impacts; reducing crash incidence; reducing police interactions on transit and inequitable, punitive enforcement

Seattle residents signing up for a discounted ORCA LIFT card

Advancing equity means adopting policy to embed equity throughout the planning process. Investment in affordable, high-quality public transportation can be a valuable strategy to advance racial equity and social justice in cities, especially relative to an automobile-oriented baseline. Improved equity is not, however, an automatic outcome of transit investment, but rather requires trade-offs made throughout the project planning and implementation process.

Many equity interventions have outcomes that require new thinking and different measures of success, including many which cannot be quantified; have yet to yield any results; or have not been reported on in detail. The transit industry needs varied approaches, including different kinds of evaluation processes and more in-depth case study research to uncover these methods and stories. In the meantime, this paper provides a menu of possibilities rather than a prescriptive list of actions for any agency to take.

Most importantly, public agencies should consider the pursuit of equity as a central part of their missions, one that cuts across their portfolios of work and not a separate issue to be addressed, or a box to be checked. While many equity-oriented practices may be implemented by planning staff and analysts, integrating equity into the fabric of an agency's work ultimately requires leadership from transit agency executives and board members, who are ultimately responsible for setting agencies' policy and budgetary priorities.

V. Emphasizing community voices & diversifying transit decision-makers

Policies and projects are unlikely to improve racial equity and social justice outcomes when low-income communities and communities of color are not adequately represented among decision-makers, or when those communities have no realistic means of participating in the decision-making process. Planning processes can also be intentionally or unintentionally designed to exclude or devalue input from low-income and communities of color, highlighting the importance of inclusive and creative community engagement processes.

Inclusive community engagement is transparent in its process, goals, decision-making criteria, and the specific role the community is being asked to play[21]. Additionally, it provides resources that allow all community members to participate. Communities should expect their input to influence decision-making via consideration in the planning process, with agencies reporting back along the way on what they have heard and why input is or is not ultimately incorporated.

Without this proactive, direct engagement, communities' trust in government can erode. An environment of distrust breeds knee-jerk community resistance to any project, even equity-advancing projects intended to address problems identified by communities themselves. Building meaningful relationships in communities—directly and via community-based organizations—can generate new project ideas, improve the impact and quality of planned projects, and can facilitate project implementation.

DIVERSIFYING TRANSIT DECISION-MAKERS

Agencies committed to achieving racial equity and social justice outcomes should strive for representation of low-income communities and communities of color among agency leadership, which can be the most direct means of ensuring community voices are heard in decision-making processes. This is relevant for agency board appointments and staff hiring. Transit agencies often have commitments to diversity in their general hiring practices, but such commitments can be more strongly reflected among operations and maintenance staff than among planners, senior leadership, and board members.

A 2007 TCRP report found that transit agencies were frequently non-compliant in reporting staff diversity data, and among those who did report, women, Hispanic, and American Indian men were consistently underrepresented[22]. The same report recommends that agencies make diverse hiring an agency-wide priority, then hold those with hiring authority across the agency accountable to that priority. Other research from the Brookings Institution shows a persistent anti-urban and racially imbalanced bias in the governance of Metropolitan Planning Organizations, which are responsible for allocating federal transportation funds across the country[23]. Recent research has also shed light on specific imbalances in board composition in Atlanta, Boston, Portland, OR[24], and Chicago[25].

In early 2018, advocates and several elected officials in the Portland, OR, metro region called for their regional transit agency, TriMet, to reconsider its hiring process for a new General Manager, citing a lack of both community engagement and consideration of external candidates, especially women or people of color[27]. While TriMet notes that semi-finalists for the General Manager position included three African-American candidates, two of whom were women[28], the TriMet Board of Directors still declined to reconsider its final choice for the General Manager position, former COO Doug Kelsey.

ADOPTING NEW MODELS FOR COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Engagement is a means to understanding communities' priorities so that transit can better meet their needs. Making public transportation systems more equitable means addressing the specific needs and priorities of underserved communities within each system's context. This requires "meeting people where they are" for strategic planning and project-specific outreach and engagement alike. In addition to direct outreach and engagement to individuals in low-income and communities of color, civic organizations embedded in those communities can provide important, holistic insights into their communities' priorities that may not be obvious to agency staff working within subject matter silos. This form of 'qualitative' priority-assessment is critical in particular because of the shortcomings of census and other data sources commonly used in transit planning.

It is often hard for low-income residents to attend traditional public planning meetings due to time constraints, limited mobility, or other barriers. Residents may be reluctant to trust the agencies leading the public planning processes, recalling how their input has historically been ignored or not solicited at all. Rebuilding this trust and/or finding ways to solicit useful input in the face of community distrust is a central challenge of inclusive outreach.

Many agencies are bringing meetings and conversations to residents' own backyards. The Maryland Transit Administration ran an "Info Bus" along bus routes to raise awareness about its impending bus network redesign, staffed with agency experts who could answer riders' questions about the new network[29]. The Boston Transportation Department's "Go Boston 2030" planning process included a mobile "Ideas on the Street" workshop that visited 31 neighborhoods within the span of a month, collecting suggestions to include in the final plan[30].


Go Boston 2030 outreach team

New York City DOT's Street Ambassador program applies a similar approach, with a focus on building trust through long-term engagement in low-income communities and communities of color. Transportation improvements are often not the first priority in these communities. A dedicated bus lane, for example, might be the last thing a community dealing with low employment and high gun violence rates is thinking about. While the transit improvement an agency is proposing might improve access to opportunity, those benefits may not be obvious or may not feel urgent. Building trust by establishing a consistent presence in these communities is essential to developing a shared understanding of the role that improved transportation access can plan in addressing communities' most pressing challenges in the long-term.

The Street Ambassadors' multilingual team starts by visiting natural gathering places near a relevant project area, like shopping centers and community events, to build a baseline of understanding. This initial outreach could include a needs assessment survey and/or submitting work order requests for simple, short-term fixes like pothole or street light repair. After conducting follow-up data analysis and planning, the team returns to the same sites, shares what they have learned, and introduces some possible solutions to the community-identified problems to seek additional feedback. Once community members are aware of and included in the process, they gain more trust in the data and more trust that NYC DOT is addressing community needs. Members of the public draw connections to their own lives and are more likely to become advocates for projects that they have helped shape.

ALLOWING COMMUNITIES TO TAKE THE LEAD

Agencies at various level of governance are using novel approaches to amplify the voices of disadvantaged populations. Some of the most successful public engagement strategies to date have relied heavily on partnerships with civic organizations. Social service providers, community-based organizations, and community leaders and organizers are often best in touch with transit riders' most pressing needs and priorities. In the cases of Plan Bay Area and Minneapolis-area Metro Transit's Green Line planning processes, community organizations played crucial roles in making those processes more inclusive. Political leadership and funding can be necessary to allow these organizations to fully participate (e.g. through grants or contracts to support community engagement[31]). It is also generally prudent to involve communities in the planning processes early on. They can help to identify needed projects or to establish project goals and evaluation criteria. Proactive, genuine engagement can reduce the likelihood (or at least the magnitude) of community-driven opposition to project proposals later in the process[32].


SF Muni Equity Strategy prioritizes low income residents

In 2011, the Bay Area, a coalition of community organizations came together in the Bay Area to provide input in the Plan Bay Area process by creating the "6 Wins Network". This network of groups set an equity agenda including advancing affordable housing, robust and affordable local transit service, investment without displacement, healthy and safe communities, economic opportunity, and community power. Through the 6 Wins Network, these groups prepared an alternative Equity, Environment, and Jobs regional plan, which was analyzed and deemed the "environmentally superior alternative." They also recommended a set of equity-focused principles that are reflected in the final, award-winning regional plan. The 6 Wins Network continues to engage in ongoing Plan Bay Area updates.[33]

The SFMTA later took a more proactive role to incorporate social justice principles and community engagement in its strategic planning process, eventually leading to the published Muni Equity Strategy (MES). SFMTA developed the MES in coordination with the Transportation Justice Coalition, a broad coalition of transportation and housing advocates from across the City of San Francisco. The MES emphasizes short-term actions and long-term policies the transit agency can use to improve opportunity for the city's highest-need populations, in particular low-income residents and residents of color[34]. Recent academic work has also drawn inspiration from participatory budgeting and proposed that agencies dedicate a stream of funds to be controlled directly by community leaders[35].

The planning of the Metro Transit Green Line, an 11-mile light rail line connecting Minneapolis and St. Paul that opened in 2014, has been widely cited as an example of how interventions from advocates, foundations, and public agencies helped change a project to better serve disadvantaged neighborhoods and mitigate disruption to them.

As originally planned, the Green Line included stations a mile apart in low-income neighborhoods, as opposed to a quarter-mile in downtown Minneapolis. Impacted areas included historically Black neighborhoods like Rondo that were heavily disrupted by I-94 construction in 1968, resulting in lingering distrust of transportation planners. Green Line project planners argued that, at the time, federal guidelines required them to keep stations widely spaced. Groups like the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability and Asian Economic Development Corporation organized the "Stops For All" campaign and convinced the Federal Transit Administration to change the way it rated transit projects. Three stations were then added in low-income neighborhoods.

In 2012, the District Councils Collaborative of St. Paul and Minneapolis expanded project outreach in the corridor by hiring nine "trusted advocates"—people with organizing experience who lived or worked in the corridor, rode transit regularly, and had a connection with an underrepresented group. The "trusted advocates" connected with 1,200 individuals in the project area, while Metro Transit's traditional public engagement processes garnered 91 attendees at public workshops and 800 written comments[36]. Paying these advocates to work on behalf of the agency served as recognition of the significant value of their work, and enabled the participation of organizations and individuals to participate who may not otherwise have the financial resources to do so.

Businesses along corridors with heavy construction can lose substantial revenues due to the loss of foot and vehicle traffic, construction noise, and/or lack of accessibility during construction. Small businesses, owned by people of color at a higher rate than large businesses, are especially vulnerable to these challenges. Area foundations, nonprofits, and local governments in Minneapolis-St. Paul ultimately spent $16 million on measures to reduce the impact of rail construction on businesses along the Green Line corridor, roughly 20 percent of which were black or Asian-owned businesses[37]. These included:

- *A $4 million "Ready For Rail" forgivable loan program for small businesses that compensated for demonstrated loss of sales during construction;*
- *A business outreach program that provided free accounting, design, and marketing assistance (for example, helping businesses create logos, websites and listings on third-party websites). Over 300 small businesses in the corridor received design and marketing assistance, with the average business receiving 80 hours of one-on-one assistance; and*
- *Contract provisions that incentivized or required transit contractors to minimize disruption to local business (for example, by creating construction employee parking plans so construction workers did not park in customer spots).*

The Central Corridor Funders Collaborative, a group of 14 foundations, helped instigate and support many of the programs described here—as well as additional efforts such as local workforce hiring, station-area cultural initiatives, and affordable housing financing. Philanthropic organizations can support equitable planning and outreach efforts by providing funding for work that may challenge public agency orthodoxy.

