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“ Nowhere to live safe” : Moving to Peace and Safety

Barbara Samuels

We all experience stress in our daily lives, whether financial worries or problems at work or at home. Few of us escape some exposure to “adverse childhood experiences.” But many low-income families have to live, day in and day out, with corrosive fear for their children’s basic safety.

A new policy brief, authored by researchers from Princeton University and published by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, offers sobering data on just how prevalent children’s exposure to violence may be (McLanahan). The brief summarizes findings from RWJF’s “Fragile Families Study,” involving 5,000 children born in U.S. cities in 2000, and a longitudinal examination of a range of factors known to be associated with children’s health and development.

Nearly a quarter of the mothers in the study reported witnessing or having been the victim of violence. But this figure masks wide racial and ethnic disparities in neighborhood conditions. More than 40% of black mothers reported exposure to neighborhood

violence, almost three times the level reported by white mothers and immigrant Latina mothers.

As though the prevalence of violence is not sobering enough, the researchers found that exposure to neighborhood violence was highest when children were three to five years old. A mounting body of evidence tells us that children’s exposure to chronic adversity and toxic stress during critical periods of early childhood years is harmful to cognitive development and lifelong health. “What happens in early childhood can matter for a lifetime.” (Center on the Developing Child)

In very disadvantaged and often violent neighborhoods, all three of the building blocks needed for the healthy development of children are compromised: 1) stable, responsive relationships; 2) safe supportive environments; and 3) appropriate nutrition (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child). In these environments, food deserts are the norm, families live in unstable and often dilapidated housing, and parents and children must navigate past abandoned buildings and street corner drug dealers while walking to and from school. Less obvious perhaps is the toll these conditions take on the ability of parents to provide the stable, caring relationships thought to buffer children in disadvantaged neighborhoods from adversity and to build resiliency. Mental health experts warn

that parents who are unable to protect their children from violence experience stress, depression, helplessness and hopelessness that they communicate to their children (Osofsky).

That is what the research shows, but what do low-income families have to say about the stress they experience living in some of the most disinvested neighborhoods in America? A “Family Health and Wellness” survey that the ACLU of Maryland is administering to participants in the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program offers a human voice to match the research findings.

The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program was launched in 2003 as a result of a public housing desegregation

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tion lawsuit, *Thompson v. HUD*, and is expanding to serve up to 4,400 families by 2018. In our role as counsel for the *Thompson* plaintiff class, we are surveying families that moved from public housing, or nearby Baltimore neighborhoods, at least three years ago, and are now living in low-poverty, racially integrated communities in the city and surrounding region. An open-ended question asks participants to identify their “biggest sources of stress” before moving through the Mobility Program. The responses overwhelmingly point to neighborhood violence. Their words begin to provide a sense of just how toxic the stress that violence causes can be in the lives of families forced to endure it:

“Praying me and my kids don’t get shot going or coming home.”

“Coming in house with people all out front and drugs being sold and police sirens all the time.”

“Rodents + violence + crime.”

“Keeping my kids safe, guns, people getting killed.”

“Being around gun fire, fights and drugs each day.”

“Violence and education for my kids.”

“The crime rate in the neighborhood and keeping my children safe.”

“Neighborhood, children, safety.”

“Nowhere to live safe.”

“Violence in neighborhood, safety,

no good food markets, no car, drug dealers.”

“Letting my kids play outside without getting hurt.”

“Was my kids okay, where was my life going?”

“Living in an area that wasn’t good for my son or myself.”

“The neighborhood. Raising my child in those neighborhoods.”

“Living environment. Children not being able to experience positive life.”

“Finding a safe family environment for us.”

“Giving my kids a good life in a safe environment.”

Reflecting on their lives three or more years after moving to a safer neighborhood, families typically say their quality of life has improved. They

They feel less stress and more at peace.

feel less stress and more at peace. As one mother put it: “I think moving saved my family’s lives. My children are happier, they want more out of their lives, they have less stress.”

Housing Vouchers, Mobility Counseling

For these families, exposure to violence is no longer an everyday event. A housing voucher and mobility counseling offered a way to protect their children from the accumulation of harm.

This is not to say that moving has removed all stress from the lives of these parents and their children. Nor does it mean they no longer face the many challenges of low income, lack of education and past trauma. Some have had to deal with unfriendly neighbors, racism or anti-Section 8 sentiments. But when we asked mobility program families to identify their biggest sources of stress currently, their responses will be familiar to many of us: finances, jobs, children and transportation:

“Making sure my bills are paid.”

“[Gas and electric] bill.”

“Unemployment.”

“I need a car.”

“Can’t afford childcare.”

“Finding permanent employment and going back to school.”

“My 15 year old son.”

“Bills, preparing my 2 children for college this year,”

“Bettering myself so I can buy my home.”

Free of the debilitating stress and fear that so often accompanies living in the shadow of abandoned buildings and violence, parents say they feel more motivated and hopeful. Asked to describe their hopes for the future, they talk about making a positive life for their children: going back to school, getting into a “career” and not just a job, becoming a homeowner and helping their kids reach their potential. In the words of one mother, “I want to live my life to the fullest and watch my children grow and realize that they deserve the best and they can have it.”

Public health experts consider community violence in distressed neighborhoods to be a public health epidemic. The burden of this epidemic has fallen almost exclusively upon African-American families who, as described by Patrick Sharkey, have lived in our nation’s most distressed and segregated urban neighborhoods for multiple generations. There they confront adversity and stressors of a depth and persistence that few others experience, while struggling to make ends meet and to keep their kids physically safe and engaged in school, often against improbable odds.

Public Policy Response

Why then, has relatively little attention been given to the impact on children of living in environments of chronic violence? And why has our public policy response been so focused on costly remediation, with so little

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Ferguson: Nobody Should Be Surprised

Gregory D. Squires

Recent events in Ferguson, MO constitute the logical outcome of forces that were spelled out in 1968 by the National Advisory Panel on Civil Disorders, better known as the Kerner Commission. In its report, the Commission observed that “What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.” The report then warned of a “permanent

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division of our country into two societies: one, largely Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other predominantly white and affluent, lo-

It is important to change the rules of the game.

cated in the suburbs and outlying areas.”

The increasing segregation of older suburbs like Ferguson does not precisely fit the pattern described by the Kerner Commission, but it is a natural outgrowth of the policies documented by their report. The reality of uneven development documented in the Kerner report persists to this day in metropolitan areas throughout the U.S. By “uneven development,” I share the definition offered by Kevin

Fox Gotham and Miriam Greenberg in their 2014 book *Crisis Cities*, where they refer to:

“unequal patterns of metropolitan growth that reproduce racial and class-based inequalities and segregation, inner-city disinvestment, suburban sprawl, interurban competition for investment, and disparities both within and between cities.”

To understand recent events in Ferguson, and similar tensions in communities around the US, we need to go beyond an understanding (accurate or inaccurate) of individual or cultural characteristics (e.g., work ethic of racial minorities, culture of poverty among the urban poor, racial prejudice on the part of police) and examine the institutions that shape the con-

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The Making of Ferguson

Richard Rothstein

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The conclusions in this article are based on a review of the specific race-conscious policies that segregated the St. Louis metropolitan area, as reported in the author’s “Making Ferguson, Public Policies at the Root of Its Troubles,” published by the Economic Policy Institute (<http://s2.epi.org/files/2014/rothstein-making-ferguson.pdf>). Questions or comments should be addressed to the author at riroth@epi.org.

