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Forging Equitable Communities: Creating New Structures of Opportunity

Gary L. Cunningham

Introduction

One of my vivid childhood memories is of my mother looking out the

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window of our small house in one of the poorest neighborhoods in North Minneapolis. Outside, in the dead of winter, white men were standing around a backhoe digging up the street to turn off our gas main. That night my mother and her five children spent the coldest night of the year in the main room upstairs (which doubled as a bedroom I shared with my brother) under heavy blankets in front of a small electric space heater.

In that winter of 1967, there was no cold weather rule prohibiting poor families' gas from being shut off in the winter. If you couldn't pay your gas bill, your heat was turned off. No questions asked, no consideration of your situation, and no regard for whether you had children in the home or not. Our water pipes would freeze and eventually we would be evicted. We would move to another poor area

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Segregation in the 21st Century

john powell & Stephen Menendian

Segregation as a problem is gripping our cultural consciousness for the first time in a long while, beyond the domain of social scientists and city planners. David Simon (the creator of the acclaimed HBO series, "The Wire") wrote and produced a mini-series for HBO this past year, "Show Me a Hero," illustrating the dynamics of segregation in the post-civil rights

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period. Set in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the series visibly demonstrated the realities of metropolitan segregation, and the resistance to integration in both economic and racial terms through the lens of a fight over scattered-site public housing in Yonkers, New Jersey.

That fight had echoes in the Supreme Court's decision last summer in *Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. The Inclusive Communities Project, Inc.*, illustrating how such issues are still a battleground. In its landmark decision, the Court affirmed the right of Dallas public housing residents to sue the state under a "disparate impact" theory that the government segregated low-income

housing in the Dallas metropolitan area. In the process, the Court acknowledged the continuing realities of residential segregation across the

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of town and the pattern would begin again; maybe next time the loss of our electricity or the inability to pay rent would trigger our eviction.

We clung to the bottom of the safety net; the welfare check really never provided enough to support our family. We were always living on the edge. We survived with some support from my grandparents and other relatives, rummage sales for clothes and furniture, food stamps and free and reduced lunch at school.

Growing up on welfare meant that we could expect a social worker to visit our home every month to make sure that no adult men were living in the house. The social worker would walk through our house looking in closets and in drawers; nothing was off limits from her prying eyes. The social worker would then ask my mother and us kids questions to deduce if an adult man was or had been present and living in our house.

In that poor North Minneapolis neighborhood, I was hardly alone. All of us young African-American children lived in abject poverty isolated from opportunity.

Looking out the window that summer, I watched the police beat Black people with billy clubs. I counted the armored tanks lining the streets; I watched National Guard troops herd-

ing groups of young Black men into police vehicles. I remember being very scared that they were going to come and get my family and me. My mother told us “Don’t go outside” and “Don’t look out the window.” Once a safe and mixed race community made up of primarily of Jews and Blacks, it became a scary place for me as a nine-year-old boy. Soon thereafter, it became a segregated, exclusively Black community.

The injustice I witnessed looking out that window at the riots in 1967 left

To many people, the status quo now seems entrenched, inevitable, and resistant to solutions.

an indelible mark on me. It is no coincidence that fifty years later on the same block, almost in the exact spot, police officers shot and killed a Black man. That ignited a new set of protests on the same North Minneapolis street where I grew up. The killing, the subsequent protest and civil unrest traumatized another generation of children. This time the protests focused on the fourth precinct police station, which was located on the site of the former community center that was built to address the unrest that boiled up 50 years ago.

Then and now, the situations may be somewhat different, but the conditions and underlying causes have remained the same.

Conditions: Poverty, inadequate housing and homelessness, significant gaps in emotional, financial, and physical wellbeing as well as gaps in justice, employment, and educational achievement.

Causes: Cumulative impact of racialized public policies, legal injustice, cramped or non-existent opportunity structures, weakened family support systems, and racial isolation and segregation.

To leave these conditions intact and these causes enthroned guarantees not

only the future misfortune of African Americans. It also makes unbearably certain that violence against them will play out on the same streets that have born witness to such sorrow for almost three generations.

