Policy Memo

Accessibility measures for regional transportation planning

May 2 - June 11

To: Scott Haggerty, chair of governing Commission of Bay Area Metropolitan Transportation Commission

From: Shen Qu, Policy Advisor

Date: 5/2/2019

RE: Define and measure accessibility in Plan Bay are 2050

# Summary

Accessibility, the ease of reaching destinations, is a key land use and transportation performance measure(Boisjoly and El-Geneidy 2017b). Including clear accessibility objectives, definitions, and indicators in Plan Bay Area 2050 is key to promoting the use of metrics in policy and practice.

multi-criteria analysis approaches including accessibility indicators need to guide the decision-making process and ultimately. To meet The Bay Area’s transportation needs through 2050 while preserving the character of its diverse communities and adapting to future population growth. To make progress toward the Bay Area long-range transportation and land use goals.

(Boisjoly and El-Geneidy 2017a)

equity analysis greater accessibility reducing the risks of social exclusion for vulnerable individuals *(Preston and Rajé, 2007, Lucas, 2012)*

# Background

* Plan Bay Area 2050: they are going to update their regional transportation plan, along with their processes for selecting projects for funding, at all scales.

Plan Bay Area 2050 is an integrated long-range transportation and land use plan developed and adopt by MTC and ABAG. Work on Plan Bay Area 2050 is expected to begin in August 2019 and focused update that builds upon the growth pattern and strategies developed in the original Plan Bay Area 2040 (adopted in July 2017) but with updated planning assumptions that incorporate key economic, demographic and financial trends from the last four years.

Re-examining the prior Plan’s goals and targets is one of the first steps in updating Plan Bay Area in order to make them as meaningful as possible in measuring the Plan’s performance. In the current 13 performance targets, three goals are about ‘Equitable Access’. It is also a response to the most recent federal transportation bills – the Fixing America’s Surface Transportation Act (FAST Act) that require Plan Bay Area to address ‘accessibility and mobility of people and freight’ (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2014).

* Decrease the share of lower-income residents’ household income consumed by transportation and housing by 10%.
* Increase the share of affordable housing in PDAs, TPAs, or high-opportunity areas by 15%.
* Do not increase the share of low- and moderate-income renter households in PDAs, TPAs, or high-opportunity areas that are at risk of displacement.

Although the three targets are components of accessibility, it does not fully reflect access to destinations. In spite of access afordable housing, a broader range of destinations is generally included

accessibility is one of the most comprehensive performance measures of land use and transportation systems *(El-Geneidy and Levinson, 2006)*.

is associated with higher employment rates, provides residents with greater access to a variety of opportunities*(Ornati et al., 1969, Pignatar and Falcocch, 1969, Sanchez, 1999, Blumenberg and Ong, 2001, Sari, 2015, Tyndall, 2015)*, reducing car use greater transit use *(Chen et al., 2008, Owen and Levinson, 2015b)*,and the resulting greenhouse gas emissions *(Levinson, 1998, Handy, 2002)*.

Yet, accessibility allows tackling multiple objectives in Plan Bay Area, including Climate Protection, Healthy and Safe Communities, Open Space and Agricultural Preservation, Economic Vitality, Transportation System Effectiveness, and should hence also be used to assess the overall benefits of potential investments.

The accessibility-based objective is not only to improve social inclusion and reduce social inequities, but also to support and foster economic development through improved employment accessibility for deprived areas. accessibility indicators should be used as general performance indicators.

the concept of accessibility has been a common element in the goals and objectives of transport plans Hansen (1959).

However, the federal guidelines and prior plan doesn’t define access explicitly. The terms accessibility and mobility are used as a vague term that does not reflect the ease of reaching various destinations and often are conflated, “misused”, and “abused” in practice (Halden, 2011). Access to destinations does not translate into indicators that reflect accessibility in previous plans.

Explicitly defining accessibility as the end goal of the transportation network would encourage the establishment of accessibility-based performance indicators and help policy-making for MTC, ABAG, and local governments.