It is a familiar story. Police viciously assault or kill an unarmed African American man or boy. The black community rises up in protest, often in violent riots. Among many others, it is a 1919 story (Chicago), a 1943 story (Detroit, Harlem), a 1967 story (Newark and over a hundred more), a 1992 story (Los Angeles) and now a contemporary one in St. Louis.

Following the 1967 riots, President Lyndon Johnson appointed an investigatory commission headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. The commission concluded that unprovoked police attacks on black men was pervasive nationwide. It found that housing discrimination had locked black families into overcrowded ghettos

where municipal services were denied and rents were exorbitant. It observed that federal financial support was

School desegregation requires housing desegregation.

available for housing only if it was segregated. It concluded that the nation was “moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

Although we have made some progress since then, it is most remarkable how little has changed, and how much we have forgotten about the un-

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(ROTHSTEIN: Continued from page 3)

derlying causes of segregated neighborhoods where police play an almost colonial role of keeping black men and boys in their place, and of the African American rage that follows. Most even reasonably well-informed people find it curious that once-urban ghetto conditions have now migrated to inner-ring suburbs like Ferguson.

Media explanations of segregation's origins in Ferguson and the St. Louis metropolitan area have been limited. Journalistic accounts have described how suburbs once barred African Americans, by private agreements among white homeowners (restrictive covenants), by discriminatory practices of private realtors, and by racially neutral zoning rules that restricted outer-ring suburbs to the affluent. Inner-ring suburbs, according to these accounts, have flipped from white to black because of "white flight." Modern segregation, in other words, is attributable to private prejudices of white homeowners who abandoned neighborhoods when blacks arrived, and to the inability of African Americans to afford communities restricted to single-family homes on large lots.

My P&R Colleagues

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the great help I get in putting out *Poverty & Race*:

Teri Grimwood for many years has done a first-rate job laying out each issue;

Modern-Litho, our long-time printer/printer, is a pleasure to work with— Ed Zagorac and Jill Rackers are my contacts there;

Michael Hilton regularly adds items for our Resources Section;

Sarah Clayman assists me in organizing the Resources section;

Michelle Vinson manages P&R's mailing list and database; and

Philip Tegeler does his usual helpful work supervising details of the publication.

No doubt, private prejudice and suburbanites' desire for homogenous middle-class environments contributed to segregation in St. Louis and other metropolitan areas. But these explanations are too partial, and they too conveniently excuse public policy from responsibility. A more powerful cause of metropolitan segregation nationwide, and of the occupying police forces needed to regulate it, was the explicit intents of federal, state and local governments to create racially segregated metropolises. In the case of St. Louis, these intents were expressed in mutually reinforcing federal, state and local policies that included:

a) Racially explicit zoning that designated specific ghetto boundaries within the city of St. Louis, turning black neighborhoods into slums: In

We won't consider such remedies if we remain blind to how Ferguson became Ferguson.

1916, St. Louis voters adopted an ordinance prohibiting black families from moving onto blocks with whites. When the Supreme Court prohibited such ordinances, the city's Plan Commission developed zoning policies that protected exclusive white neighborhoods from commercial and industrial uses, but assigned polluting industries, taverns and houses of prostitution to black neighborhoods, all with open racial justification.

b) Segregated public housing projects that separated blacks from whites: The St. Louis and federal governments used public housing to undermine working-class integration in the central city by razing integrated neighborhoods and placing housing for blacks-only in the city's north side and for whites-only in the city's south side.

c) Exclusion of African Americans from white areas by restrictive covenants that began as private agreements, but then were adopted as explicit public policy: The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) is-

sued mortgages in St. Louis and its suburbs to whites conditional on the adoption of pacts that imposed mutual obligations on neighbors never to sell a home to blacks; the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange used model language provided by the FHA for these covenants.

d) Government-subsidized suburban development for whites only, with blacks explicitly excluded: The FHA financed builders throughout St. Louis County to construct subdivisions to draw white lower- and middle-class families from the city, on explicit condition that no black families be permitted to participate in this suburban expansion.

e) Boundary, annexation, spot zoning and municipal incorporation policies designed to remove African Americans from residence near white neighborhoods, or to prevent them from establishing residence near white neighborhoods: Several St. Louis suburbs reacted to attempts of African Americans to purchase homes by condemning their properties (for example, for park use) or by adopting sudden zoning rules to make construction of integrated housing impossible.

f) Denial of adequate municipal services in ghettos, thereby converting black neighborhoods to slums and helping to convince whites that "blacks" and "slums" were synonymous: Because few neighborhoods in St. Louis were open to black residence, neighborhoods where African Americans were permitted became so overcrowded that slum conditions became inevitable.

g) Urban renewal and redevelopment programs to shift ghetto locations, in the guise of cleaning up those slums: The famed Gateway Arch was built on a razed neighborhood of African-American families, many of whom were forced to relocate to other segregated neighborhoods or inner-ring suburbs like Ferguson.

h) Regulatory policy in the real estate and financial sectors that explicitly promoted residential segregation: As for so-called "private" dis-

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A Smarter Charter

Richard D. Kahlenberg & Halley Potter

Supporters of charter schools, which are publicly funded but independently managed, often argue that such schools embody the promise of *Brown v. Board of Education* because they can provide new opportunities to low-income and minority students. Evidence suggests, however, that many charter schools are even more highly segregated than traditional public schools, and on average the charter sector performs only about as well as traditional public schools do. In a new book, *A Smarter Charter: Finding What Works for Charter Schools and Public Education*, we suggest that it's time to return to the original vision of charter schools as vehicles for integrating students—and empowering teachers—in order to improve outcomes for kids and fulfill the democratic promise of public education.

The Early Vision for Charter Schools

Education reformer and teacher union leader Albert Shanker proposed the creation of a new group of “charter schools” in 1988. In Shanker’s formulation, teachers would be empowered to draw on their expertise to

create educational laboratories from which the traditional public schools would learn. Moreover, liberated from traditional school boundaries, Shanker and other early charter advocates suggested, charters could do a better job than the regular public schools of helping children of different racial, ethnic, economic and religious backgrounds come together to learn from one another.

Shanker’s proposal was based in part on a formative October 1987 visit to an innovative teacher-led middle and high school educating a diverse popu-

lation in Cologne, Germany. The Holweide Comprehensive School staff was divided into teams of 6–8 teachers who were given enormous latitude on what subjects would be taught, when and by whom, so long as students were prepared to meet common standards. The school’s student body of 2,000 was highly diverse, with Turkish and Moroccan immigrant pupils learning alongside native Germans. Unlike most other German schools, where students were rigidly tracked, the Holweide school employed mixed-

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Please contribute to PRRAC’s 25th Anniversary campaign!

November, 2014

Dear friend of PRRAC,

At our recent 25th Anniversary celebration (see box on page 7), PRRAC Board member Sheryll Cashin asked three of our founders how PRRAC’s work was still relevant today. The answers were fascinating—and empowering. Yes, there are still substantive divides to be crossed, and interdisciplinary social science work to be translated and communicated to advocates and policymakers, and vigilant civil rights policy advocacy is still needed, more than ever, at the federal agency level. All of this work is reflected in our recent annual reports (www.prrac.org/annual_reports.php)—and this past year has been no exception. We are making slow but steady progress in moving our federal and state policies in the direction of justice, inclusion and equality.

Even if you haven’t donated to PRRAC before, please consider making a generous donation this year. Your donations will go directly toward our programmatic work in housing, education, environmental justice, transportation and health (see www.prrac.org/currentprojects.php). You can mail your tax-deductible contribution to PRRAC at 1200 18th Street NW, #200, Washington, DC 20036, or simply donate online at our website, www.prrac.org.