A recent report by the Greenlining Institute proposes a more generalized "Mobility Equity Framework", with three steps (and more details in the report):

- *Identify the mobility needs of a specific low-income community of color*
- *Conduct the mobility equity analysis to prioritize transportation modes that best meet those needs while maximizing benefits and minimizing burdens*
- *Place decision-making power in the hands of the local community*[38]


444J
RAILWORKS

VI. Redistributional funding & investment strategies

Transportation capital and operations projects (or even transportation systems taken as a whole) are commonly funded with a combination of tax revenues and transit fares, and they impose costs on households by virtue of their implications for car ownership and housing affordability[39]. Sales tax increases—a common revenue source for public transportation system expansions—are regressive, meaning they impose a greater financial burden on low-income households than on high-income households (as a percentage of income). Car-oriented policies at the local, state, and national levels effectively require low-income households to dedicate a substantial percentage of their income to car ownership in order to get around reliably.

Transit agency fare policy can also place disproportionate burdens on low-income households. To alleviate this burden, transit agencies typically work with social service providers to offer discounted transit fares to their clients. A growing list of agencies has worked with local government to expand low-income fare offerings to all low-income residents. Such programs include Austin's Transit Empowerment Fund and the Seattle region's ORCA LIFT program.

The combination of direct and indirect monetary costs imposed on residents also impacts equity. Progressive funding schemes—those which place higher proportional cost burdens on wealthier households—help redistribute cost burdens equitably, although prioritizing investments in low-income and communities of color is also necessary for equitable funding allocation. Funding sources are typically determined by elected officials and the voting public rather than by agencies themselves.

UNDERSTANDING EQUITY IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSPORTATION FUNDING SOURCES AND PRIORITIES

An expansive 2011 TCRP report reviews the equity implications of transit funding and financing schemes[40]. Sales tax funds are regressive because lower-income households pay a higher percentage of their total income and do so regardless of how much they drive or use public transportation. Gas taxes and other user fees place funding burdens more fairly according to infrastructure utilization. Business taxes can also provide significant funding.

Property taxes are relatively progressive since land-owners tend to be wealthier. On the other hand, value capture (i.e. from tax-increment financing) can perpetuate inequities if, as in Atlanta[41], those funds must be spent in the immediate vicinity of the relevant project. In most cases this means wealthy or gentrifying neighborhoods. Indeed, deciding to fund a transit project via value capture in effect necessitates gentrification as key to the project's success. Value capture schemes can be alluring as a new revenue source, but they can also be opaque and driven by real estate interests rather than communities, and can lead to prioritizing capital-intensive rail expansion projects rather than maintenance or improvements to existing service.

The net equity impact of tolling or road pricing schemes depends on the nature of the toll; who drives, when, and where; and how revenue is allocated[42]. In New York City, the travelers likely to bear the highest cost of a hypothetical congestion pricing policy are overwhelmingly the city and region's higher-income residents. Plans proposed by advocates and leading experts alike would allocate revenues to improve the city's public transportation system. For these reasons, social justice advocates have endorsed these proposals, and praised their positive equity implications[43]. A similar San Francisco proposal in 2010 cited the fact that less than five percent of peak-hour single-occupancy vehicle drivers are also people with low incomes[44].

TARGETING SPENDING TO BENEFIT THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST

Transportation spending has often prioritized high-cost capital projects—most notably highway infrastructure. Within public transit this may reflect proposals for commuter, light rail, and even bus rapid transit service that may serve relatively wealthy and less diverse constituencies. Attracting new riders, even in small numbers, can be prioritized to the detriment of projects that would improve service for existing riders. These decisions are often driven by regional politics, particularly when suburban jurisdictions are overrepresented on transit agency boards. The inequitable result is costly transit lines that run to low-density suburbs, yielding anemic ridership and wasting taxpayer dollars, often in service of political optics, financial gains for real estate owners and the construction industry, and the mythical (and debunked[45]) "choice rider".

The ongoing suburbanization of poverty complicates this dynamic and creates new challenges, as shifting demographics erode the long-standing alignment between the geographies best-suited to transit investment (high density, inner-city areas) and low-income and people of color. [46/47]

Inequities can also arise when funding is reallocated from high-cost capital projects. The State of Maryland's 2015 cancellation of funding to support the Red Line light rail project is a particularly egregious case. The $2.9 billion Red Line would have provided improved transportation access particularly to low-income and communities of color in Baltimore. Governor Larry Hogan canceled the project in favor of funding highway capacity projects throughout the rest of the state. To compensate, the state pledged a comparatively meager $135 million to the Maryland MTA's "BaltimoreLink" bus network redesign. Maryland also maintained its pledge to fund the Purple Line METRO extension, a similarly expensive rail project serving the comparatively wealthy Maryland suburbs of Washington, DC.

On the other side of the DC metro region, the Commonwealth of Virginia has adopted a performance-based budget-allocation scheme that prioritizes investments on the basis of transparent criteria applied consistently to every project—a process mandated by state legislation. The Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) SMART SCALE program awards points to projects that are projected to improve access to jobs for low-income, minority, and limited-English-speaking residents, explicitly embedding equity-advancing principles in the agency's decision-making process[48]. The program's technocratic design limits the potential for discriminatory political influence, though it does not ensure that equity-advancing projects will receive funding because its equity criterion is only one factor among many.

Advocacy for the ORCA LIFT discount fare card

The Minneapolis City Council also passed a capital spending resolution for street maintenance and safety improvements in April 2016, with a mandate to advance equity. With this mandate, City of Minneapolis staff developed a set of quantitative and qualitative project evaluation criteria in which nearly 50 percent of possible points are awarded based on concentration of people of color, low-income populations, low vehicle-ownership, and overall population density. 23 percent of city streets in Minneapolis run through areas of concentrated poverty where residents are mainly persons of color. As a result of the equity mandate, 40 percent of the projects funded in the capital program through 2022 are located in those areas[49].

MAKING TRANSIT FARE POLICY MORE PROGRESSIVE

One policy lever over which transit agencies typically have direct control is the ability to change transit fares. Reducing fares in general (or foregoing fare increases), restructuring fares to be more equitable and income-based, or providing more accessible means of paying for transit fares are each means of advancing equity and mitigating disparate cost burdens—provided that any resulting revenue losses do not necessitate service cuts for the same riders who will benefit from the discounts. However, these types of policies require outside funding.

The most equitable fare structure depends on context-specific travel patterns. For example, distance-based fares will tend to be more equitable when wealthier riders tend to travel farther than low-income riders. In New York City, however, where many low-income residents and people of color have especially long transit commutes, New York City Transit's flat intra-city fare (with free bus-to-subway transfers) is likely more equitable.

Fare-capping on a TriMet hop pass, Portland OR

In part due to community concerns about perpetuating unequal transit access, Austin's Capital Metro eliminated a "Premium Fare" for its MetroRapid express bus service (which had been set at $1.75 per trip rather than $1.25 for other local bus services).

Not only did this simplify an unintuitive fare structure, under which transfer fares did not apply to MetroRapid and a 'basic' daily or monthly pass failed to provide access to the agency's most useful routes, but ridership gains have more than compensated for per-rider revenue loss.

Transportation advocates, community-based organizations, and other local leaders advocated successfully for an affordable fare program for low-income transit riders. Facilitated by the digital, account-based ORCA fare card system, King County (which oversees King County Metro, Seattle's bus transit provider) ultimately created the ORCA LIFT program, which launched in March 2015.

ORCA LIFT makes King County residents with incomes less than double the federal poverty level eligible for $1.50 transit fares (relative to $2.50 - $3.25 distance- and time-based fares). Income-based eligibility and ORCA LIFT fare-card distribution are facilitated by social service providers in partnership with King County Metro. Some of ORCA LIFT's affordability benefits are blunted by the fact that more than 50 percent of King County Metro's funding now comes from sales tax revenue. Still, almost five million trips were taken using the program in 2016[50], and regional rail provider Sound Transit joined the program in March 2016.

Portland's TriMet plans to launch a similar fare discount program in July 2018, following advocacy efforts led by Organizing People/Activating Leaders (OPAL). Under the program, TriMet riders at or below 200 percent of the federal poverty level will be eligible for half-price adult single and day passes, as well as 72 percent off month and annual passes.

While discounts for seniors, military veterans, and students are relatively common at agencies around the country, fare discount programs for low-income transit riders—arguably those who most need the discount—are just beginning to gain traction. The Austin, TX, region's "Transit Empowerment Fund" (TEF) is another example. The TEF was cofounded by regional transit provider Capital Metro and One Voice Central Texas, a coalition of local health and human services nonprofits, and is funded primarily by Capital Metro. The fund is administered by an independent volunteer board, and sells discounted transit passes to local organizations providing social services in high-need communities. These community-based social service organizations then distribute transit passes to low-income residents, enabling more than 3 million rides to date[51].

Low income riders may pay more to ride transit if they are unable to afford the up-front cost of a discounted pass. Transport for London (TfL) was among the first agencies to implement a policy called "fare capping", which reduces inequities driven by the relative ease of buying discounted daily, weekly, or monthly transit passes for higher-income riders. When riders who use TfL's account-based fare payment system to purchase single-fare tickets have spent money equivalent to the cost of a monthly unlimited transit pass during a given month, TfL rewards those customers by converting their next single-fare ticket into an unlimited transit pass for the remainder of the month[52].

Fare-capping policies create a de-facto payment plan for low-income riders, for whom it can be a burden to pay the up-front cost of a monthly unlimited pass. Monthly passes provide discounted fares for a transit system's most committed riders—fare-capping makes that benefit available to all its frequent riders rather than just those who can afford to buy a monthly pass at the beginning of the month. In the U.S., Portland's TriMet and San Jose's Valley Transit Authority have implemented fare-capping regimes, and Dallas' DART plans to implement fare-capping in August 2018.

VII. Targeting transit access improvements in low-income and communities of color

Investing in high-quality transit can help make transportation access more equal over time, but outdated methods and flawed assumptions can undermine the efficacy of current planning methods and analysis. This can take subtle and more obvious forms. The Census Bureau's American Community Survey, for example, emphasizes commute-based trips across an industry that relies heavily on the data source. The result over-represents travel by working-age men and fails to account for trips made for child care, grocery shopping, and other activities disproportionately taken by women, children, and the elderly[53].