# Definition: why it should be used in transportation decision making

Accessibility, defined as the ease of reaching destinations,services, and activities; the distribution, character, and amount of activity around a given place; the choices that the built environment offers to travelers*(Preston and Rajé, 2007; Litman, 2013; Handy (2018))*,

for individual, living in an area with relatively high accessibility to jobs is associated with shorter trips, as is working in an area of relatively high housing accessibility.9

for firms: e.g. access to suppliers, workforce, customers, desirable environment (aesthetically pleasing surroundings, clean air and water),amenities (access to recreational and other non-work destinations), friendly government, etc. (Levinson and Krizek 2018, 111)

Accessibility is instrumental in explaining the spatial form and function of metropolitan areas. It is the “fundamental force for the relationship between transport and land use in a city and their impacts on city organization, development, and planning to achieve more sustainable outcomes.”(Levinson and Krizek 2018, 22) It is one of the most comprehensive measures to assess the complex performance of land use and transportation systems in a region.(Boisjoly and El-Geneidy 2017a), to assess current conditions and proposed policies

Moreover, It’s a goal that almost everyone can agree on, and it opens doors to a host of strategies that could reduce auto dependence and improve quality of life. (Handy 2018)

* distinguishing Accessibility and Mobility

travel is a derived demand *(Goldman and Gorham, 2006; Grengs et al., 2010; Halden, 2002; Handy and Niemeier, 1997; Levine et al., 2012)*. people travel to places where they can meet their daily needs, not simply to move about. the purpose of most travel is about the destination, not the journey.

accessibility focuses on reaching destinations, the end goal of a transportation network, focused on making it easier for individuals to reach destinations where they can meet daily needs such as work, recreation, socialising, shopping, and other forms of social exchange *(Martens, 2015; Miller, 2005)*.

Mobility is concerned with how easy it is to travel. focuses on travel speeds. Improvements in mobility alone are not sufficient to ensure improvements in accessibility. (Proffitt et al. 2019)

Planning for accessibility, Land use policies designed to bring destinations within walking distance of residential areas. may not even require retrofitting neighborhoods. For example, transit services that link specific groups of users to their desired destinations, such as reverse commute programs and other client-based transport services, Efforts like these reduce the need to drive,.25

it facilitates the evaluation of tradeoffs between land use, transportation and social needs. By combining aspects of land use and transportation into a single measure, accessibility focuses attention on the performance of the system as a whole rather than on just segments of the transportation network.

the clear distinction between mobility and accessibility indicators. Interestingly, accessibility and mobility are included as two distinct goals with different criteria and methodologies,

# Evaluates the accessibility measures

## in regional level: evaluation should use clear criteria and draw on existing sources.

be measured by scales regional transport–land use policies may speak to issues of urban growth boundaries, increasing densification, and diversifying the geographical distribution of employment centers. Access to jobs provides an adequate indicator of regional accessibility, as many people commute across the region for work.

Regional accessibility is determined by the regional structure of a metropolitan area and incorporated variables such as location, type of activities, and size of activities that affect shopping behavior.

### Access measures: location level (place-based).

* the activity/land use component

the activity component means access to destinations is largely contingent on the spatial distribution of destinations, influenced by the distribution of residential, economic, cultural and social activities. The land use component is related to the spatial distribution of opportunities. include, jobs, health services and retail stores. such as jobs, restaurants, daycares, health care facilities, and households.

In terms of modes and thresholds (Fig. 1), accessibility to jobs is generally generated for transit or automobile, using travel time thresholds varying from 30 minutes to 60 minutes.

The second type of metrics (access to urban opportunities) directly measures the ease of reaching various destinations, generally jobs, using a specific mode. This measure is however more complex to generate, as the locations of the destinations is needed.

use accessibility measures to define regional transportation priorities

* the availability of opportunities close by

Location-based accessibility is most commonly used by policy-makers as it provides a comprehensive measure of the land use and transport system at the regional level (Dodson et al., 2007). Location-based metrics typically accounts for the number of opportunities that can be reached from a specific location, based on the travel costs to destinations using a specific mode (Handy and Niemeier, 1997).

* cumulative opportunity indices (counting exchange opportunities within a defined geographic parameter),

A common location-based metric is a measure of cumulative-opportunities, which counts all opportunities that can be reached within a travel costs threshold. For example, the number of jobs that are within 45 min of travel times by transit from a specific place is used to assess the access to jobs by public transit.

only counts the opportunities that are within a specific travel costs threshold.

cumulative-opportunity measures are easy to generate and interpret. Furthermore, these measures are highly correlated with gravity-based measures (El-Geneidy and Levinson, 2006), and hence represent an adequate measure of regional accessibility (Boisjoly and El-Geneidy, 2016).

cumulative-opportunity metrics provide indicators that typically reflect the ease of reaching destinations and is thus encouraged. More specifically, the use of cumulative-opportunities measure of accessibility to jobs by public transport and car is suggested. These measures provide adequate indicators of the regional patterns of accessibility, and are easy to generate, to interpret, and to communicate (Boisjoly and El-Geneidy, 2016, Geurs and van Wee, 2004).