To many people, the status quo now seems entrenched, inevitable, and resistant to solutions. Yet breaking the tragic cycle is doable, provided we forge together a new path. One of the first steps on that path is gaining a fresh understanding of the relevant history and the causes, especially the policies and opportunity structures.

Dreams Deferred

How have African Americans come to find themselves in their current circumstances? When African Americans migrated to Minnesota from 1940-1960 to escape Jim Crow laws, the Klan and sharecropping, they did so much like the Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, and Jews before them. Their goal was to make a better life for themselves and their children. They came searching for a promised land, one that would offer them freedom, hope, and opportunity.

My grandparents migrated to Minnesota in 1946 as part of the Great Migration. Occurring between 1910 and 1970, the Great Migration tugged six million African Americans out of the rural South and into the urban Northeast, Midwest, and West.

My grandfather worked for over 20 years as a shift worker at a clothing factory located in North Minneapolis. It was one of the few places African Americans were allowed to work in Minnesota. My grandmother worked part-time as a maid and cook for wealthy white families. Together they raised a family of six children and got by on less than \$9,000 a year. They owned their own home and car. They were poor, but the family unit was still very much intact at that time.

The life and marriage they knew was woven into a social structure that was about to deteriorate badly. In 1963,

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Unearthing and Undoing the Lethal Belief in Racial Hierarchy

Gail C. Christopher

Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation

As the airwaves have been flooded with news of shootings and the killing of unarmed people of color by armed police officers during the last year and a half, many have had to search their hearts and revisit the reality of our nation's legacy of racial division. For most of us seeing these apparent injustices repeatedly promotes outrage and engenders empathy. For many it ignites and refuels deep-seated memories of personal and family loss and trauma. My earliest intimate exposure to racial violence as a fact of life occurred when I was a still a teenager. I use the term intimate here because it affected my heart, as violence always does. My first cousin—she was like a sister to me—was shot and killed by a white thrill-seeker in our segregated neighborhood. I recall that we buried her that week, while he on the other hand was enlisted in the military and left the city that same week. It was the first funeral I ever attended. Despite all the joyful moments my cousin and I shared growing up together, my only lasting recollection is of her body lying in that casket.

Have we ever, as a nation, really even imagined an America that has honestly faced its divided legacy and united behind creating equitable economic and educational opportunities

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for all of our children, no matter where they happen to live? These challenges have always been framed as political or partisan rather than as human and community priorities. Today's changing demographics coupled with recent exposures of violent inequities are now driving public opinion towards a tipping point on the need to address racism. According to a CNN/Kaiser Family Foundation poll covering August through October 2015, 82 percent of Americans now think racism is a problem in America and 49 percent of those (almost half)

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think it is a big problem. Will we respond to this moment with the wisdom of Native Americans and create a healed America for our grandchildren and seven generations yet to come?

In July 2015, the board of directors of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation (WKKF) approved support for the design and implementation of an adapted Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for the United States of America. Informed by over 40 TRCs implemented in other countries, and by various related efforts in the United States, this U.S. TRC adaptation, Truth Racial Healing and Transformation (TRHT) enterprise, will create private opportunities for truth telling and racial healing as well as public platforms for fact gathering and examining of major public policies, systems and issues of importance to equity, and human rights in our di-

verse democracy. The goal and ultimate purpose of the Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation enterprise (TRHT) is to engage a critical mass of diverse Americans in a meaningful process that builds the collective will and capacity for facing and ultimately transforming the racially-divided legacy and current reality of this society, which was built on a belief in a false taxonomy and hierarchy of human value. The transformed America will know and honor our shared histories and respect the inalienable right to equitable opportunity for all.

Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing

Around the same time that the WKKF Board of Directors was green lighting this expansion of its America Healing/racial equity investments in the form of the proposed TRHT, on July 16, 2015, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) published a final rule on Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH). The belief in a hierarchy of human value based on perceived physical characteristics—racism—is most indelibly expressed through residential segregation. Although the Fair Housing Act declared that “it is the policy of the United States to provide, within constitutional limitations, for fair housing throughout the United States,” patterns of residential segregation and concentrated poverty persist today. The Fair Housing Act not only bans discrimination, it requires communities to affirmatively further residential integration and address the racial disparities that are created by segregation.