Many thanks,



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Portions of this article were drawn from *A Smarter Charter: Finding What Works for Charter Schools and Public Education*, by Richard D. Kahlenberg & Halley Potter (Teachers College Press, 2014).

(CHARTER: Continued from page 5)

ability groupings. “The results,” Shanker wrote, “are impressive,” with unexpectedly large numbers of students going on to college.

The idea of charter schools received a boost in November 1988, when the Citizens League, a community policy organization in Minnesota, issued an influential report, *Chartered Schools = Choices for Educators + Quality for All Students*. Like Shanker, the committee that authored the report argued that charter schools should be guided by two central tenets: empowering teachers and promoting diversity. The report specified that charter schools would enroll students of all races and achievement levels. Charter schools would be required to have “an affirmative plan for promoting integration by ability level and race,” and failing to meet this requirement could be grounds for revoking the charter. Minnesota would soon thereafter become the nation’s first state to pass a charter school law.

Social Science Support

The early vision of racially and economically integrated charter schools was supported by a wide body of social science research that suggest both civic and cognitive benefits. American public schools—whether district schools or charter schools—are not only about raising academic achievement and promoting social mobility; they are also in the business of promoting an American identity, social cohesion and democratic citizenship.

Research finds that segregation by race and class undercuts those goals by increasing the risk of students having discriminatory attitudes and prejudices. Children are at risk of developing stereotypes about racial groups if they live in and are educated in racially isolated settings. By contrast, when school settings include students from multiple racial groups, students become more comfortable with people of other races, which leads to a dramatic decrease in discriminatory atti-

tudes and prejudices. As Justice Thurgood Marshall noted in one desegregation case, “Unless our children begin to learn together, then there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together.”

In addition to offering important civic advantages, integrated schools—particularly those that bring together students of different socioeconomic backgrounds—on average produce stronger academic outcomes for students of all backgrounds. On the 2011 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) given to 4th-graders in math, for example, low-income students attending more affluent schools scored substantially higher than low-income students in high-poverty schools. The gap in their average scores is roughly the equivalent of almost two years’ learning.

Minority and low-income students are concentrated in racially and economically isolated charter schools.

One of the most methodologically rigorous studies on the effects of socioeconomic integration is a 2010 lottery-based study by Heather Schwartz of the RAND Corporation. Schwartz’s carefully controlled study examined students and families who were randomly assigned to public housing units in Montgomery County, Maryland, a diverse and high-achieving district outside Washington, DC. This research took advantage of a rare opportunity to compare two education approaches. On the one hand, the Montgomery County school district has invested substantial extra resources (about \$2,000 per pupil) in its lowest-income schools to employ a number of innovative educational approaches. On the other hand, the county also has a longstanding inclusionary housing policy that enables low-income students to live in middle- and upper-middle-class communities and attend fairly affluent schools. The study controls for the fact that more motivated low-income fami-

lies may scrimp and save to get their children into good schools by comparing students whose families were assigned by lottery into higher-poverty and lower-poverty schools. Schwartz found very large positive effects on student learning as a result of living in lower-poverty neighborhoods and attending lower-poverty elementary schools, even though students in higher-poverty schools received additional compensatory spending.

Charter Schools and Rising Segregation

As charter school legislation was enacted in states, however, Shanker’s vision of schools that empower teachers and integrate students was largely abandoned. Over time, concerns about diversity have often been eclipsed by efforts—well-meaning in nature, to be sure—that have the effect of concentrating minority and low-income students in racially and economically isolated charter schools. Rather than emphasizing diversity and the possibility for breaking down segregation, charter school supporters began advocating for schools to target minority and low-income group members, who are demonstrably in need of better schools. According to a 2010 study by the Civil Rights Project, for example, almost half of low-income students in charter schools attended schools where more than 75% of students are low-income, compared to about a third of low-income students in traditional public schools. In addition, 36% of all students in charter schools attended schools where 90% or more of students are from minority households, compared with 16% of all students in regular public schools.

How did a policy that began with the idea of promoting diversity end up exacerbating racial and economic concentrations? Fundamentally, charter school advocates sug-

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PRRAC

*Poverty & Race
Research Action Council*

25th Anniversary Celebration

October 16, 2014 6:00PM

**Thanks to everyone who joined us last month for a great party at
Busboys and Poets (our first fundraising dinner ever!)**



*The Langston Room at
Busboys and Poets*

(See more pictures
on our website,
www.prrac.org)



*PRRAC Board members Gabriela Sandoval and
David Hinojosa and friends*



*PRRAC Board Chair Jack Boger with Leslie Proll of the
NAACP Legal Defense
Fund and Jim Gibson of
the Center for the Study
of Social Policy*



*Panel discussion with PRRAC founders Alan Houseman, Jack Boger, and
John Powell, moderated by PRRAC Board member Sheryll Cashin*

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gested, integration and school quality are unrelated and distinct priorities, and quality matters more. When confronted by research finding higher levels of racial and economic segregation in charter schools, for example, Nelson Smith, then-president and chief executive of the National Alliance for Public Charter Schools (NAPCS), said, “We actually are very proud of the fact that charter schools enroll more low-income kids and more kids of color than do other public schools.” He continued: “The real civil rights issue for many of these kids is being trapped in dysfunctional schools.”

In fact, however, the best research evidence suggests that students in most charter schools perform about the same—not significantly better and not significantly worse than students in comparable public schools. A 2010 analysis by Peter C. Weitzel and Christopher A. Lubienski concludes: “The record on achievement is mixed, with most of the best evidence showing results similar to or somewhat below those of other public schools.”

A 2013 study by Stanford’s Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO), the most comprehensive research on charter school performance to date, found students in most charter schools performed the same or worse than those in district schools. One bright spot in the CREDO study was the finding that low-income students, English language learners, Black students and Hispanic students did somewhat better in charter schools; however, the study was not able to control for the possibility of self-selection bias among the students who applied for charter schools versus those who did not—or the possibility that the peer environment is stronger in schools where students must apply to attend.

Charters that Integrate

The good news is that although charter schools today tend to be more racially and economically segregated than traditional public schools— and

the sector as a whole has mediocre results—there is great potential for charters to reverse this trend. Charter schools, like public magnet schools, are uniquely suited to create integrated student bodies. As schools of choice, they are not as constrained by residential segregation as are most public schools. And as schools created from scratch, with particular visions, they have the potential to draw interest from diverse income, racial and ethnic groups.

In *A Smarter Charter*, we highlight nine high-achieving charter schools or networks that consciously integrated students from different racial and eco-

We support the creation of new socioeconomically integrated charter schools.

nomic backgrounds:

- Blackstone Valley Prep Mayoral Academy, Cumberland and Lincoln, RI
- Capital City Public Charter School, Washington, DC
- City Neighbors, Baltimore, MD
- Community Roots Charter School, Brooklyn, NY
- DSST Public Schools, Denver, CO
- E. L. Haynes Public Charter School, Washington, DC
- High Tech High, San Diego, CA
- Larchmont Charter School, Los Angeles, CA
- Morris Jeff Community School, New Orleans, LA

The charter school leaders we interviewed found that it was relatively easy to attract families from many different backgrounds as long as they had a high-quality program. Bill Kurtz explained that the academic success of DSST Public Schools attracts families from across the Denver area. DSST opened in 2004 as a single school—the Denver School of Science and Technology. Early buzz about the school focused on the state-of-the-art facilities and extensive use of technol-

ogy. By its 3rd year, the school was drawing applications from students in more than 65 schools across the Denver area—including many private and out-of-district public schools. “We’re really proud of the fact that we have kids from all over the city in our schools who feel comfortable in our schools [and] who see us as not a school serving this population or that population,” Kurtz explained. “We have parents literally pulling kids from the most elite private schools in Denver to come to our schools, and we have homeless kids who are coming to our schools. It’s really phenomenal.”