Accessibility metrics are typically location-based and focus on the transport and land use components of accessibility. In all cases, measures are based on cumulative opportunities, using a travel time or distance threshold, mainly for public transport and driving (Fig. 1, right). Cumulative-opportunity measures are easy to communicate and interpret, and thus better suited for planning documents (Geurs and van Wee, 2004).

cumulative-opportunities are simpler to generate, interpret and communicate.

* the ease and worth of travel to destinations far away

location-based metrics are most commonly used in planning as they provide a comprehensive measure of regional accessibility (Boisjoly and El-Geneidy, 2017). These metrics indicate the ease of accessing destinations and the ability to move from one place to another (Geurs and van Wee, 2004).

* the transport component.

The transport component refers to the transport infrastructure specific to each mode.

This is some measure of the ability to move along the network.which determines the travel time, costs and convenience from a place to another (Geurs and van Wee, 2004)., is generally mode specific and based on travel time or distance (Hansen, 1959, Vickerman, 1974, Handy, 1994, Geurs and van Wee, 2004, Owen and Levinson, 2015a).

* utility measures (which quantify the benefit individuals get from destinations), A second type of measures is the utility-based measures, which capture the economic benefits provided by changes in the network. Utility-based measures account for most components of accessibility and can be included in traditional cost-benefit analysis (van Wee, 2016).

Travel costs are generally measured based on travel time or distance

access to destinations, and access to or from public transport station. Access to public transport is the most common measure used in the plans. This measure is generally presented as the percentage of people or jobs that are within 0.5 mile of a public transport station. it does not directly addresses the ease of reaching urban opportunities.

* gravity-type models (pitting the importance of given exchange opportunities against travel time impedances),

Another common metric is the gravity-based measure, which discounts opportunities based on a distance-decay function.based on their travel costs. Accordingly, opportunities that are located farther (by distance or time) receive less weight than closer opportunities. While this measure is more reflective of travel behavior,

the attractiveness of destinations based on the number of opportunities available there and an impedance factor based on travel cost/time.

Gravity-based measures better reflect travel behavior as it accounts for the travelers’ perceptions of time (Ben-Akiva and Lerman, 1979). This measure is, however, more complex to generate, and more difficult to interpret and communicate, as it is not directly expressed in terms of the number of opportunities (Geurs and van Wee, 2004; A. Owen and Levinson, 2014).

Overall, the cumulative-opportunities accessibility metrics are generated for access to transport, and to a lesser extent, for access to destinations, mainly jobs. Ideally, plans would integrate both types of metrics. Access to transport provides a good indication of transport coverage, whereas access to destinations captures the performance of the land use and transportation systems, which better reflect the social and economic benefits (Banister, 2008, Koenig, 1980, Wachs and Kumagai, 1973).

## the evaluation of individual projects in the MPO service area.

Absolute accessibility is the total measure of accessibility within a particular area. A transport improvement increases overall accessibility—analogous to increasing the size of the pie. Relative accessibility is the share of total accessibility associated with a particular place. A new transport facility increases the relative accessibility of those points that can directly use the facility—analogous to increasing the percentage of the pie that a particular slice comprises. For a new infrastructure improvement (a faster bus, a new link, etc.), while society overall receives greater accessibility, the markets served by the improvement gain in both absolute and relative accessibility.

Local accessibility is primarily determined by nearby activity (where “nearby” is used to refer to the neighborhood unit, approximately one-half to one mile (800 to 1,600 m) in residential areas). Areas with higher local accessibility would be oriented to convenience goods, such as supermarkets and drug stores, and located in small centers.

Access to jobs can also be a reflection of the level of services available around a certain location, as the delivery of services often equates a certain number of employees.

Neighborhood accessibility policy initiatives speak more to issues of mixing uses on a parcel or neighborhood scale, site design, and more directly, facilitating circulation patterns that enhance walking, bicycling, and transit use.