The recent AFFH rule creates a new planning process under which jurisdic-

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tions and agencies that receive HUD funds must use data provided by the federal government to guide their planning activities. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data on segregation, racially concentrated poverty, access to education, employment, transportation and environmental health will enable communities to take a regional view of inequities, needs and resources. They will be better able to “map opportunity infrastructure” within communities and more fairly plan for the future of children and families. Professor John Powell, then of the Kirwan Institute (now Director, Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society), first presented the idea of opportunity mapping to the WKKF Board and Battle Creek community in the mid 90s. His work and that of Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, creator of the Diversity Data Projects, provided the striking visual representations of racial disparity and segregation that helped WKKF to move toward its commitment to becoming an effective anti-racist organization that promotes racial equity through our program funding and organizational culture. This commitment was formalized in 2007 and since that time programming dollars supporting racial equity have exceeded \$200 million. We have learned critical lessons about achieving racial equity and sustainable change. These insights are captured in our America Healing body of work and will inform the TRHT. We applaud the progress reflected in the new HUD rule and view it as a potential core component of the design and implementation of the TRHT commission and process.

Racism is a Social Determinant of Health

Creating a United States that has truly unearthed and undone its long-held belief in racial hierarchy requires building regions without residential and school segregation. It requires building communities that optimize the

distribution of opportunity for social mobility for all racial and ethnic groups. Social mobility factors parallel the well-documented social determinants of health and well-being. Access to quality and affordable child care, education and transportation. Access to safe and affordable housing, health care and food. Safe and non-discriminatory policing and law enforcement. Living wage employment and higher education. Clean and safe air and water. But missing from this list is the undergirding human need for being valued equally, for belonging and not being marginalized and continuously subjected to denial of worth through systematic and individual conscious and unconscious assumptions of superiority and inferiority based on perceived physical characteristics—in another word, racism.

Epidemiologists have documented the association between social factors and disease incidence for many decades.

Epidemiologists have documented the association between social factors and disease incidence for many decades. The World Health Organization added tremendous power to the discussion through their commission on the social determinants of health 2005. Philanthropy led the way on this emerging debate in the United States. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation funded a Salzburg Seminar on the Social Determinants of Health (SDOH) in the early 1990s and supported the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies to create a Health Policy Institute to elevate the SDOH emphasis within local communities of color and nationally in early 2000s. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation sponsored a U.S.-based Commission on the Social Determinants of Health in 2008. This Commission’s recommendations helped to inform related legislation and policy priorities of the incoming Obama administration.

It is only in recent years, however, that the biological epigenetic and biochemical pathways are being elucidated to show how and why our zip code can determine our state of well-being. Concepts such as Life Course Perspective, weathering and childhood adversity have emerged and are converging to show that daily or chronic exposure to environmental stressors literally changes how our genes express themselves in metabolic, neural and immunologic systems. When our children live in unstable families in high stress neighborhoods they develop elevated inflammatory hormonal reactive states that make them more vulnerable to illness in childhood and well into adulthood. Clearly the imperative for changing how we invest in the well-being of all of our children and families and in their neighborhoods becomes more urgent in this 21st Century.

How will the TRHT Unfold?

Since there have been many TRC efforts by governments and organizations within other countries, and related efforts by states and past presidential administrations in this country, the natural question is, how have these efforts succeeded or failed and how will the TRHT process be different? Outlined below are the initial steps of the TRHT along with a brief description of the anticipated scale and pace of the process.

1. After receiving Board approval and CEO authorizations, our initial step was to commission a report that analyzed related international and domestic efforts. A summary of this report and analysis is available at Racial Equity Resource Guide, <http://www.racialequityresourceguide.org/>

2. At the same time, we initiated efforts to identify potential partners for the work that will assure a multi-sector, multi-racial and ethnic and community-based approach to both the design and implementation of the TRHT commission and process. To date ap-

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The Problem We All Live With: A Speech at HUD in the Shadow of Baltimore

Sherillyn Ifill

I want to pause and talk with you all today a little bit about the contemporary manifestation of some of the history that Richard [Rothstein of the Economic Policy Institute, fellow speaker] is talking about and also encourage you to make what I think are some important connections between what you have been seeing on your television over the last year as we have dealt with issues of police violence and urban unrest and also to recognize, frankly, your role, our role, my role in the problem we all live with in the segregated structure which we have come to take for granted. We have come to accept it. We have come to believe that it is simply part of the landscape.