Karen Dresden, founding principal and head of school at Capital City Public Charter School in Washington, DC, said that different parents choose the preschool–12 school for different reasons, which is possible because Capital City offers a rich academic program. Capital City is an Expeditionary Learning school, which is a whole-school model (including recommendations for curriculum, pedagogy and professional development) that focuses on project-based learning. For some parents, Expeditionary Learning is the biggest draw at Capital City, and, according to Dresden, these parents are more likely to be middle-class and white. But other parents are drawn to the school’s social curriculum, arts and fitness programs, or after-school activities. “People like that it feels like a well-resourced school,” she explained. For other families, in particular many of the school’s Latino families, a nurturing environment is the priority. “There’s a sense of safety that’s really important,” Dresden noted. “We’re a small school. We really care about kids.”

City Neighbors Charter School, a K–8 school that is part of a family of three charter schools in Baltimore, similarly attracts parents through a variety of channels. Like Dresden, Bobbi Macdonald, the school’s founder, noted that middle-class families were more likely to be attracted to the school’s instructional model, which follows a progressive philosophy that emphasizes project learning, the arts and student empowerment. Other par-

ents find the school because they're looking for a safe environment, they live nearby, or they hear from others that City Neighbors is a good school. City Neighbors works hard to involve parents and explain the school's philosophy. "Those people who might not have understood [our instructional model] at the beginning become the most passionate ambassadors for City Neighbors because they see the difference," Macdonald explained.

Public Policies to Encourage Integrated Charters

We can encourage more integrated charter schools like DSST, Capital City, and City Neighbors by changing public policies in a number of important ways. States should allow charter schools to enroll students from across a region and fund transportation to charter schools, at least for all low-income students. The federal Charter Schools Program (CSP) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 should adjust competitive preferences to encourage integrated charter schools. And federal grant programs and state laws should allow charter schools to use a variety of weighted lotteries to promote integration.

Albert Shanker's ideas for charter schools, formulated more than two decades ago, turn out to be a powerful vision for educational innovation in a new century. Charter schools can address the educational demands of a 21st Century society by giving students the chance to work with a diverse group of peers and treating teachers as 21st Century professionals engaged in collaboration, critical thinking and problem-solving. Teacher voice and student diversity, largely forgotten goals from the earliest ideas about charter schools, may hold the best hope for improving charter schools—and thereby illuminate a path for strengthening our entire system of public education. □

What About the Effect of Integrated Charter Schools on Traditional Public Schools?

In advocating economically mixed charter schools (which we define as those with 30-70% low-income students), we recognize that in high-poverty districts, the result could be a marginal increase in the proportion of low-income students in the traditional public schools. For example, creating a 50% middle-class charter school in an 80% low-income district might mean the other schools rise on average to 81% or 82% low-income. Any rise in district school segregation is a legitimate concern, as Khin Mai Aung and David Tipson note in "School Integration Requires Cooperation: Some Lessons from New York City" (*Poverty & Race*, May/June 2013). We have long advocated for integration of traditional public schools, which continue to educate the vast majority of students nationally. We suggest three ways to minimize any adverse impact that integrated charters have on district schools.

First, wherever possible, integrated urban charter schools should recruit middle-class students from neighboring middle-class districts, rather than siphoning off middle-class students from urban district schools. Second, integrated charters should keep an eye on the impact recruitment efforts have on the demographic balance of nearby traditional public schools and adjust marketing to avoid negative effects. Third, integrated charter schools should follow Aung and Tipson's suggestion to set up mechanisms to work with district schools "to avoid destabilizing the diversity of surrounding schools." Implementing a single admissions process for district schools and charter schools, like the systems that have been implemented in Washington, DC and Denver, CO, is a first step towards better coordination. As we argue more generally in *A Smarter Charter*, the charter and district sectors need to build bridges and cooperate with one another to improve outcomes for all students.

Where these protections can be put in place, we support the creation of new socioeconomically integrated charter schools, just as we support integrated magnet schools that marginally increase poverty concentrations in traditional public schools, for two reasons.

To begin with, we believe there are strong benefits to creating a net plus in the number of socioeconomically integrated options available to students. We do not believe it is justified, educationally or morally, to hold low-income students hostage in an 80% low-income district, preventing them from attending an economically integrated school just because others will go from 80% to 81% or 82% low-income.

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the creation of a subset of strong, economically integrated charter or magnet schools can have the effect, over time, of creating additional middle-class interest in the public schools in higher-poverty districts. The demographic make-up of the public school population in a district is not fixed. If successful integrated schools are created in mixed-income areas, it is possible that the success of these schools will change the calculations of some middle-class parents, making them more willing to use the public schools than to exit to the private school system or move to more affluent areas. In the DSST lottery for 2006, for example, only 36% of student applications came from district schools in Denver, while 40% came from private or out-of-district public schools.

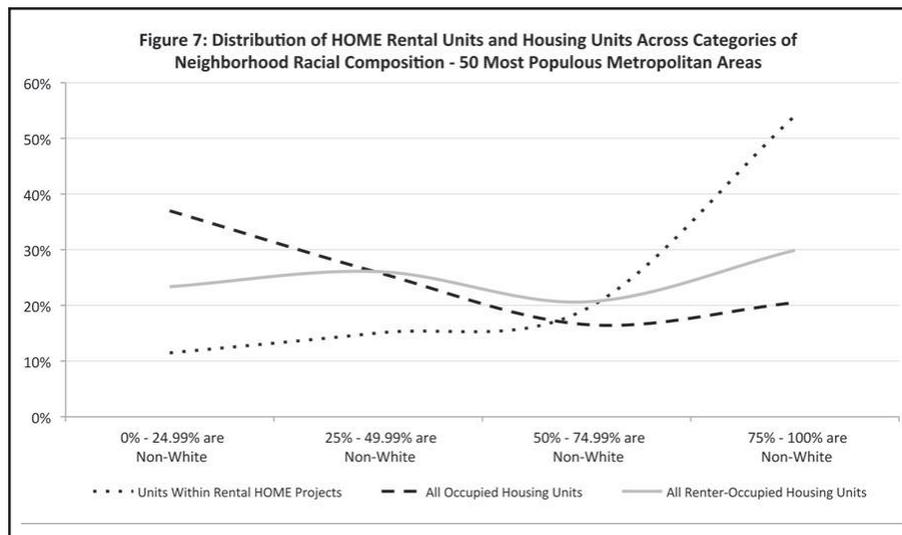
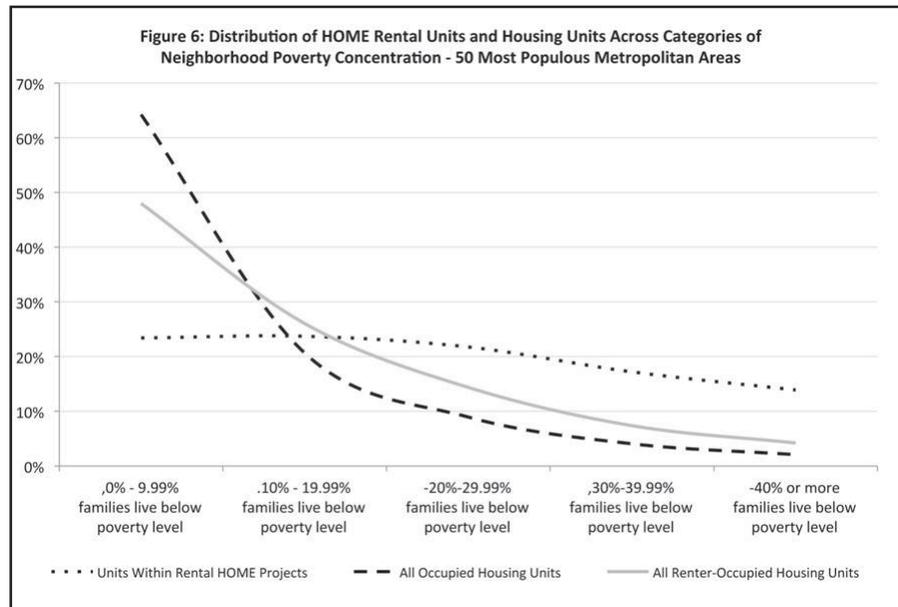
Is the HOME Program Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing?