Other types of destinations include libraries, schools, grocery stores, hospitals, public parks, educational services Many of these destinations reflect local accessibility and are thus often associated with cycling and walking.

The most common metrics for cycling and walking are measures of local accessibility (to grocery stores, schools, parks or public transport station for example),

With respect to local accessibility walking and cycling distance thresholds are used instead of travel time thresholds (0.5 miles for walking). These appear to be appropriate measures of accessibility, as time is generally proportional to the distance travelled by bicycle or foot.

Analysing future development scenarios in terms of their levels of accessibility could leverage MPOs’ influence on municipal-level land-use decisions even without explicit authority over them. Highlighting the connections between land use and transportation infrastructure facilitates cost-benefit analysis of providing accessibility rather than relieving congestion. Such comparisons could help MPOs provide better information about the performance and the costs of different transportation-infrastructure and land-use scenarios. Better information about the tradeoffs inherent in different development scnearios can help regions choose projects more objectively.

# equity analysis

Discusses how equity could be incorporated in the accessibility measures. In doing so, how are you defining equity?

can include other types of destinations, or segmentation by job types, to address specific social issues, all depending on the context of analysis. Temporal fluctuations in accessibility can also be addressed to improve the quality of the accessibility analysis.

* temporal elements

Time restrictions also play an important role in determining accessibility. These include land use, transport and individual constraints such as the availability of opportunities (i.e., opening hours), personal schedules, and the schedule of public transport services.

The availability of opportunities for example (opening hours of shops and services, job starting time) represents temporal elements,

* be measured by mode

all modes should be included in the accessibility objectives and indicators. Increasing accessibility by transit, cycling and walking can contribute to achieving broader environmental, economic and social goals.

* the individual component； the individual level

In addition to the exogenous factors, individual characteristics such as income, level of education, gender and vehicle ownership affect one’s abilities and needs to access destinations. whereas personal characteristics such as income and car ownership reflect the individual component.

With respect to the individual components, many areas segment the accessibility analysis by socio-economic groups. do address destination segmentation. This is an important improvement as the accessibility to all jobs may not represent the opportunities that are available to different groups of populations

, person-based measures of accessibility are generated at the individual level, and are concerned with the level of accessibility experienced by a specific person (Geurs and van Wee, 2004, Miller, 2005, Owen and Levinson, 2015b).

* be measured by cost intead of time

Measures of generalized costs (including the costs and time of travel). These measures better reflect the total costs of travel as they include both financial and time burdens. They are however very challenging to generate due to complex fare structures and availability of data. Yet, excluding the financial costs of travel results in an overestimation of accessibility (El-Geneidy et al., 2016), especially for low-income individuals. In this regard, accessibility based on financial and time costs is closer to reality and can also provide an insight on fare structures and trip affordability. address the financial constraints that vulnerable individuals may face.

Promoting access to housing, jobs and transportation for these residents helps Plan Bay Area’s objective to advance equity in the region; it also increases our chances of meeting the other performance targets. MTC and ABAG will conduct an equity analysis on the proposed investments in Plan Bay Area 2040. The equity framework for Plan Bay Area 2040 was approved the Metropolitan Transportation Commission in January 2016.

The overall framework has three components:

* A Title VI analysis of investments that use federal and state funds to determine whether there are any disparate impacts of distribution of these funds on populations of different race, color or national origin;
* An environmental justice analysis of investments to determine whether there are any disproportionately high and adverse impacts on low-income and minority populations or communities of concern; and
* An equity analysis that assesses the distribution of benefits and burdens on communities of concern in comparison to the rest of the region.

These three components satisfy federal requirements with respect to the metropolitan planning process.

Six of the 13 Performance Targets previously identified by MTC and ABAG will serve as equity measures for use in the analyses.

Review of Key Demographic and Socio-Economic Trends

In addition to an analysis based on the equity measures, the equity report will summarize key demographic and socio-economic trends, including the following topics:

* Poverty in the Suburbs
* Concentration of Poverty
* Proximity to Services and Amenities
* Proximity to Opportunity Areas
* Exposure to Contamination and Pollutants

Equity analysis based on accessibility indicators generally assess the level of accessibility of specific vulnerable groups relatively the general population, using detailed accessibility metrics.

However, in most cases the use of the generated accessibility metrics is limited to the environmental justice assessment, although accessibility is also stated as a main planning factor by the federal government.