The industry-standard "Title VI" analysis, a federal Civil Rights law compliance requirement, does not require a rigorous standard for evaluating whether planned projects, service cuts, or fare changes are likely to create disparate impacts on communities of color. Many transportation model assumptions are based on population averages that do not account for variation in travel preferences by race. Gentrification and displacement can erode transit access in central, transit-rich areas as low-income people move toward the suburbs[54]. All of these types of assumptions must be acknowledged, accounted for, and challenged in any planning process that aspires to make a city more inclusive.

Opportunities to improve transportation access in the near-term come from inter-agency equity policy coordination, advocacy for improvements to neglected local bus networks, implementing data-driven monitoring to measure progress and using demographic and transit service analysis to target investments in low-income neighborhoods and communities of color.

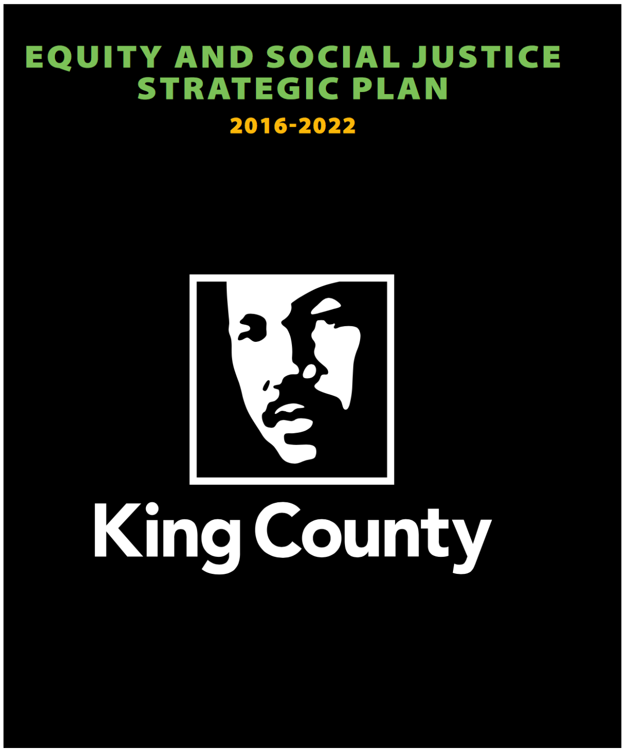
COMBINING REGIONAL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE EQUITY OUTCOMES

The Seattle region has coordinated transportation equity policies effectively, with agencies highlighted repeatedly in recent transportation equity reviews—the City of Seattle, King County Metro, and the Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC). Sound Transit also recently approved three large affordable housing TOD projects on agency property and is developing an equitable regional TOD strategy. These agencies are bolstered by strong civic organizations like Puget Sound Sage, the Transportation Choices Coalition, and other groups that together comprise the "Transit Equity Alliance", which worked to advance the ORCA LIFT program, as well as multiple transit funding ballot measures[55]. The most recent funding package, "Sound Transit 3", requires Sound Transit to sell 80 percent of its surplus land for affordable housing use, adds incentives for Sound Transit to create jobs with living wages, adds stations in low-income communities, creates new funding sources dedicated to improving pedestrian and bike access to transit, and allows the agency to charge for parking at all stations[56]. These policy features help offset the regressive nature of the funding package's sales tax source.

Having active engagement in advancing transportation equity from a robust civic sector and each of Seattle's key transportation agencies creates opportunities to coordinate regional transportation and housing policies.

The City of Seattle's Race and Social Justice Initiative published an "Inclusive Outreach and Public Engagement Guide", which includes a checklist/worksheet for use in developing an inclusive engagement strategy for any City outreach effort[57]. The Race and Social Justice Initiative informs Seattle's Transportation Equity Program, recently formed and now with two dedicated staff members housed at the Seattle Department of Transportation (SDOT). The program's guiding principles are to build community trust through engagement and accountability (e.g. by supplementing the agency's outreach efforts in low-income communities and communities of color), to provide affordable transportation options (e.g. by advancing and administering programs like ORCA LIFT, discounted carsharing, and a pilot program to provide discounted youth transit passes), and to create opportunities for communities to thrive in place[58]. SDOT applies these principles through established processes and protocols like the city's Racial Equity Toolkit.

King County Metro's "Equity and Social Justice Strategic Plan" includes strategic priorities to invest where needs are greatest, in communities, and in employees, with a commitment to accountable and transparent leadership[59]. King County Metro also developed a robust performance measurement system[60], and requires a three-part equity analysis for all new policies, starting with a screening process to identify potential equity issues; the application of a tool used to quantify the impact of those issues; and a more in-depth, qualitative review of 'major' issues[61].


EQUITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE STRATEGIC PLAN

2016-2022

King County

King County Metro's Equity and Social Justice Strategic Plan

The Puget Sound Regional Council's "Regional Equity Network: Growing Transit Communities" program—supported by a grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Sustainable Communities program—funded community-based organizations as a core part of the program's community outreach strategy, leveraging those organizations' strong community ties to augment regional planning efforts[63].

Opposition from a vocal, change-resistant minority often stands in the way of implementing projects that serve city-wide transportation goals and/or populations that most need improvements to transportation access. Planners who listen and build community relationships in good faith must still be able to distinguish between community priorities and the priorities of those who strive to maintain the status quo. Leadership from elected officials, and clear public communication of goals and policy priorities can help agencies respond to and overcome "not in my backyard" project opposition.

King County Metro rider, Seattle, WA


METRO
RAPIDRIDE
C WEST SEATTLE

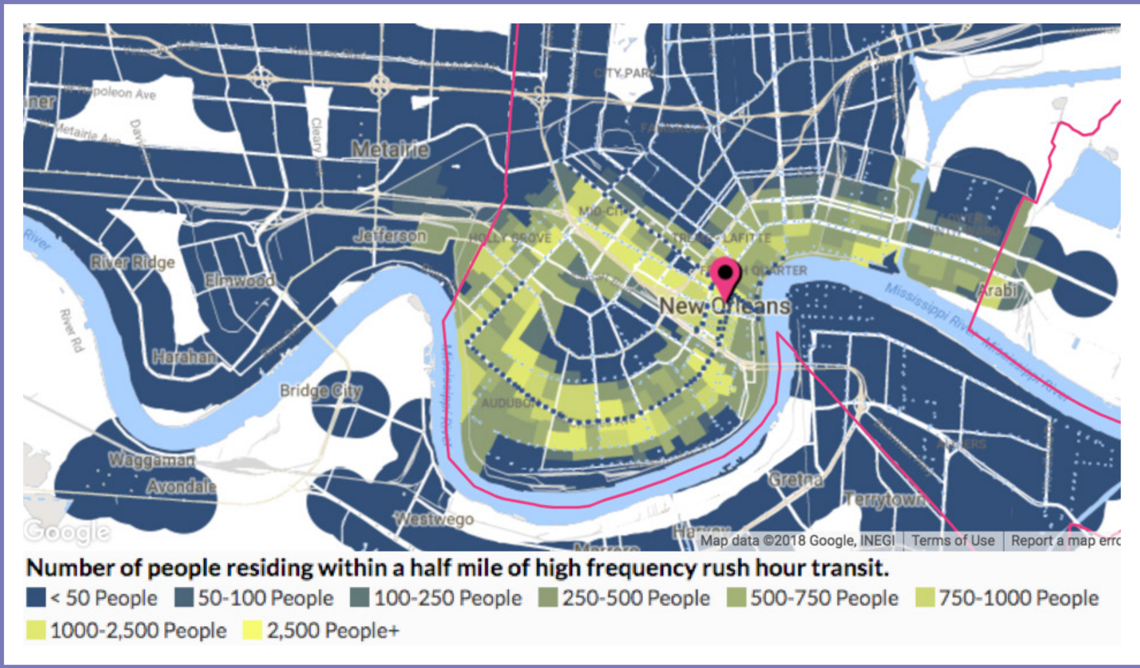
New Orleans: A Case Study in Inequitable Transit Access

The regional transit network in New Orleans provides a cautionary tale of how public transportation can reinforce existing inequality. More than 40 percent of white residents in New Orleans have access to frequent transit at rush hour or better, while only 20 percent of black residents do[64]. Part of this reality is due to legacy streetcar investments (the St. Charles streetcar has been in operation since 1835), and part is due to a persistent emphasis on high-cost streetcar expansion, even after the entire transit network was decimated by Hurricane Katrina.

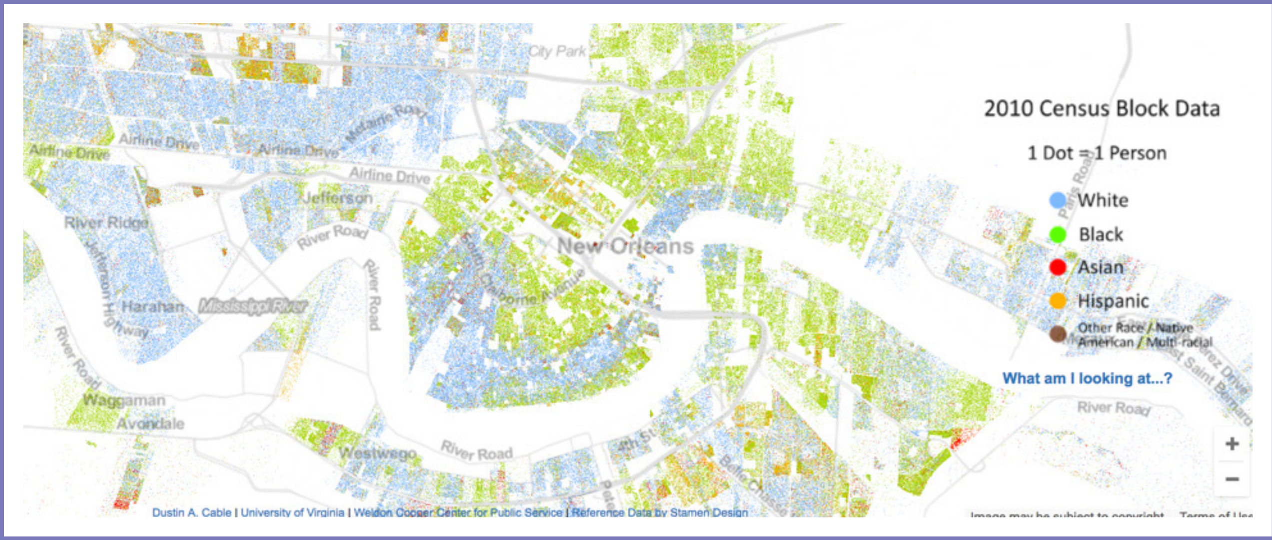
For example, a $75 million streetcar expansion (the Loyola/Rampart/St. Claude line) slightly decreased overall job access via transit for nearby residents due to parallel cuts in bus service that served more destinations. In contrast, a nearly cost-neutral bus service change (reconnecting two bus routes to their original terminus) enabled residents along those corridors to access 5,000 more jobs[65]. This level of disparity calls into question the goals of the recent streetcar expansion. While real estate developers and nearby land owners surely benefitted from the streetcar's construction, transit riders have in some cases lost access.