Excerpt from a PRRAC Program Review report

The HOME Investment Partnership Program was created in 1990 following findings from Congress that the United States “has not made adequate progress towards the national housing policy goal [to] provide decent, safe, sanitary, and affordable living environments for all Americans.” The HOME program became one of the four block grant programs administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HOME is distinguished from the other major block grant program (the Community Development Block Grant program) by its primary focus on homeownership assistance and affordable rental housing development. However, as with other affordable housing development programs, siting of affordable HOME units—particularly low-income family rental housing—has the potential to concentrate low-income housing units in low-opportunity neighborhoods, restricting housing choices and promoting housing segregation. This review attempts to explore the question of whether the HOME program, as currently administered, is achieving HUD’s fair housing goals.

Although the HOME program is one of the largest affordable housing programs with an annual appropriation of \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion, siting and occupancy of these HOME-funded units has rarely come into the spotlight. This report takes up a part of this challenge and attempts to review the program’s record, not just in providing housing but also in expanding quality housing opportunities to the

This excerpt was taken from a new PRRAC report by Ebony Gayles and Silva Mathema, “Is the HOME Program Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing?” available at www.prrac.org/pdf/HOME-AFFH.pdf.



low-income families it serves.

One basic way of assessing the fair housing impact of a low-income housing program is to compare project locations with the race and poverty demographics of the neighborhood the development is located in. This is the basis for the HUD “site and neighborhood standards,” a version of which is applied to the HOME program. Using this approach, we can assess the

locations of HOME low-income rental units.

Like other federally funded low-income housing programs, HOME rental subsidies have been largely located in neighborhoods that are racially and economically concentrated.

Almost 40% of total occupied housing units in the US are located in areas that have less than 10% of the fami-
(Please turn to page 14)

(PEACE AND SAFETY: from page 2)

attention paid to helping parents take their children out of damaging environments? The fact that families are poor need not mean that it is natural or inevitable that their children must grow up in poor neighborhoods. After all, the “double jeopardy” of growing up poor in a high-poverty neighborhood very rarely falls on poor white children and their families.

The emerging evidence from both the biological and social sciences of the harmful toll that prolonged exposure to extreme poverty and chronic violence takes on families, and especially young children, should be a game changer. Housing mobility programs don’t attempt to offer a panacea to solve all problems for all people, but they could be a critical option for many families living in conditions that call for urgency. If we can offer families a real chance to get their children out of harm’s way, by moving to areas with better schools and health outcomes, how can we fail to act? □

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(ROTHSTEIN: Continued from page 4)

crimination—the Missouri state agency responsible for regulation of real estate agents deemed selling a home in a white neighborhood to a black family to be professional misconduct that could lead to loss of license.

i) A government-sponsored dual labor market that made suburban housing less affordable for African

Americans by preventing them from accumulating wealth needed to participate in homeownership.

That the government through actions like these, not mere private prejudice, was responsible for segregating greater St. Louis was once conventional informed opinion, discussed not only by the Kerner Commission, but by policymakers and the courts. When Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (1969-1972) George Romney proposed to do something about the “white noose” that federal policy had created around black central cities, he was forced out of the job by President Nixon. In 1974, a three-judge panel of the federal Eighth Circuit of Appeals concluded that “segregated housing in the St. Louis metropolitan area was... in large measure the result of deliberate racial discrimination in the housing market by the real estate industry and by agencies of the federal, state, and local governments.” Similar observations accu-

rately describe every other large metropolitan area; in St. Louis, the Department of Justice stipulated to this truth but took no action in response. In 1980, a federal court order included an instruction for the state, county and city governments with responsibility for St. Louis to devise plans to integrate schools by integrating housing. Public officials ignored this aspect of the order, devising only a voluntary busing plan to integrate schools, but no programs to combat housing segregation.

Although policies to impose segregation are today rarely explicit, their effects endure in neighborhoods segregated by race in the North, South, East, and West. When we blame private prejudice and snobbishness for contemporary segregation, we not only whitewash our own history, but avoid considering whether new policies might instead promote an integrated community.

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Once rules of residential segregation were firmly in place, other public policies, race-neutral, had a disparate impact, reinforcing the segregation. For example, the federal income tax system, permitting the deduction of home mortgage interest, subsidizes those who move to single-family homes in white suburbs and in consequence imposes a relative penalty on those who remain renting in urban African-American neighborhoods.

The federal highway system has had both a racially explicit impact, and an implicit one. For explicit impact, the routing of highways through urban areas was often designed to eliminate black neighborhoods that were close to downtowns. For implicit impact, the generous financing of interstate highways relative to efficient public transportation facilitated the commutes of white suburbanites to office jobs in the city, while creating barriers to the access of urban dwellers (disproportionately black) to good industrial jobs in the suburbs.

But the disparate impact of the mortgage interest deduction or transportation priorities should not distract us from the underlying reality. These policies would have had no racial impact if African Americans had been permitted to suburbanize along with whites.

A century of evidence demonstrates that St. Louis was segregated by interlocking and racially explicit public policies of zoning, public housing and suburban finance, and by publicly endorsed segregation policies of the real estate, banking and insurance industries. These governmental policies interacted with public labor market and employment policies that denied African Americans access to jobs that comparably skilled whites obtained. When these mutually reinforcing public policies conspired with private prejudice to turn St. Louis's African-American communities into slums, public officials razed those slums to devote acreage to more profitable (and less unsightly) uses. African Ameri-

Resources

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cans who were displaced then relocated to the few other places available, converting towns like Ferguson into new segregated enclaves.

St. Louis's residential pattern (and that of other U.S. metropolitan areas) of white middle-class suburbs surrounding black ghettos cannot easily be explained without taking account of the myriad public policies that, with race-conscious intent, encouraged and supported this particular distribution of population by race. After all, as Colin Gordon has noted, in Europe, the opposite pattern prevails—middle-class whites reside in the center cities, and low-income immigrants settle in the suburbs, where public housing is located as well. Today, as whites in St. Louis and elsewhere find gentrifying urban neighborhoods more attractive, and displaced African Americans relocate in heavy concentrations to specific suburbs, we

may be replicating segregation on the European model.

As the federal court observed more than 30 years ago, school desegregation requires housing desegregation. Some schools in Ferguson today are 90% African-American; performance of students this isolated is inadequate.

Litigation has revealed that in the 2000s, federally supervised banks marketed exploitative subprime loans to African-American communities like Ferguson. When the loans' exploding interest rates combined with the collapse of the housing bubble, black neighborhoods' devastation compounded. Half of Ferguson homes today are underwater, with owners owing more than their homes are worth.