Accessibility is mainly perceived as an equity indicator, while it has the potential to address multiple aspects of a land use and transportation system.

# More options

## multi-criteria analyses

accessibility indicators should systematically be included in multi-criteria analyses.

it offers an alternative to mobility-based decisions and potentially provide greater transparency in the decision-making process (Halden, 2011). Furthermore, national and regional authorities can require local authorities to address accessibility in their project analysis. One especially effective way of doing so is by including accessibility criteria in the selection process of projects,

One of the most systematic and transparent way to inform decision-making is by including accessibility indicators into multi-criteria analyses. a multi-criteria analysis was conducted to compare the projects submitted by local jurisdictions and to select the ones to be included in the RTP. to conduct a prioritization of the projects to assess the effectiveness of various modelling scenarios.

The accessibility indicators included in the multi-criteria analyses range from broad questions to specific quantified metrics, which influence the flexibility of the analysis. For example, Transport for London defines clear specific accessibility metrics, for example the change in the number of jobs accessible by public transport within 45 minutes travel time (see Table 1). These access to jobs metrics are relatively easy to generate and to interpret. Accordingly, they foster the inclusion of accessibility indicators that adequately reflect the ease of reaching destinations. Furthermore, given their specific nature, they are easy to communicate as exemplified in the plan: “Implementing the schemes will increase the employment catchment area of central London (the number of people within 45 minutes of central London employment) by almost 25 percent.” (p.74).

An intermediate way of defining accessibility indicators is by attributing scores (from 1 to 3 for example) based on specific guidelines. This approach has the advantage of defining clear weights associated with accessibility criteria, thus providing greater transparency.

quantified metrics provide more specific guidelines that directly reflect the ease of reaching destinations. However, they provide lower flexibility and might not adequately reflect the outcomes of the different investments.

## Accessibility maps

Another good practice to address accessibility in transport plan is the use of visualization tools such as maps. Accessibility maps provide a clear way to communicate gaps and benefits of a transportation and land use network, and thus helps decision-makers, planners and the general population to better grasp the impacts of transportation investments.

Accessibility maps and metrics are useful tools to provide an overview of the land use and transportation network and they illustrate an underlying accessibility analysis.

## Other dimentions

Lyons and Davidson (2016) argue for a focus upon the *Triple Access System* of spatial proximity in land use system, physical mobility in the transport system and digital connectivity in the telecommunications system as a framework for policy and investment decisions that can harness flexibility and resilience.

other dimensions of accessibility might currently be neglected in metropolitan transportation plans. For example, affordability, transfer and multimodal connectivity, as well as travel information did not come up as main aspects of accessibility objectives.

# Conclusion

Neccessary define and measure accessibility in updating Plan Bay area 2050.

Plan Bay Area 2050 sets a roadmap for future transportation investments and will identify what it would take to accommodate expected growth.

Choose proper method and criteria

incorporate measures of accessibility into decision making and needs the MPO board to agree.

Integrating RTP goals with accessibility-focused performance measures could help MPOs make better decisions about the selection and prioritisation of transportation infrastructure. For instance, prioritising transit improvements to connect key origins and destinations can increase ridership *(Badoe and Miller, 2000; Chakraborty and Mishra, 2013)* Accessibility tools that take into account benefits from both transportation and land-use decisions provide a more complete picture than mobility measures alone.

Regional and local governments can play a key role in setting clear accessibility requirements for transportation planning processes and planning documents. clear guidelines must be provided and a clear distinction between mobility and accessibility must be made.(Boisjoly and El-Geneidy 2017b)

Accessibility, the ease of reaching destinations, allows capturing the complex interactions between land use and transportation systems while providing a social perspective on transportation planning. how accessibility is incorporated into metropolitan transportation plans and translated into performance indicators, to ultimately derive policy recommendations. few plans have accessibility-based indicators that can guide their decision-making processes. plans need to have clearly defined accessibility goals with a distinction between accessibility and mobility. Furthermore, multi-criteria analysis approaches including accessibility indicators need to guide the decision-making process.

More efforts are needed to effectively implement accessibility-based approaches.