The central equity issue in New Orleans' transit network is clear: The Regional Transit Authority's transit network does not target high-quality transit service in low-income neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color.

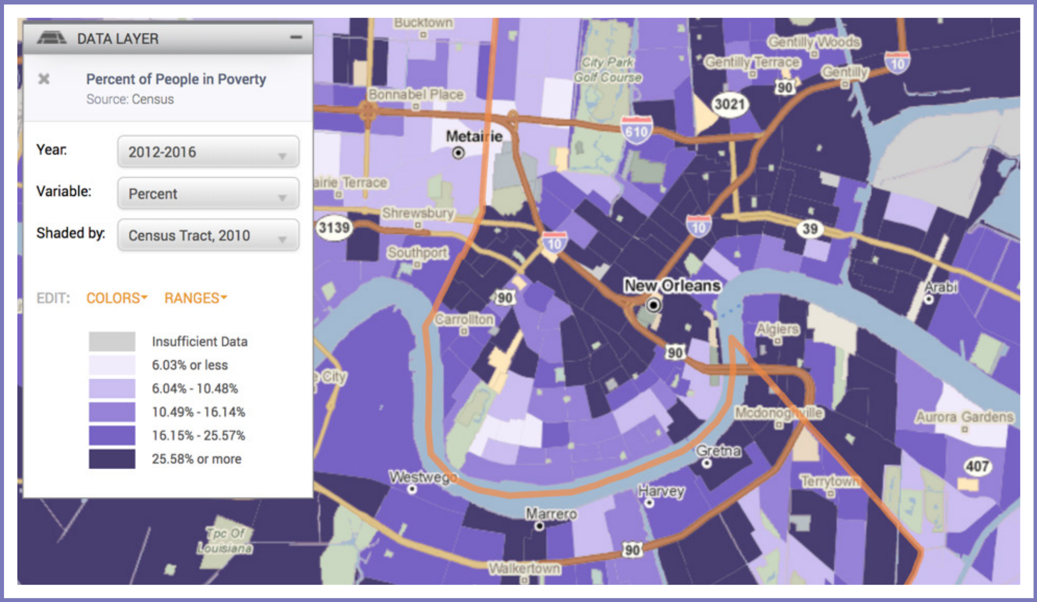
Here is a map of the population with walking access to high-quality transit[66]



The map of high-quality service closely resembles the concentration of white residents in the city center:[67]



High-quality service also aligns strongly with low concentrations of poverty [68]:



The failure to align public transportation service with the populations who rely most heavily on transit is not just a shortcoming of equity planning, but a shortcoming of basic transit planning. The same low-income residents and people of color who are disproportionately excluded from the transit system today are also the New Orleans residents who are most likely to be regular transit riders.

LOCAL BUS SYSTEM IMPROVEMENTS

Civic groups and social justice organizations are often the most effective advocates for low income communities and communities of color in local and regional policy conversations. Ride New Orleans is one such organization, formed in the wake of Hurricane Katrina to advocate for riders as the transit system recovered from the storm's devastating impacts. Ride has emphasized the importance of restoring bus service throughout the region, to best serve New Orleans' residents and employers.

Ride's advocacy starts with understanding community concerns. By working with riders to set the organization's agenda, Ride ensures that it is building campaigns that people care about. Through its engagement efforts, Ride has identified strategic priorities like improved service frequency and reliability, cross-county travel, and improved stop and station amenities. Partly due to Ride's advocacy, the Regional Transit Authority (RTA) undertook a major strategic planning effort that recommended a new high-frequency transit network, improved bus stop facilities, higher-quality open data, and goals tied to clear performance measures and targets[69].

This is a stark contrast to the RTA's emphasis on restoring service to and growing the city's streetcar network, which carries fewer people, is more expensive to operate, and whose ridership is skewed toward tourists and other recreational users. Focusing on shiny, high-cost transit investments with limited transporation benefit is commonplace among businesses and elected officials who value economic development and increasing property values over real improvements in transportation access.

Bus service could meet the need for improved transit in most American cities, but they are often treated as a second or third class transportation mode. Buses in America carry racial and cultural stigmas formed during the height of white flight in the 60s and 70s.The stigma is exacerbated by the fact that bus service in the U.S. is often not very good. Buses are also less profitable for transit engineering and manufacturing firms, and do not offer conventional ribbon-cutting opportunities for politicians.

Organizations like Ride NOLA are helping to combat implicit, inequality-reinforcing assumptions, Ride grounds its claims with its own spatial analysis of the region's demographics, job centers, and transit service. In its 2016 "State of Transit in New Orleans" report, Ride analyzed service frequencies by route (comparing pre-Katrina service levels to current service levels) and analyzed access to jobs for people driving relative to people using transit[70].

BUS ADVOCACY

In New York City, four transit advocacy groups that include TransitCenter along with Riders Alliance, the Tri-State Transportation Campaign, and Straphangers comprise the Bus Turnaround coalition. The coalition is an initiative to elevate buses in New York City's political dialog. Starved for attention from local and state politicians and neglected by Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) leadership, New York City's bus system has been losing ridership for more than a decade. Bus riders, who take more than two million trips daily in New York City, are lower-income and more likely to be people of color than subway riders.

The Bus Turnaround coalition advocates for solutions to be implemented by both the MTA and the NYC Department of Transportation, including bus-only lanes, a new fare payment system, allowing riders to board buses through all doors, implementing "transit signal priority", and the overall agency reform needed to make buses work for the people who rely on them. Solving these problems requires the political will to allocate funding, street space, and staff time to bus riders, who have traditionally had a weaker voice in the city's political discourse[71].

Since the Turnaround coalition launched in July 2016, the MTA has acknowledged the bus system's problems and committed to address them, launched a new procurement for transit-signal priority technology, and published a new performance dashboard featuring metrics called for by the coalition. At the City of New York, the Department of Transportation issued a "Bus Forward" plan committing to expanding the City's role in improving bus service. The Comptroller's office issued a report echoing the coalition's recommendations for citywide bus improvements. Most recently, New York City Transit issued a sweeping "Bus Action Plan" whose priorities largely parallel the recommendations of the Turnaround Campaign[72].

Bus-focused transit advocacy campaigns in New Orleans, New York, Chicago, Boston, and elsewhere reflect the importance of reimagining city and transit agency policy, and striving for high-quality bus service. A growing toolbox of bus service improvements can improve transit access without accelerating displacement. Strong advocacy is often necessary to build political support for bus service improvements, especially among key elected officials. Bus improvements are likely to be resisted by car drivers and the disproportionately powerful political stakeholders who represent them—even when improvements are clearly merited due to existing transportation patterns, forecasted growth, or community desires.

MEASURING PROGRESS

Transit and regional agencies should routinely assess both short- and long-term investment and service needs, particularly in low-income and communities of color, as these needs change over time. Where do people of color lack access to jobs? In which neighborhoods are low-income residents at high risk of displacement[73]? Where are the cultural centers of various communities and how and when are people accessing them?

Any policy to improve transportation access in low-income and communities of color needs a clear baseline and performance measurement framework, which includes concrete performance metrics tied to goals[74]. Planning analysis and performance reporting on equity initiatives requires disaggregating metrics by race and income, and conducting spatially-explicit analysis. Potential data of interest, depending on the project, could include demographic and socioeconomic data, destination access, commute time/distance, vehicle ownership, housing and transportation cost/affordability[75].

Metrics should be chosen to support specific programs or projects informed by community residents who understand on-the-ground local context. The City of Oakland's Equity Dashboard, for example, is a flexible interface through which planners can overlay various demographic characteristics with planned projects and other spatial layers of interest[76].

Experts and practitioners have identified access to destinations (most commonly jobs, but ideally including other place-types like places of worship, cultural and community spaces, healthcare facilities, schools, and grocery stores) as an important equity performance metric[77]. This is in part because a city or region can provide improved access by increasing the availability of housing and amenities, and by improving transportation connections. This creates incentives for growing affordable housing stock, attracting accessible jobs, and improving transit quality [78/79].

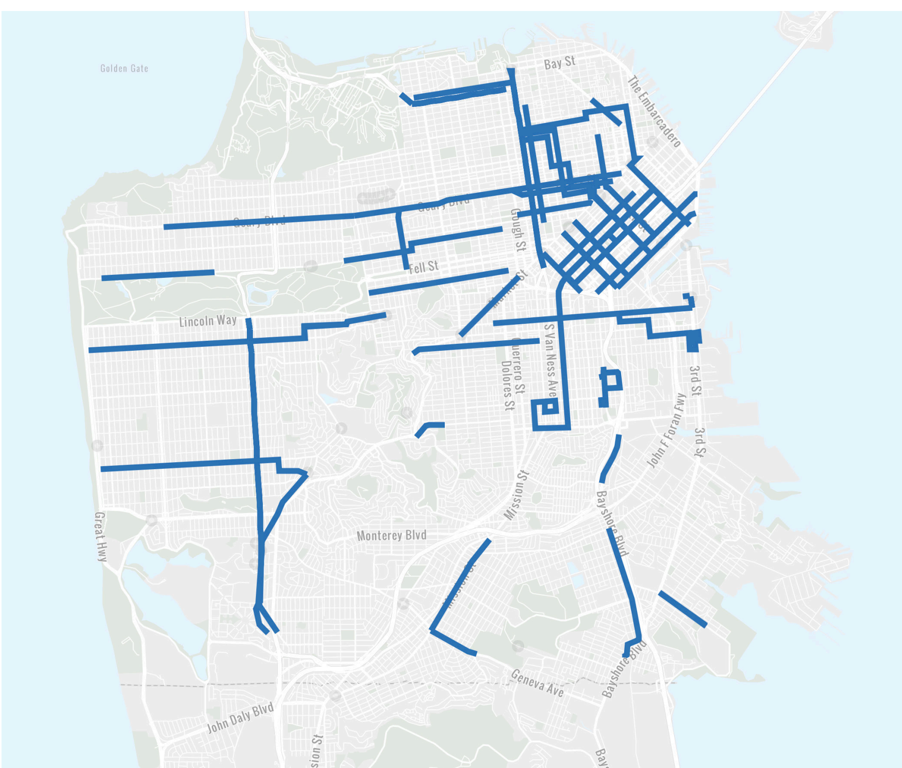
Accessibility-driven performance analysis is part of the planning process for a growing list of agencies, including Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission's (DVRPC) "Equity Through Access" program[80] and Virginia DOT's SMART SCALE capital funding allocation program[81].