Many practical programs and regulatory strategies can address problems of Ferguson and communities like them nationwide. One example is a rule prohibiting landlords from refusing to

accept tenants whose rent is subsidized—a few states and municipalities currently do prohibit such refusal, but most do not. Another is to require even outer-ring suburbs to repeal their racially inspired exclusionary zoning ordinances. Going further, we could require every community to permit development of housing to accommodate its “fair share” of its region’s low-income and minority populations—New Jersey, for example, has taken a very modest step towards this requirement.

But we won’t consider such remedies if we remain blind to how Ferguson became Ferguson. It is impractical to think that the public and policymakers will support remedies to problems whose causes they don’t understand. We flatter ourselves that the responsibility is only borne by rogue police officers, white flight and suburbanites’ desire for economic homogeneity. Prosecuting the officer who shot Michael Brown, or investigating and integrating Ferguson’s police department, are certainly necessary, but they won’t address the deeper obstacles to racial progress. □

(SQUIRES: Continued from page 3)

tinuing uneven development of the nation’s metropolitan areas. Key forces are persisting racial segregation and rising economic inequality.

While nationwide most measures of segregation peaked in the 1970s, in those older industrial cities where the African-American population is concentrated (what Brown University sociologist John Logan refers to as the ghetto belt including Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis and many others), segregation remains at hypersegregated levels. Segregation of Hispanics and Asians, though much lower than is the case for blacks, has remained basically unchanged during these years.

Meanwhile, economic segregation, like economic inequality generally, is surging. As the Pew Research Center reported, between 1980 and 2010 the share of low-income census tracts (where the majority of residents have

PRRAC Update

- Congratulations to two of our staff who are moving on to excellent policy and government positions in DC—we miss them already! PRRAC Policy Counsel **Ebony Gayles**, who started at PRRAC in 2011, is working at HUD as a Housing Program Specialist in the Office of Public and Indian Housing. PRRAC Research Associate **Silva Mathema**, who joined us in 2012, is now working as a Policy Analyst in the Immigration Policy division at the Center for American Progress.
- PRRAC Board Member **Brian Smedley** has also moved on, to a new position as Executive Director of the National Collaborative for Health Equity, based in Washington, DC.

- **Chester Hartman** documented a 1952 cross burning in Harvard Yard in the Sept. 17, 2014 *Harvard Crimson*, urging the university to make a public apology for its attempt at censorship by threatening the 11 black Class of ’55 freshmen that they’d be suspended if they breathed a word of the incident to the Boston media.

- **Chester Hartman** had a letter in the Aug. 29, 2014 *Washington Post*, supporting the unionization of adjunct faculty—stemming from his own experience organizing the 1100 George Washington U. part-time faculty (where he has such an appt. in the Sociology Dept.) into SEIU Local 500.

incomes below two-thirds the national median) in the nation’s 30 largest metropolitan areas grew from 12% to 18%. Similarly, the share of upper-income tracts (where the majority had incomes double the median) grew from 3% to 6%. Perhaps more significantly, the share of poor households residing in poor areas grew from 23% to 28% while the share of rich households in rich areas doubled from 9% to 18%. Poor people and rich people are living increasingly apart.

These are not simply cold numbers. A wealth of social science evidence has documented that poor neighborhoods are communities where schools are more likely to be failing, where poverty and unemployment rates are higher, where racial profiling and mass incarceration turn ordinary citizens into criminals, banks are few but payday lenders and other predatory financial services are prevalent, food deserts persist, and a host of other social problems are concentrated. These disadvan-

tages are now redistributing, unevenly, into the suburbs. As the Brookings Institution reported, in Ferguson the poverty level doubled between 2000 and 2012, reaching over 25%, and unemployment jumped from 5% to 13%. Context matters.

Another key finding of The Kerner Commission was that instances of civil disorder were often triggered by an encounter between the police and ordinary citizens, in neighborhoods where the police had long been viewed as an occupying army rather than those who serve and protect. In Ferguson, such an encounter tragically ended in the death of Michael Brown. We rightfully have many responses to events in Ferguson. Surprise should not be one of them.

Needed Next Steps

And there is no great surprise as to what at least some of the next steps
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(SQUIRES: Continued from page 13)

should be. Improved policing beginning by demilitarizing police tactics and increasing the diversity of the police force are essential. But it is equally important to address the institutional structures underpinning the uneven development of our communities.

Elimination of exclusionary zoning ordinances in the St. Louis metropolitan area (and virtually all metropolitan areas nationwide) that keep low-income people out of prosperous communities, along with more intensive inclusionary zoning laws to break down these barriers and create more economically and racially integrated neighborhoods would be a good start.

Smart growth policies that foster balanced urban communities and discourage climate-destroying sprawl may be essential just to preserve the species. A national urban policy that puts more resources into mass transit and less into highway construction would be another place to start. Transit-oriented development (where localities encourage construction of new homes and businesses near bus and subway stations) and location-efficient mortgages (where lenders provide lower-cost loans for those who reside near

New on PRRAC's website

"Creating Opportunity for Children: How Housing Location Can Make a Difference," by Barbara Sard and Phil Tegeler (October 2014)

Is the HOME Program Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing? (PRRAC Program Review, September 2014)

PRRAC Comments on DOT Proposed Rule on Statewide Metropolitan Transportation Planning (October 2014)

National Coalition on School Diversity letter to the Secretary of Education on consideration of reduction of racial and economic segregation in the NCLB Waiver Renewal Guidance (October 2014)

Civil rights coalition comments on HUD's proposed rule on Public Housing Agency Consortia (September 2014)

Civil rights coalition comments on HUD's proposed "Assessment of Fair Housing" (November 2014)

mass transit) are just two approaches.

A tax system that does not privilege capital gains over wages would be a next step. The global wealth tax Thomas Piketty called for in his celebrated book *Capital in the 21st Century* may not be politically feasible today, but perhaps in just a few years (or election cycles) it could be.

Uneven development remains the dominant force shaping the social problems that have become all too familiar in the nation's cities and metropolitan

areas, including most recently in Ferguson. More balanced, equitable development will reduce the number of distressed neighborhoods and, consequently, the stereotypes often attached to many urban residents, reducing police/community tensions and many other problems as well. While it is important to understand and develop the capabilities of the various players, it is equally important to understand and, where appropriate, change the rules of the game. □

(HOME Program: Cont. from page 10)
lies living below poverty level. In comparison, only 25% of the HOME rental units are located in these low poverty areas. Almost 28% of the HOME units are located in areas with greater than 30% family poverty level compared to only 14% of all occupied housing units. Only 24% of the HOME rental units are in areas with less than 25% non-white population.

These disparities are even stronger when we compare the distribution of HOME rental units in the 50 largest metropolitan areas, as illustrated by the charts on page 10. Approximately 64% of all occupied housing units are in areas with less than 10% family poverty level when compared to 23% of HOME rental units located in these areas.

Using a more direct fair housing analysis, the patterns of HOME rental

housing by neighborhood racial and ethnic demographics show a dramatic trend, with more than half or 54% of the HOME rental units located in areas that have more than 75% non-white population. In comparison, only about 21% of the total occupied housing and 30% of the renter-occupied housing units are located in a high-minority area with 75% or more non-white population. Only 11% of the HOME rental units are in areas that have less than 25% non-white population, compared to 37% of all occupied housing units and 23% of the renter-occupied housing units.

However, the available national HOME data leave a number of questions unanswered: Which home rental units are designated for elderly vs. family housing? Which units are new rental housing vs. moderate rehabilitation—and what other housing subsi-

dies are being combined in particular buildings? What is the racial, ethnic and income status of families living in particular developments? Because of the extreme localism and local flexibility built into the program (particularly the local option to select a priority for homeownership vs. low income rental housing), the answers to the questions will vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.