Table 3. Best Practices for a Greater Inclusion of Accessibility Planning and Metrics.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Recommendation | Description |
| Accessibility goals and objectives | Clearly defined goals and objectives are included in the plan. The plan is structured around the goals and objectives. |
| Distinction between accessibility and mobility | Distinct accessibility and mobility objectives and indicators are defined. |
| Multi-criteria analysis including accessibility indicators | Accessibility indicators are systematically included in the performance analyses. Accessibility metrics are used to assess the general performance of the land use and transportation system, in addition to social equity. |
| Access to destinations metrics | The accessibility indicators are based on access to destinations (e.g.: jobs), rather than to transport amenities (e.g.: public transport stop) |
| Multiple modes | Accessibility is measured for various modes of transport |
| Visualization tools | Accessibility maps are included in the plan. |

Overall, clear multi-criteria analysis, using clearly defined indicators, provide greater transparency and typically foster the inclusion of accessibility aspect in the decision-making process.

Having shorter travel times does not necessarily equate to having access to a larger number of destinations. Furthermore, as discussed by Litman (2013), strategies aiming at increasing traffic speed may in some cases lead to an overall reduction in accessibility. In sum, increased mobility does not always result in increased accessibility (Halden, 2011, Levine et al., 2012).

‘traditional transport planning, which tends to focus on improvements to the transport system that facilitate mobility, without considering the access needs that drive travel behaviour’ (Chapman and Weir, 2008: 7).

Accessibility is increasingly seen as an alternative to mobility oriented planning paradigm (Geurs et al., 2012), as it allows capturing the complex interactions between land use and transportation systems (Hansen, 1959) and provides a social perspective on transportation planning (Banister, 2008, Lucas, 2012). While mobility merely reflects the ease of moving, accessibility addresses the ease of reaching desired destinations, which is in fact the reason why people undertake trips (Preston and Rajé, 2007).

Planning for mobility has taken on the meaning of making it easier to get around. This focus on the ease of traveling along the transport network itself (rather than focusing on the ease of reaching destinations) has aligned well with modern planning paradigms; road building has been the most popular solution to congestion. These paradigms prize the planning-for-mobility perspective because it accommodates growing levels of travel and increases the potential for movement.

conventional practice in transportation planning has employed a ‘predict and provide’ model that focuses the majority of funding and planning attention on expanding roadway capacity. (Levinson and Krizek 2018, 22)

performance metrics that focus on roadway congestion as experienced by automobile drivers *(Ewing, 1993; Handy, 2005; Krizek and Levinson, 2010)*, with higher vehicle speeds the ‘fundamental criterion for success’ *(Levine et al., 2012: 158)*. Speed-based metrics include roadway level of service (LOS), peak-period delay, traffic volume/road capacity, travel time/speed, vehicle hours of travel, the duration of peak-period congestion, and others *(Ewing, 1996; Transportation Research Board, 2010)*. Even high-occupancy toll lanes, the most common demand-management strategy used in the USA, are typically added as new capacity, only rarely replacing existing highway travel lanes *(Ewing and Proffitt, 2016)*. Planning for higher travel speeds that facilitate longer and often more frequent trips is the mobility paradigm.

improving mobility – via automobile, transit, or any other travel mode – means facilitating faster travel speeds so individuals can reach more destinations in a given travel time, improving proximity means shortening distances between trip origins and destinations so individuals can reach a satisfactory number of exchange opportunities even if they travel more slowly. In other words, neighbourhoods, cities, and metro areas can be made more accessible by reducing travel distances as well as by facilitating faster travel. The advantage of planning for accessibility versus planning solely for (auto)mobility is that the former allows for a comparison of the tradeoffs among financial, environmental and human health and wellbeing concerns when making decisions about land use and transportation.

Accessibility does not depend on good mobility.Some places such as San Francisco downtown have good accessibility despite having poor mobility (severe traffic congestion). The Residents live within a short distance of all needed and desired destinations. the travel times between destinations are relatively short, even if travel speeds are low.

In the suburban areas of Bay Area, transit service is relatively sparse and destinations are generally beyond walking distance, leaving residents with no option but to drive. the practice of planning is largely mobility-dependent, and car-dependent and has deteriorated levels of accessibility. As traffic levels invariably increase in these areas, accessibility ultimately declines for all modes.

(Proffitt et al. 2019) increasingly tight budgets and a growing awareness that it simply is not possible for regions to pave their way out of congestion do seem to be pushing many MPOs to look for alternatives to expanding roadway capacity. Improving accessibility by coordinating land-use and transportation rather than an exclusive focus on automobility is one such alternative.

# Notes

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