Data quality is an overriding challenge throughout this work, as census data become quickly outdated, masking potentially important short-term changes, for example in housing market dynamics. The choice of geographic resolution for spatial analysis carries implications about where within a census tract, for example, population is distributed, which can have significant implications for transit access analysis. Furthermore, agencies of different sizes and budgets have wildly different technical capabilities.

TARGETED EQUITY ENHANCEMENTS

An increasing number of city agencies, transit agencies, and regional planning organizations are identifying communities with the most urgent unmet transit needs to inform strategic plans with equity goals at their core. The DVRPC's "Equity Through Access" website provides a clear, step-by-step example[82]. The agency begins by defining "vulnerable populations" (households with at least one disabled person; households in poverty; and people age 65 and over), as well as "essential services" to which anyone in the region should have easy access (including healthcare, schools, parks, grocery stores, and senior activity centers). DVRPC then maps concentrations of these vulnerable populations and essential services and identifies neighborhoods with a "spatial mismatch" between where vulnerable populations are concentrated and where these essential services are located. Finally, the agency identifies priority transit equity investment areas by identifying neighborhoods with both a spatial mismatch and poor transit access. DVRPC developed this tool as a replacement for its former "Coordinated Human Services Transportation Plan", and has used it to facilitate public outreach.

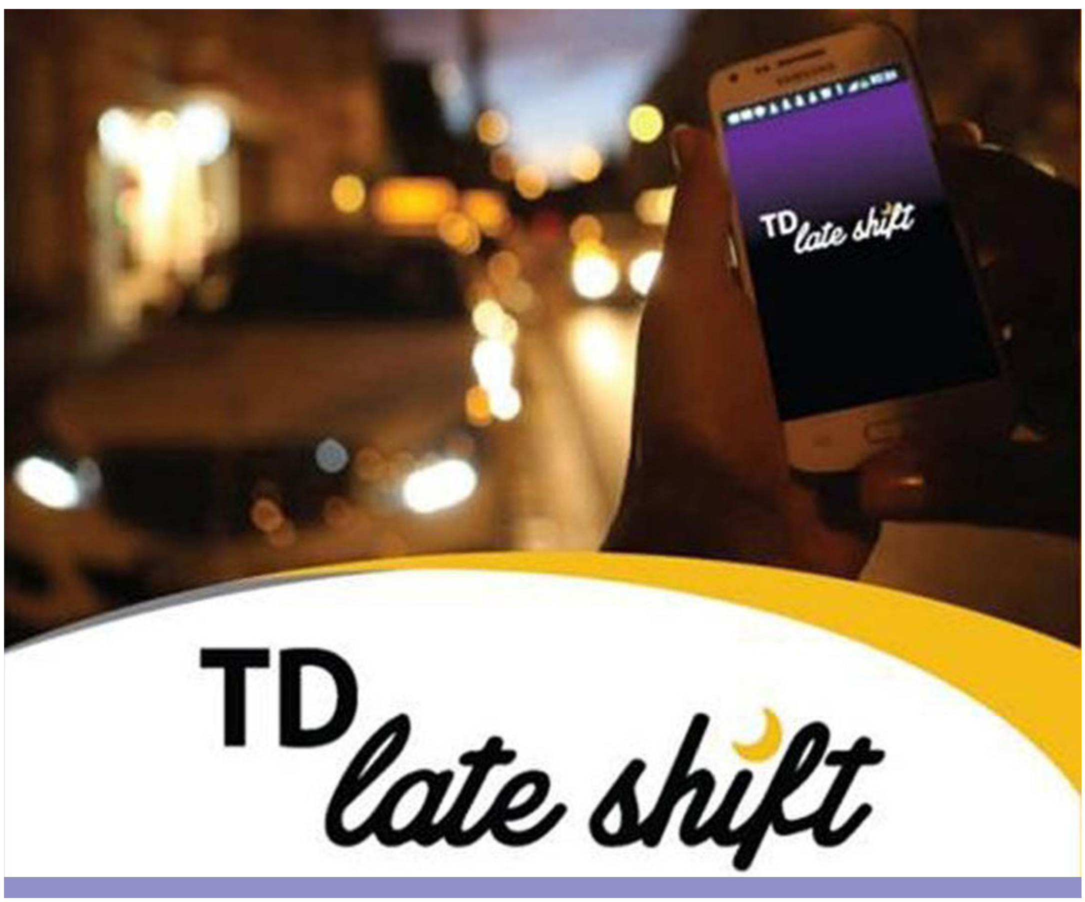
The San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency's "Muni Equity Strategy" uses a similar approach, identifying "equity neighborhoods" with high concentrations of low-income residents and residents of color (though also considering car ownership and transit routes with high utilization by seniors and people with disabilities). SFMTA then works to identify short-term (within two years) opportunities to improve safety, increase access to destinations, improve reliability, and reduce crowding[83]. Improvements identified for implementation in fiscal years 2018 and 2019 include frequency increases, longer buses to reduce crowding, and active headway management to reduce service gaps, each applied to specific routes where communities prioritized the issues to be addressed by those improvements[84].



Bus improvements on the San Francisco peninsula that are included in the MUNI equity strategy

Quantitative analysis will never be sufficient to understand the nuances of equity priorities in local communities with unique needs. Local planners and policy makers should cross-reference quantitative analysis with community members' own understanding of neighborhoods and the city at large, relying on expertise from the people who equity policies and planning efforts seek to address. If a quantitative analysis does not align with stated community priorities, planners must interrogate their assumptions to understand why that might be the case and adjust plans accordingly.

Emerging mobility options also enable new service designs that allow agencies to target underserved constituent groups rather than geographic areas. The Pinellas Suncoast Transit Authority (PSTA) in Pinellas County, Florida, has piloted "Late Shift", a novel late-night on-demand service option to serve low-income, third-shift workers in the region[85]. Under contract with Uber and local provider United Taxi, as part of a one-year pilot PSTA completely subsidized e-hail and taxi work trips for workers with a monthly bus pass from 10pm to 6am, during which time the agency's transit service is not a viable commuting option[86]. The service provided approximately 4,000 rides monthly as of late 2017 – significant for a region that has provided 17,000 paratransit rides monthly over the past five years[87].



The "Late Shift" program for low-income, third shift workers in Pinellas County Florida

VIII. Preserving & improving housing affordability

Public transportation practitioners can help improve transportation access but that comprises only one part of the access to opportunity equation—housing is another. While local, regional, and state governments exert stronger influence on housing and land use policies, transit agencies still have an important role to play to advance affordability, both as advocates and as planning and development organizations. All the high-quality transit in the world does not benefit people who cannot afford to live and work near it, so agencies must take community concerns regarding gentrification and displacement seriously.

Housing and transportation costs can together constitute more than half of household budgets[88]. Because housing costs and transportation access are interrelated, policy-makers need to coordinate policies to ensure that affordability is measured in terms of total housing and transportation costs to the extent possible, and that affordable housing is available to those who rely on public transportation.

There is a tension between the potential benefits new investments bring and those investments' potential adverse consequences. This tension can be navigated with input from the communities in which those investments are being considered. Transit agencies can mitigate gentrification and displacement impacts using a variety of tools, including planning service that accounts for and/or is less likely to drive displacement, funding and promoting transit-oriented development and local land trusts, and coordinating with the local and regional agency partners who oversee land-use and housing policies and regulations.

Public agencies who are committed to preventing and mitigating gentrification and displacement impacts start by conducting analysis to understand the likely risks. Regional variation in housing markets, population trends, congestion and transportation access, employment distribution, and building stock influences specific issues that need to be addressed[89/90].

Several agencies have implemented relevant policy and process reforms geared toward improving affordable housing availability near transit. For example, the Center for TOD and the Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC) have generated neighborhood profiles based on regionally-specific people- and place-types, which are aligned with appropriate policy regimes in PSRC's "Growing Transit Communities" strategy. These profiles account for population demographics, neighborhoods' transit-orientation (density, existence of mixed-uses, walkability, quality of transit service), and potential demand for residential TOD (employment patterns, household incomes and sizes, and housing costs). In the Bay Area, the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) commissioned researchers at UC Berkeley to develop the "Regional Early Warning System for Displacement[90]."

Transportation mode can also influence a transit project's likelihood of enabling or accelerating displacement. This is particularly relevant to rail investments, which have been shown to drive substantial real estate value increases particularly in dense, in-demand neighborhoods. Few local housing, planning, or transportation agencies have tools that adequately assess the displacement risks of real estate or transportation investments. Agencies could partner with community organizations, researchers, or other experts to develop these tools, following the example of UC Berkeley's Urban Displacement Project, for example[95].

Rather than evaluating investments based on transit capacity needs or cost-efficiency, transit decision-makers and elected officials in the U.S. tend to be biased toward rail investment, which can increase gentrification and displacement pressures in low-income neighborhoods and communities of color. Rail investments that run through communities of color and/or low-income communities without stopping, on the other hand, exacerbate existing disparities by imposing the burdens of construction and operational noise without the potential transportation access improvements.

UPDATING PARKING AND ZONING POLICY TO IMPROVE HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

Local governments have a variety of transportation policy tools at their disposal that both strengthen public transportation and improve housing affordability. Such tools include policies that unbundle housing and parking costs by eliminating parking minimum requirements or providing incentives to reduce parking construction via zoning rules in transit-rich areas[96]. Parking minimums for new housing and real estate developments are also non-optional rent increases for future tenants. Transit agencies may wield some influence about these policy issues but generally do not control them, so this paper does not explore parking and zoning in depth.

TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT

One of the most direct means of connecting low-income people to high-quality transit is to build affordable housing on top of it through transit-oriented development. Agencies can account for affordable housing development in station planning efforts, engage municipalities to up-zone in existing or planned transit-priority areas, establish policy to require affordable housing in TOD, and play a direct role in developing affordable housing via land acquisition, creating dedicated affordable housing funds, or joint development.[94] Increasing the concentration of affordable housing in TODs is also likely to yield greater and more sustainable ridership benefits to transit agencies[95/96].