To explore these questions, our report looks at three selected metropolitan areas (Milwaukee, Hartford and Baltimore) and suggests some programmatic explanations, and recommendations for HOME program reform, to better align the program with HUD's fair housing goals. □

To read the full report, and recommendations for improvements in the HOME program, go to www.prrac.org/pdf/HOME-AFFH.pdf.

Resources

Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website:

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Race/Racism

- **"Fewer Prisoners, Less Crime: A Tale of Three States"** [NY, NJ, Calif.] is a 2014 report from The Sentencing Project. Available (no price given) from them, 1705 DeSales St. NW, 8th flr., Wash., DC 20036, 202/628-0871, sentencingproject.org [14744]
- **Teaching Mississippi: Civil Rights Movement and Labor History in the Classroom** is a 2014 project by Teaching for Change, funded by the W.K. Kellogg Fdn. Inf. from dmenkart@teachingforchange.org, [14752]
- **Title VI Civil Rights News @ FCS [Federal Coordination & Compliance Sec. of USDOJ Civil Rights Div.]** Fall 2014 issue available from usdoj@public.govdelivery.com [14755]
- **Interview with Bryan Stevenson:** Terry Gross' Oct. 20, 2014 interview with him is available at <http://www.npr.org/2014/10/20/356964924/one-lawyers-fight-for-young-blacks-and-just-mercy> [14757]
- **Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption**, by Bryan Stevenson (336 pp., 2014), has been published by Spiegel Grau [14764]
- **"How Africans Brought Civilization to America,"** by Garikai Chengu, appeared in the Oct. 13, 2014 *CounterPunch*. Available (likely free) from author, garikai.chengu@gmail.com [14758]
- **"The Targeting of Young Blacks By Law Enforcement: Ben Jealous [NAACP] in Conversation with Jamelle Bouie"** appeared in the Fall 2014 issue of *The American Prospect* [14762]
- **"The Racial Wealth Audit: Measuring How Policies Shape the Racial Wealth Gap,"** by Thomas Shapiro, Tatjana Meschede & Laura Sullivan of the Brandeis Inst. on Assets & Social Policy (4 pp., Sept. 2014), is available at <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/The%20Racial%20Wealth%20%20Audit.pdf> [14763]

- **Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Schism**, by John R. Salter, Jr. (2011, 272 pp.), has been published by Univ. Nebraska Press. [14784]

- **Who We Be: The Colorization of America**, by Jeff Chang (2014, 416 pp.), has been published by St. Martin's Press. [14786]

Poverty/Welfare

- **"Bottom 90% Worse Off Than in 1987"** was an article in the Oct. 10, 2014 *Washington Post*. [14769]
- **"A Window of Opportunity: Media and Public Opinion on Poverty in America"** was an Oct. 29, 2014 Webinar from The Opportunity Agenda. Inf. from contact@opportunityagenda.org, 212/334-5977 [14782]

Criminal Justice

- **"A Plan to Cut Costs and Crime: Curb Bias Against Ex-Convicts"** appeared in the Oct. 23, 2014 *NY Times*. [14778]
- **School-to-Prison Pipeline**, a 2014 video by Vanessa Enoch, is available at https://www.youtube.com/edit?video_id=ClkyhMM6450&video_referrer=watch [14779]
- **"Beyond Confrontation: Community-Centered Policing Tools"** is a 2014 series of briefs from PolicyLink and Advancement Project. Inf. from Shaibya@policylink.org [14785]
- **"Limiting Police Use of Force: Promising Community-Centered Strategies,"** PolicyLink & Advancement Project (Oct. 2014, 26 pp.), available at <http://b.3cdn.net/advancement/d4c53855e6cc64be47.cdm6bn11.pdf>
- **"The Targeting of Young Blacks By Law Enforcement: Ben Jealous [NAACP] in Conversation with Jamelle Bouie,"** by Harold Meyerson & Jamelle Bouie, *American Prospect*, Oct. 2014

Economic/Community Development

- **"The National Equity Atlas,"** "a unique data tool for those working to transform America's broken economy into one that is equitable, resilient and prosperous," has been launched (2014) by PolicyLink and the Univ. of S. California's Program for Environmental & Regional Equity. Inf. at www.nationalequityatlas.orh [14771]

- **“Global Governance of Capital: A Challenge for Democracy,”** by Robert Kuttner (Oct. 2014, 80 pp.), from Demos; available at <http://demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/GlobalGovernance-Kuttner.0.pdf>

- **“Banking in Color: New Findings on Financial Access for Low- and Moderate-Income Communities,”** National CAPACD, National Urban League and National Council of LaRaza (2014, 40 pp.), available at http://iamempowered.com/sites/default/files/bankingincolor_web.pdf

Education

- ***Crossroads: The Intersection of Housing and Education Policy*** is a 6-chapter 2014 video from The Urban Inst., available (no price given) from Erika Poethig, EPoethig@urban.org [14765]

- **“Gender Nonforming Youth: Discipline Disparities, School Push-Out, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline,”** by Hilary Burdge, Adela C. Licon and Zami T. Hyemingway (2014, 16 pp.), from GSA Network and Crossroads Collaborative, available at <http://b.3cdn.net/advancement/e2d7ec74f895dd5bb.86m6vosva.pdf>

- **“The Affordable College Compact: A Federal-State Partnership to Increase State Investment and Return to Debt-Free Public Higher Education,”** by Mark Huelsman (September 2014, 31 pp.), from Demos, available at <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/theaffordablecollegecompact.pdf>

- **“Connecticut’s Great Cost Shift: How Higher Education Cuts Undermine the State’s Future Middle Class,”** by Robert Hiltonsmith and Mark Huelsman (October 2014, 10 pp.), from Demos, available at <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/GCS-CT.pdf>

- **“LBQTQ Youth of Color”: Discipline Disparities, School Push-Out, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline,”** by Hilary Burdge, Adela C. Lincone & Zami T. Hyemingway (2014, 16 pp.), GSA Network & Crossroads Collaborative, available at http://b.3cdn.net/advancement/4c2f66dee328593478_2zm6vswrx.pdf

Employment/Labor/Jobs Policy

- **“There Are 870,000 Slaves in Modern-Day America,”** by Beth Schwartzapfel (Oct. 22, 2014), is available from the author at The Marshall Project. [14766]

- **“\$10.10 Minimum Wage Would Save Safety Net Programs \$7.6 Billion a Year”** (Oct. 2014) is available (no price given) from the Economic Policy Inst., 1333 H St. NW, Suite 300, E. Tower, Wash., DC 20005 [14776]

- **“Policy Basics: The Minimum Wage”** (Aug. 2014) is available (no price given) from the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities, 202/408-1080, center@cbpp.org [14777]

- **“Small Businesses, Big Opportunities: Creating More Jobs With Technology,”** by Hazeen Y. Ashby, Chanelle P. Hardy and Sean E. Mickens (Summer 2014, 36 pp.), available at <http://nulwb.iamempowered.com/sites/nulwb.iamempowered.com/files/TWC%20Small%20Business%20Big%20Opportunity%20FULL%20REPORT.pdf>

Families/Women/Children

- **“Preventing Lead Exposure in U.S. Children: A Blueprint for Action”** (Oct. 2014), from the Natl. Ctr. for Healthy Housing, is available (no price given) from Rebecca Morley, rmorley@nchh.org [14772]

- **“Work-Family Challenges Facing Women of Color”** was an Oct. 20, 2014 event by The Ctr. for Amer. Progress. Inf. from events@americanprogress.org, 202/682-1611 [14751]