Inclusionary zoning can create incentives for affordable housing construction, as in Massachusetts' smart growth zoning legislation, MA 40R—which has provided incentive payments in special zoning districts allowing for the planned construction of nearly 14,000 new housing units and with over 3,000 building permits issued, 20 percent of which must be affordable[97]. Inclusionary zoning can backfire, however, if its incentives (or mandates) cause housing prices to increase by depressing overall housing construction.

TODs can also drive displacement, so transit agencies must take care to avoid exacerbating affordability issues from the outset of the planning process. Dallas Area Rapid Transit mitigates the potentially displacement-inducing impacts of its tax increment finance funding by allocating 20 percent of that funding to affordable housing development[98]. In Denver, Enterprise's Denver Regional TOD Fund has spurred the community-driven creation or preservation of more than a thousand affordable housing units near new light rail stations developed through Denver RTD's FasTracks initiative[99]. Similar TOD land acquisition funds exist in Charlotte and San Francisco[100]. Bay Area Rapid Transit requires a minimum of 20 percent affordable housing units in station TODs and has set a more ambitious target of 35 percent[101].

Transit agencies can also advocate directly for improved housing affordability, for example by pursuing (or requiring) affordable housing construction through joint development agreements. DC's Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority requires affordable housing development on land it controls, for example requiring 20 percent affordable housing units on all seven parcels surrounding the Columbia Heights metro station[102]. Metro Los Angeles' joint development program "seeks to facilitate construction of affordable housing units, such that 35% of the total housing units in the Metro joint development portfolio are affordable for residents earning 60% or less of the Area Median Income (AMI)".[103]

Policies intended to improve equity must be developed with input and engagement from people in the communities they affect. This can happen as part of agency-led or agency-facilitated development process, but it can also be led by the community directly via land trusts like those who have joined forces to create the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network. This coalition of community-based organizations has joined forces to invest in affordable housing preservation and development throughout the Boston region, building on the past successes of members like the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative.[104]

Transit-oriented development along the light rail, Seattle, WA


LAKE STATION
1112A
SOUNDTRANSIT
TRAVELWASHINGTON.COM

IX. Supporting & creating high-quality employment

In addition to providing access to jobs, public transportation provides employment. Transit agencies have a strong legacy of providing jobs in low-income and communities of color. The Amalgamated Transit Union and King County Metro's PACE initiative is a partnership between workforce and transit agency designed to improve working conditions at the agency with equity squarely in mind.

Conversely, transit development can threaten local employment if care is not taken to mitigate adverse impacts to small businesses adjacent to major capital construction projects. Lessons from Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and elsewhere provide guidance on reducing potential impacts of transit construction, particularly for rail projects.

Construction during the Green Line project, Minneapolis, MN

DIRECT JOB CREATION

Transit generates ongoing employment for operations and maintenance staff, as well as short-to-medium term employment for capital construction projects. Transit agencies often commit to hire local employees and have goals for directly employing people of color, as well as for hiring minority- and women-owned enterprises. To strengthen local job creation initiatives, some agencies allocate a percentage of project budgets to workforce development and training programs. The Transportation Equity Network promotes the "Green Construction Careers Model", which leverages a federal law allowing State DOTs to use 0.5 percent of surface transportation funds to support workforce development programs.[105/106]

Transit agencies often take pride not just in creating jobs but also in creating high-quality jobs. King County Metro's Partnership to Achieve Comprehensive Equity (PACE) initiative is a partnership between King County Metro and the local Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) "committed to developing the policies, processes, and tools necessary to support a work culture of inclusion, fairness and comprehensive equity for all within the agency".[107] Since PACE's 2013 launch, ATU and King County Metro have worked together to develop shared strategic goals and a detailed list of recommended actions to improve internal workforce equity, hire a Diversity and Inclusion Manager, create new internal mentorship opportunities, add required anti-bias training for agency interview panelists, amend the employee engagement survey, and develop numerous other internal staff resources. [108]

MITIGATING CONSTRUCTION IMPACTS

Small businesses are more likely than large ones to be owned by people of color or immigrants, and can be susceptible to lost revenues during large, long-term construction projects like light rail developments. Metro Transit's aforementioned approach to mitigating business impacts during Minneapolis/St. Paul Green Line construction are described above, and were implemented in response to a lawsuit from NAACP's St. Paul chapter[109]. San Francisco MTA has a construction mitigation plan in partnership with the Office of Economic Workforce Development, and offers technical assistance, marketing support, and grants to impacted businesses, starting with the Central Subway Project Construction Mitigation Program[110]. Transit agencies in Portland, OR, Phoenix, and Seattle are among others who have recently implemented mitigation programs, which generally fall into five categories: loan and grant programs, communications, signage, contractor involvement, and business counseling/marketing.[111]

X. Making transit safe and welcoming

The need to ensure safety for transit passengers creates a tension between the comfort some passengers derive from a law-enforcement presence and the fear that law-enforcement officers create for others. On-board crime fell and bus ridership climbed after Detroit installed security cameras on its entire bus fleet in 2016. SFMTA has updated its fare enforcement policies to remove police officers from routine fare enforcement. Applying a complementary approach, TriMet updated its fare penalty structure to minimize interactions with law enforcement and the court system, provide community service alternatives to expensive fines, and enroll eligible people in the agency's new low-income fare program.

POLICING

Transit riders deserve to be treated with respect, and transit systems' health depends on the quality of riders' experience. Police or other security officials are often present as part of the transit riding experience, both to respond to minor incidents or emergencies, and in some cases to validate fares or patrol stations. These officials' presence is often intended to increase feelings of safety, but it can have the opposite effect if done in an insensitive way. Combined with recent and long-standing histories of racially biased policing, this can create anxiety, particularly among people of color. Equity-oriented agencies have taken steps to adjust fare enforcement and transportation-related policing efforts to minimize anxiety and conflict, and to transparently report data on their fare enforcement practice, segmented by race and income.

The San Francisco Municipal Transportation Authority (SFMTA) has worked to make its transit service more welcoming, even after making it possible to board through all doors on buses citywide—a change that requires the presence of fare enforcement officers. The SFMTA has, however, discontinued prior practice of fare inspection "stings" that caused 'confusion and fear' among riders. The agency has implemented training programs to foster cultural competency, increased second-language proficiency among fare inspectors, and de-criminalized youth fare evasion.[112]

Advocates like Pittsburghers for Public Transit[113] and New York's Community Service Society[114] have argued for decriminalized fare enforcement to keep riders out of the criminal justice system, where bail requirements and potential immigration consequences await. A Cleveland judge also ruled that the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA) could no longer use police-based enforcement on the RTA's HealthLine Bus Rapid Transit System, affirming the equity benefits of civilian proof-of-payment enforcement.[115] RTA's unfortunate reaction has been to adopt a slower boarding procedure for the route, significantly increasing travel time and reducing ridership.

Portland's TriMet has implemented a tiered fare enforcement regime designed to enroll first-time offenders in the agency's forthcoming low-income fare program (if eligible). People who are fined for not paying the fare will also have the option of performing community service in lieu of paying the agency's relatively high fines[116]. This approach acknowledges that many people who do not pay fares simply do not have the means to do so, and that unpaid fines and/or arrests can impact peoples' lives well beyond transit, for example reducing their ability to find employment or qualify for loans.

Proof of payment fare enforcement on Sound Transit, Seattle, WA

XI. Transit Equity Opportunities

Too many transportation leaders have embraced a compliance-oriented approach to racial equity and social justice, falsely equating equity practice with "Title VI" analysis. Compliance is not enough following decades of red-lining and disinvestment in inner-city neighborhoods of color, which specifically targeted African-American communities and prevented many from building generational wealth through home ownership. It is not enough after highways have been disproportionately built through predominately low-income communities of color, reinforcing spatial segregation across the U.S. and creating disproportionate health disparities in surrounding neighborhoods. It is also not enough in light of wealthy residents' recent migration spurred by urban revitalization policies, intentionally designed and implemented to attract the "Creative Class" into city centers, causing displacement and the suburbanization of poverty.

Advancing opportunity for low-income people and people of color by improving transit access requires hard work but has the potential to yield both societal and strategic benefits.

Public transportation practitioners can make today's "above and beyond" into tomorrow's inclusive business-as-usual by implementing these principles thoughtfully in their own communities. Local political leaders and agency staff might start by looking to local community-based organizations and advocates for guidance on key priorities to advance equity in the ways that matter in their cities. Strong relationships between agencies with different missions and jurisdictions as well as between agencies and advocates foster shared accountability and helps avoid leaving transit riders stranded.

Bus stop in Southeastern Los Angeles

Transit systems that are designed to work for a city or region's most vulnerable populations will work for everyone. By establishing more inclusive planning practices transit agencies can build trust with the communities they serve. In turn, transit riders who feel respected by their transit system will be more inclined to keep using it. In other words, equity is not merely the right thing to do—it is also good for business, and a strategic imperative.

Transit riders, and especially those who are transit-dependent, are a constituent group whose voice is typically unheard in today's political system—it needs to be sought out, listened to, and amplified. There is enormous potential for civic and government initiatives to improve local bus service, foster transit-supportive conditions like walkability and affordable, mixed-use development, and cultivate improved community access to essential opportunities like healthcare, food, education, and jobs—especially for the people who need those improvements most. The ability to realize this potential will depend on the depth of agencies' commitments to funding, identifying, and prioritizing the investments that matter most to their unique communities.

Riders organizing for better transit in New Orleans, LA

XII. Work Cited

1. Richard A Marcantonio et al., "Confronting Inequality in Metropolitan Regions: Realizing the Promise of Civil Rights and Environmental Justice in Metropolitan Transportation Planning," Fordham Urban Law Journal 44, no. 4 (2017), https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ulj/vol44/iss4/4.
2. Peter Simek, "Bombshell Report Reveals DART's System-Wide Inadequacy," D Magazine, October 23, 2017, https://www.dmagazine.com/frontburner/2017/10/bombshell-report-reveals-darts-system-wide-inadequacy/.
3. Alfonso A. Castillo, "Millennials Drive Biggest LIRR Ridership in 70 Years," Newsday (blog), January 23, 2017, https://www.newsday.com/long-island/transportation/lirr-87-9m-riders-highest-in-nearly-70-years-report-says-1.13002066.
4. Adam Forman, "The Other Transit Challenge: How to Improve the NYC Bus System" (Office of the New York City Comptroller, 2017), https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/The-Other-Transit-Challenge.pdf.
5. Drake Baer, "Milwaukee Shows What Segregation Does to American Cities," The Cut (blog), August 17, 2016, https://www.thecut.com/2016/08/milwaukee-shows-what-segregation-does-to-american-cities.html.
6. Angie Schmitt, "How Structural Racism at Regional Planning Agencies Hurts Cities," Streetsblog USA (blog), January 5, 2018, https://usa.streetsblog.org/2018/01/05/how-structural-racism-at-regional-planning-agencies-hurts-cities/.
7. Tri-State Transportation Campaign, "Tracking State Transportation Dollars," 2012, http://www.trackstatedollars.org/.
8. Raj Chetty et al., "Where Is the Land of Opportunity? The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States," The Quarterly Journal of Economics 129, no. 4 (2014): 1553–1623.
9. Reid Ewing et al., "Does Urban Sprawl Hold down Upward Mobility?," Landscape and Urban Planning 148 (April 2016): 80–88, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2015.11.012.
10. Barbara J. Lipman, "A Heavy Load: The Combined Housing and Transportation Burdens of Working Families" (Washington, D.C.: Center for Housing Policy, 2006), http://www.reconnectingamerica.org/assets/Uploads/pubheavyload1006.pdf.
11. Rahul Pathak, Christopher K. Wyczalkowski, and Xi Huang, "Public Transit Access and the Changing Spatial Distribution of Poverty," 2017, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0166046217302405.
12. Nicholas J. Klein and Michael J. Smart, "Millennials and Car Ownership: Less Money, Fewer Cars," Transport Policy 53 (January 2017): 20–29, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2016.08.010.
13. Michael J. Smart and Nicholas J. Klein, "A Longitudinal Analysis of Cars, Transit, and Employment Outcomes," 2015, http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1198&context=mti_publications.
14. American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials, "Vehicle and Transit Availability," in Commuting in America 2013: The National Report on Commuting Patterns and Trends., 7 (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials, 2013).
15. Hugh M. Clark, "Who Rides Public Transportation" (APTA, 2017), https://www.apta.com/resources/reportsandpublications/Documents/APTA-Who-Rides-Public-Transportation-2017.pdf.
16. Angela Urban, "Inspiring Transit Ridership Requires Meeting People Where They Are," Mobility Lab (blog), March 31, 2017, https://mobilitylab.org/2017/03/31/inspiring-transit-ridership-requires-meeting-people/.
17. Steve Hymon, "Results of Metro's Latest Customer Survey," The Source (blog), August 5, 2015, https://thesource.metro.net/2015/08/05/results-of-metros-latest-customer-survey/.
18. Center for Neighborhood Technology, "AllTransit," AllTransit, 2018, https://alltransit.cnt.org/.
19. Center for Neighborhood Technology.
20. Alex Karner and Deb Niemeier, "Civil Rights Guidance and Equity Analysis Methods for Regional Transportation Plans: A Critical Review of Literature and Practice," Journal of Transport Geography 33 (December 1, 2013): 126–34, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2013.09.017.
21. Alex Karner, Dana Rowangould, and Jonathan London, "We Can Get There From Here: New Perspectives on Transportation Equity," 2016, https://ncst.ucdavis.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/NCST_EquityWhitePaper-FINAL.pdf.
22. The Center for Social Inclusion, "Re: Docket No. FHWA-2013 — 0037; FHWA RIN 2125 — AF52; FTA RIN 2132 — AB10, Statewide and Nonmetropolitan Transportation Planning; Metropolitan Transportation Planning," 2013.

23. Samuel L. Myers et al., Racial and Gender Diversity in State DOTs and Transit Agencies (Washington, D.C.: Transportation Research Board, 2007), https://doi.org/10.17226/22010.
24. Julia Ehrman, "Who Rules Transit?," The Connection (blog), May 10, 2018, http://transitcenter.org/2018/05/10/who-rules-transit/.
25. John Greenfield, "Transit Boards Overwhelmingly Male, Whiter than Ridership," Chicago Reader (blog), May 22, 2018, https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/are-the-boards-making-decisions-about-transit-as-diverse-as-the/Content?oid=48590051.
26. OPAL, "We Demand A Halt to TriMet GM Hiring Process," OPAL Environmental Justice Oregon (blog), January 24, 2018, http://www.opalpdx.org/2018/01/we-demand-a-halt-to-trimet-gm-hiring-process/.
27. Roberta Altstadt, "TriMet's Board of Directors to Extend Comment Period for next General Manager," TriMet News (blog), January 25, 2018, http://news.trimet.org/2018/01/trimets-board-of-directors-to-extend-comment-period-for-next-general-manager/.
28. Maryland Transit Administration, "The Hogan Administration Launches Public Awareness Campaign for Final BaltimoreLink Plan," April 3, 2017, https://mta.maryland.gov/content/hogan-administration-launches-public-awareness-campaign-final-baltimorelink-plan-0.
29. City of Boston, "Go Boston 2030," Boston.gov, 2018, https://www.boston.gov/departments/transportation/go-boston-2030.
30. Karner, Rowangould, and London, "We Can Get There From Here: New Perspectives on Transportation Equity."
31. Stephanie Pollack, Barry Bluestone, and Chase Billingham, "Maintaining Diversity in America's Transit-Rich Neighborhoods: Tools for Equitable Neighborhood Change." (Dukakis Center for Urban and Regional Policy at Northeastern University, 2010).
32. Public Advocates, "Plan Bay Area," Public Advocates (blog), 2017, http://www.publicadvocates.org/our-work/transportation-justice-issues/plan-bay-area/.
33. Richard A Marcantonio and Alex Karner, "Disadvantaged Communities Teach Regional Planners a Lesson in Equitable and Sustainable Development" 23, no. 1 (2014), http://www.prrac.org/pdf/JanFeb2014PRRAC_Marcantonio-Karner.pdf.
34. SFMTA, "Muni Service Equity Strategy," Text, SFMTA, 2018, https://www.sfmta.com/projects/muni-service-equity-strategy.
35. Alex Karner and Richard A. Marcantonio, "Achieving Transportation Equity: Meaningful Public Involvement to Meet the Needs of Underserved Communities," Public Works Management & Policy 23, no. 2 (2017): 105–26, https://doi.org/10.1177/1087724X17738792.
36. Susan Hoyt, "Transit, More than a Ride: Trusted Advocate Pilot Project Evaluation" (District Councils Collaborative of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, 2013), http://www.funderscollaborative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Trusted-AdvocateProjectEvaluation.pdf.
37. PolicyLink, "Business Impact Mitigations for Transit Projects" (Oakland Sustainable Neighborhoods Initiative, 2013), http://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/FINAL%20PolicyLink%20Business%20Impact%20Mitigation%20Strategies_0.pdf.
38. Hana Creger, Joel Espino, and Alvaro S. Sanchez, "Mobility Equity Framework: How to Make Transportation Work for People" (THe Greenlining Institute, 2018), http://greenlining.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Mobility-Equity-Framework-Final.pdf.
39. Todd Litman, "Evaluating Transportation Equity" (Victoria Transport Policy Institute, 2016).
40. National Research Council, ed., Equity of Evolving Transportation Finance Mechanisms, Special Report 303 (Washington, D.C: Transportation Research Board, 2011).
41. Invest Atlanta, "Tax Allocation Districts Frequently Asked Questions," 2017, https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:9Bti2WhIZTsJ:https://www.investatlanta.com/development/tax-allocation-districts/tax-allocation-districts-frequently-asked-questions/+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us.
42. Jonas Eliasson and Lars-Göran Mattsson, "Equity Effects of Congestion Pricing: Quantitative Methodology and a Case Study for Stockholm," Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice 40, no. 7 (August 1, 2006): 602–20, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2005.11.002.
43. David Meyer, "De Blasio's Wrong: Poor New Yorkers Stand to Gain a Lot From Congestion Pricing," Streetsblog New York City (blog), October 24, 2017, https://nyc.streetsblog.org/2017/10/24/de-blasios-wrong-poor-new-yorkers-stand-to-gain-a-lot-from-congestion-pricing/.
44. SFCTA, "San Francisco Mobility, Access, and Pricing Study" (SFCTA, 2010), https://www.sfcta.org/sites/default/files/content/Planning/CongestionPricingFeasibilityStudy/PDFs/MAPS_study_final_lo_res.pdf.
45. Steven Higashide, "Who's on Board 2016: What Today's Riders Teach Us About Transit That Works" (New York: TransitCenter, 2016), http://transitcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/TransitCenter-WOB-2016.pdf.
46. Elizabeth Kneebone, "The Changing Geography of US Poverty," Brookings (blog), February 15, 2017, https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-changing-geography-of-us-poverty/.
47. Tom Mills and Madeline Steele, "In Portland, Economic Displacement May Be A Driver of Transit Ridership Loss," TransitCenter, November 14, 2017, http://transitcenter.org/2017/11/14/in-portland-economic-displacement-may-be-a-driver-of-transit-ridership-loss/.
48. Commonwealth Transportation Board, "SMART SCALE Technical Guide," 2017, http://smartscale.org/documents/20171115/ss_technical_guide_nov13_2017.pdf.
49. City of Minneapolis, "20 Year Streets Funding Plan," December 2016, http://www.minneapolismn.gov/www/groups/public/@publicworks/documents/webcontent/wcmsp-193216.pdf.
50. Dow Constantine, "Nearly 5 Million Metro Transit Trips in 2016 Were Taken with ORCA LIFT Cards, the Latest Milestone for the Nation's Leading Reduced-Fare Program - King County," 2017, https://www.kingcounty.gov/elected/executive/constantine/news/release/2017/February/02-orca-lift-milestones.aspx.
51. Transit Empowerment Fund, "About the Fund," 2018, http://www.transitempowermentfund.org/about-the-fund/.
52. Transport for London, "Pay as You Go Capping," Transport for London, 2018, https://www.tfl.gov.uk/fares-and-payments/oyster/using-oyster/price-capping.
53. Brian D. Taylor, Kelcie Ralph, and Michael Smart, "What Explains the Gender Gap in Schlepping? Testing Various Explanations for Gender Differences in Household-Serving Travel*," Social Science Quarterly 96, no. 5 (November 1, 2015): 1493–1510, https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12203.
54. Mills and Steele, "In Portland, Economic Displacement May Be A Driver of Transit Ridership Loss."