- **“Shaping Our Future by Leading Together: Families, Schools and Communities”** is the 2015 Natl. Family & Community Engagement Conf., **June 22-24, 2015** in Chicago. Inf. from fcenetwork@iel.org [14761]

Health

- **“Improving the Road to ACA Coverage: Lessons Learned on Outreach, Education, and Enrollment for Asian American, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander Communities”** (September 2014, 36 pp.), from the Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum, available at http://www.apaf.org/sites/default/files/2014.10.14_Improving%20the%20Road%20to%20ACA%20Coverage_National%20Report.pdf

- **“Closing the Health Care Coverage Gap in Texas: A Latino Perspective,”** by Enrique Chaurand (2014, 8 pp.), from the National Council of La Raza, available at http://www.nclr.org/images/uploads/publications/ib27_closingthecoveragegap_final.pdf

- **“Readiness to Implement the Affordable Care Act in the Latino Community Among Health Centers and Community-Based Organizations,”** by Manuela McDonough, Clancey Bateman, Christine Barron, Rodolfo Vega, Susannah Senerchia and Jim Maxwell (2014, 4 pp.), from the National Council of La Raza, available at <http://www.nclr.org/images/uploads/publications/readinesstoimplementaca.ib.pdf>

Housing

- ***Locational Affordability Housing Policy Debate*** has issued a Call for Papers for its forthcoming special issue on Locational Affordability. Dec. 1, 2014 deadline for Abstracts, Full Paper due by March 30, 2015. Details from Prof. Tom Sanchez, sanchezt@vt.edu [14760]

- “21 Cities Restrict Sharing Food with the Homeless” was an Oct. 21, 2014 account in *Al Jazeera*. [14770]

Homelessness

- “**Homeless LGBTQ Youth**,” by Mary Cunningham, Michael Pergamit, Nan Astone and Jessica Luna (August 2014, 4 pp.), from The Urban Institute, available at <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/413209-Homeless-LGBTQ-Youth.pdf>

Immigration

- “**Supporting Immigrant Families’ Access to Prekindergarten**,” by Julia Gelatt, Gina Adams and Sandra Huerta (March 2014, 37 pp.), from The Urban Institute, available at <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF413026-Supporting-Immigrant-Families-Access-to-Prekindergarten.pdf>

Miscellaneous

- “**Voter Registration & Health Benefit Exchanges: A Toolkit for Easy, Effective Implementation**,” from Project Vote, Demos, and The American Civil Liberties Union (2014, 15 pp.), available at <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/NATIONAL-HBEX-TOOLKIT.pdf>
- “**The State of Transit in New Orleans: The Need for a More Efficient, Equitable, and Sustainable System**” (2014, 38 pp.), from Ride New Orleans, available at http://rideneworleans.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/RideNewOrleans_StateOfTransitSystem_071614.FINAL21.pdf

- *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People* is a massive book project, by John M. Murrin (Princeton), Paul E. Johnson (Univ. So. Carolina), James M. McPherson (Princeton), Gary Gerstle (Univ. Maryland), Ellen S. Rosenberg (Macalester) & Normal L. Rosenberg (Macalester). Vol. 1 (737 pp.) to 1877, Vol. 2 (1237 pp.), since 1863, Instructor’s Edition (1276 pp.) – all pb + 1 vol. hb edition (1132 pp.) Thompson Wadsworth 2006 – Fourth Ed.

Jobs/Fellowships/Grants

- **Director of Communications** Public Advocates (SF Bay Area) is seeking a new **Director of Communications**. Inf. at DOC@publicadvocates.org [14780]
- **The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights’ Education Project** is seeking a **Policy Analyst**. Inf. at <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/docs/Policy-Analyst-Education.pdf>
- **PRRAC** has available a **Housing Law and Policy Fellowship**. Posting at http://prrac.org/pdf/Law_and_Policy_Fellowship_at_PRRAC_2014.pdf
- **The Center for Community Change** (DC) is seeking a Senior Policy Advisor. Posting at <http://www.communitychange.org/contact/careers/senior-policy-advisor/>
- **Legal Services for Children** (SF) is seeking a **Legal Director** Inf. from ED Abigail Trillin, 415/780-6333. [14774]
- **Fair Share Housing** (NJ) has 2 openings: **Communications Director & Office Mgr.** Inf. from lauradenker@fairshare.org [14781]

Poverty & Race Index, Vol. 23 (2014)

This Index includes the major articles in the six 2014 issues of Poverty & Race (Vol. 23). The categories used frequently overlap, so a careful look at the entire Index is recommended. Each issue also contains an extensive Resources Section, not in the Index below, but available in database form for all previous 22 volumes. We can send an Index for any or all of the first 22 Volumes of P&R; please provide a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Most issues also contain a "PRRAC Update" column with recent news from/about the organization. Articles are on our website, www.prrac.org.

Race/Racism

- "Race Still Matters," by Girardeau Spann, May/June
TITLE VI:
"Los Angeles' Civil Rights Movement Anniversary," by Robert Garcia, July/Aug.
"EPA and Title VI," July/Aug.
"A Title VI Diversity Assessment at the Department of Education?," by Phillip Tegeler, July/Aug.
"A Non-Anniversary at the Treasury Department," July/Aug.
"Reflections on the 50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," by Derek Black, July/Aug.
"Title VI of the Civil Rights Act at 50," by Marianne Engelman Lado, July/Aug.
"Dispatch from Geneva: The UN Reviews U.S. Performance on Eliminating Racial Disparities," by Megan Haberle, Sept./Oct.
"Ferguson: Nobody Should Be Surprised," by Gregory D. Squires, Nov./Dec.
"The Making of Ferguson," by Richard Rothstein, Nov./Dec.

Poverty/Welfare

- "Breaking the Low-Wage Syndrome," by S.M. Miller, July/Aug.

Criminal Justice

- "The NY State Attorney General's Report on Arrests Arising from Stop-and-Frisk," Jan./Feb.

Education

- "Beyond Admissions," by Olatunde Johnson, May/June
"Within School Segregation," by Halley Potter, Sept./Oct.
"A Smarter Charter," by Richard D. Kahlenberg & Halley Potter, Nov./Dec.

Housing

- "Autonomy, Mobility, and Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing in Gentrifying Neighborhoods," by Rachel D. Godsil, Jan./Feb.
"Community-Drawn Exclusionary Mapping: Examining the Disparate Impact of Housing Segregation Across Urban, Rural, and Suburban Geographies," by Peter Gilbert, May/June
"A Blueprint for Opportunity: A Look Back at HUD's Regional Housing Mobility Program," by Megan Haberle, May/June
"'Nowhere to live safe': Moving to Peace and Safety," by Barbara Samuels, Nov./Dec.

Transportation

- "Transit-based Opportunity – Lessons from Dayton," by Matthew Martin, March/April

Miscellaneous

- "A Different Lens: Applying a Human Rights Framework to Disparities in the United States," by Salimah Hankins & Balthazar Becker, Jan./Feb.
"Disadvantaged Communities Teach Regional Planners a Lesson in Equitable and Sustainable Development," by Richard A. Marcantonio & Alex Karner, Jan./Feb.
"The Challenge of Inequality," by Justin Steil, March/April
"Mindful of Inequality?" by Richard Wilkinson & Kate Pickett, March/April
Book flyer for PRRAC's *America's Growing Inequality: The Impact of Poverty and Race*, March/April
"Supreme Court Justice Sotomayor on the Continuing Relevance of Race," May/June
"PRRAC at 25," by John Charles Boger, Sept./Oct.
"PRRAC at 25," by Florence Roisman, Sept/Oct.

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