55. The Center for Social Inclusion, "Re: Docket No. FHWA-2013 — 0037; FHWA RIN 2125 — AF52; FTA RIN 2132 — AB10, Statewide and Nonmetropolitan Transportation Planning; Metropolitan Transportation Planning."
56. Carla Chavez, "5 Things We Love About Sound Transit 3," Transportation Choices Coalition (blog), July 1, 2010, https://transportation-choices.org/blog/5-things-we-love-about-sound-transit-3.
57. Seattle Office of Civil Rights, "Inclusive Outreach and Public Engagement Guide" (City of Seattle, January 11, 2012), https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/RSJI/GRE/IOPEguide01-11-12.pdf.
58. Seattle DOT, "Transportation Equity Program," 2018, http://www.seattle.gov/transportation/projects-and-programs/programs/transportation-equity-program.
59. King County Office of Equity and Social Justice, "Equity and Social Justice Strategic Plan 2016-2022," 2016, https://aqua.kingcounty.gov/dnrp/library/dnrp-directors-office/equity-social-justice/201609-ESJ-SP-FULL.pdf.
60. PolicyLink, "Transportation for All: Good for Families, Communities, and the Economy," 2016, http://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/Transportation-for-All-FINAL-05-10-16.pdf.
61. Diana M. Williams, Ann Fowler Wallace, and Amy Rutledge, "The Hardest Road: Philanthropic Approaches to the Evolving Field of Transportation Equity" (Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities, 2015), http://www.fundersnetwork.org/files/learn/TFN_HardestRoad_Print_LowRes.pdf.
62. Puget Sound Regional Council, "Growing Transit Communities Strategy," Puget Sound Regional Council, November 21, 2016, https://www.psrc.org/growing-transit-communities.
63. Center for Neighborhood Technology, "AllTransit."
64. Alex Posorske et al., "The State of Transit 2017: Creating Our Transit Future" (Ride New Orleans, 2017), http://rideneworleans.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/SOTS-2017-FINAL-PDF.pdf.
65. Center for Neighborhood Technology, "AllTransit."
66. Dustin A. Cable, The Racial Dot Map, 2013, 2013, https://demographics.virginia.edu/DotMap/.
67. American Community Survey Data, "Estimated Percent of All People That Are Living in Poverty as of 2012-2016," PolicyMap, 2018, https://www.policymap.com/maps.
68. Ride New Orleans, "The RTA Approved the Long-Term Strategic Plan!," 2017, http://rideneworleans.org/the-rta-approved-the-long-term-strategic-plan/.
69. Ride New Orleans, "The State of Transit 2016: Access. Accelerate. Achieve" (New Orleans, 2016), http://rideneworleans.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Ride-New-Orleans-2016-State-of-Transit-Report.pdf.
70. Bus Turnaround Coalition, "Bus Turnaround NYC," 2018, http://busturnaround.nyc/.
71. MTA, "NYC Transit Unveils Plan to Reimagine Bus System & Deliver World-Class Bus Service," April 23, 2018, http://www.mta.info/news/2018/04/23/nyc-transit-unveils-plan-reimagine-bus-system-deliver-world-class-bus-service.
72. The Center for Social Inclusion, "Re: Docket No. FHWA-2013 — 0037; FHWA RIN 2125 — AF52; FTA RIN 2132 — AB10, Statewide and Nonmetropolitan Transportation Planning; Metropolitan Transportation Planning."
73. Karner, Rowangould, and London, "We Can Get There From Here: New Perspectives on Transportation Equity."
74. The Center for Social Inclusion, "Re: Equity Performance Measures," 2013.
75. City of Oakland, "Equity Dashboard," accessed April 12, 2018, http://oakbec.s3.amazonaws.com/MapLanding/maps/Equity_Dashboard_2.html#.
76. Chris McCahill, "Guide to Transportation Equity Measurement: Access, Affordability, and Health and Safety (DRAFT)" (State Smart Transportation Initiative, 2016).
77. Karner and Niemeier, "Civil Rights Guidance and Equity Analysis Methods for Regional Transportation Plans."
78. Karel Martens, Aaron Golub, and Glenn Robinson, "A Justice-Theoretic Approach to the Distribution of Transportation Benefits: Implications for Transportation Planning Practice in the United States," Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice 46, no. 4 (May 2012): 684–95, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2012.01.004.
79. Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, "Equity Through Access," 2016, https://dvrpcgis.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=06eab792a06044f89b5b7fadeef660ba.
80. Commonwealth Transportation Board, "SMART SCALE Technical Guide."
81. Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, "Equity Through Access."
82. SFMTA, "Muni Service Equity Strategy."
83. SFMTA, "Muni Servie Equity Strategy (Fiscal Years 2018-19 and 2019-20)" (SFMTA, 2018), https://www.sfmta.com/sites/default/files/reports-and-documents/2018/03/2018_muni_service_equity_strategy_report.pdf.
84. Stuart Cohen and Clarrissa Cabansagan, "A Framework for Equity in New Mobility" (TransForm, 2017), http://www.transformca.org/sites/default/files/A%20Framework%20for%20Equity%20in%20New%20Mobility_FINAL.pdf.
85. Pinellas Suncoast Transit Authority, "PSTA, Uber Offer Free, Late-Night Rides for Low-Income Residents," 2016, https://www.psta.net/about-psta/press-releases/2016/psta-uber-offer-free-late-night-rides-for-low-income-residents/.
86. Suzette Porter, "PSTA Panel Backs Late-Service Fee," Suncoast News, November 28, 2017, http://www.suncoastnews.com/psta-panel-backs-late-service-fee/article_62574da6-d480-11e7-895f-6bfbb903eb08.html.
87. PolicyLink, "Transportation for All: Good for Families, Communities, and the Economy."
88. Pollack, Bluestone, and Billingham, "Maintaining Diversity in America's Transit-Rich Neighborhoods."
89. Karner, Rowangould, and London, "We Can Get There From Here: New Perspectives on Transportation Equity."
90. Puget Sound Regional Council, "Growing Transit Communities Strategy."
91. Miriam Zuk et al., "Gentrification, Displacement and the Role of Public Investment: A Literature Review" (Community Development Investment Center, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, 2015), https://www.frbsf.org/community-development/files/wp2015-05.pdf.

92. Miriam Zuk and Karen Chapple, "Urban Displacement Project," 2015, http://www.urbandisplacement.org/.
93. Pollack, Bluestone, and Billingham, "Maintaining Diversity in America's Transit-Rich Neighborhoods."
94. Pollack, Bluestone, and Billingham.
95. Eleni Bardaka and John Hersey, "Equitable Transit-Oriented Development in Denver, CO: Comparing Travel Characteristics and Mode Choice between Residents of Low-Income and Market-Rate Apartments" (Transportation Research Board, Washington, D.C., 2018).
96. Marlon G. Boarnet et al., "Affordable Housing in Transit-Oriented Developments: Impacts on Driving and Policy Approaches" (National Center for Sustainable Transportation, April 2017), https://ncst.ucdavis.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/NCST-TO-027-Boarnet-Bostic-Affordable-TOD-White-Paper_FINALv2.pdf.
97. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Chapter 40R," Mass.gov, 2018, https://www.mass.gov/service-details/chapter-40r.
98. City of Dallas, "Tax Increment Financing Districts," Dallas Economic Development, accessed April 4, 2018, http://www.dallasecodev.org/358/Tax-Increment-Financing-Districts.
99. Enterprise Community Partners, "Denver Regional Transit-Oriented Development Fund," Enterprise Community Partners, 2018, https://www.enterprisecommunity.org/financing-and-development/community-loan-fund/denver-regional-tod-fund.
100. Pollack, Bluestone, and Billingham, "Maintaining Diversity in America's Transit-Rich Neighborhoods."
101. Bay Area Rapid Transit, "Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)," 2018, https://www.bart.gov/about/business/tod.
102. Pollack, Bluestone, and Billingham, "Maintaining Diversity in America's Transit-Rich Neighborhoods."
103. LA Metro, "Metro Joint Development Program: Policy," 2017, https://media.metro.net/projects_studies/joint_development/images/jd-policy_2016-1201.pdf.
104. Sandra Larson, "Land Trust Network Launches in Boston," Next City (blog), May 5, 2016, https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/boston-land-trust-network-launches.
105. Todd Swanstrom, Will Winter, and Laura Wiedlocher, "More Transit = More Jobs: The Impact of Increasing Funding for Public Transit" (Transportation Equity Network, 2010), http://www.transportationequity.org/images/downloads/MoreTransit=MoreJobs-final.pdf.
106. Shireen Malekafzali, ed., Healthy Equitable Transportation Policy (PolicyLink, Prevention Institute, Convergence Partnership, 2010), http://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/HEALTHTRANS_FULLBOOK_FINAL.PDF.
107. King County Metro, "Partnership to Achieve Comprehensive Equity (PACE)," 2016, http://metro.kingcounty.gov/pace/.
108. King County Metro, "Frequently Asked Questions," Partnership to Achieve Comprehensive Equity (PACE), 2016, http://metro.kingcounty.gov/pace/faq.html.
109. Erick Trickey, "The Train Line That Brought the Twin Cities Back Together - POLITICO Magazine," POLITICO Magazine, March 16, 2017, http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/03/train-line-minneapolis-st-paul-streetcar-light-rail-214920.
110. City and County of San Francisco, "Central Subway Project Construction Mitigation Program," Office of Economic and Workforce Development, 2018, http://oewd.org/construction-mitigation.
111. Abby Richardson, "A Comparison Study of Measures to Mitigate Loss of Business Revenue During Major Construction Projects," Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law 22, no. 3/4 (2014): 267–98.
112. Aaron Bialick, "Make No Mistake: Most Muni Riders Pay Their Fares," Text, SFMTA, January 29, 2017, https://www.sfmta.com/blog/make-no-mistake-most-muni-riders-pay-their-fares.
113. Pittsburghers for Public Transit, "Don't Criminalize Transit Riders!," 2017, https://www.pittsburghforpublictransit.org/campaigns/ongoing-campaigns/dont-criminalize-transit-riders/.
114. Rory Lancman and David R. Jones, "Fare Evasion Is a Crime of Poverty," NY Daily News, June 16, 2017, http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/fare-evasion-crime-poverty-article-1.3250824.
115. Angie Schmitt, "Cleveland Police Enforcement of Transit 'Proof-of-Payment' Ruled Unconstitutional," Streetsblog USA (blog), November 2, 2017, https://usa.streetsblog.org/2017/11/02/cleveland-police-enforcement-of-transit-proof-of-payment-ruled-unconstitutional/.
116. Josh Cohen, "Portland Wants to Keep Transit Fare Evaders Out of Court," Next City (blog), March 12, 2018, https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/portland-wants-to-keep-transit-fare-evaders-out-of-court.