And I suppose I want to spend a few moments talking about why we must resist this, not only because we have the Fair Housing Act and a wonderful AFFH rule and because we all believe in integration and because we have devoted our lives, most of us, to fighting against discrimination, but because as a democracy imperative, if this country is to make it, if you and I are to make it unified, we have to get our hands around this problem of segregation.

This past spring when Baltimore erupted in days of unrest in the wake of the death of Freddie Gray in police custody, I did a lot of media. Some of you may have seen some of it. When I did that media, I was asked a lot of questions about Baltimore. After all, I lived in Baltimore City for

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20 years. I've now lived in Baltimore County for five years. I have taught at University of Maryland Law School for 22 years. And, although I am a native New Yorker, I really transplanted to Baltimore and took it on as my home and raised my children there. And so people had a lot of questions for me about what they were seeing on the television screen. They wanted to know why were young people so angry, why were they throwing things at the police. Why were people burn-

I regarded part of my obligation during those very fevered days when so much attention was on Baltimore City to press a different set of questions.

ing businesses in their own neighborhoods? Will the CVS ever come back? Why is there so much tension between the police and residents of West Baltimore? Why would Freddie Gray run from the police?

All of these questions were important questions and ones I answered day in and day out, but I regarded part of my obligation during those very fevered days when so much attention was on Baltimore City to press a different set of questions, the questions that I thought were being neglected and questions that really preoccupied my thinking, questions about the West Baltimore neighborhood where Freddie Gray grew up. I wondered why the CVS was the only recognizable chain store we saw on the street, no Starbucks, no Cohen's Optical, no PetsMart, no Chick-fil-A. Of course, all businesses are important and valuable, but it was hard for me to imagine that all the handwringing from pundits and city leaders was really

about their concern for the E-Z Tobacco Mart and some of the other businesses that characterized North Avenue, where the unrest took place.

Why were the streets of West Baltimore in such dilapidated condition that Baltimore City police could take arrestees on a "rough ride" to punish them in the back of a police van? How could Freddie Gray and his siblings have been so severely lead-poisoned in housing in Baltimore in the 1990s, 70 years after the dangers of lead paint were well-known around the world? What were we to make of an education system that appears to have failed not only Freddie Gray but his parents, who by some accounts are also unable to read and write? How does a community get to be West Baltimore, where Freddie Gray grew up and allegedly sold drugs and had that fateful encounter with the police, a West Baltimore where police officers don't live in the neighborhood, yet manage the streets in the community using a kind of merry-go-round of catch-and-release of young African-American men for low-level drug crimes? Who are these officers? Where do they live?

And so how do we account for the West Baltimore that was being projected on television every night? The secret to understanding the anger, the despair, the frustration, the demand for attention and justice that we witnessed during that unrest lies in understanding the deliberate and unrelenting creation of communities in which residents have very little chance to change their lives, communities that are deeply segregated by race, poor, lacking in transportation mobility, bereft of strong educational institutions, communities that place unimaginable strain on parents, on children, on teachers, on businesses.

You have heard Richard [Rothstein's] presentation. You know that
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deeply entrenched segregation has characterized so many cities in the north. And you know that, even though I just used the passive voice, I shouldn't, that these were deliberate acts and policies, government-sponsored policies. The landscape of the north was largely created by deliberate and intentional segregation, first through racially restrictive covenants and outright discrimination through federal housing policy, which Richard discussed, affecting both public housing and the private market, beginning in the 1930s, and really by investments, massive investments, which created the suburbs and really created the middle-class for white families.

The investment, so well-described by Richard, is one of the largest and most effective domestic investment programs of the twentieth century. And it includes not only the kind of support provided to the creation of suburban homes, but it also includes the interstate highway system and the GI bill. These investments are worth trillions of dollars in today's economy. And they not only created segregation. They created the white middle class and did so in such a way as to suggest that the creation of the white middle class was kind of inevitable.

The GI bill, the interstate highway system, the government's role in creating affordable housing in the suburbs was not advertised or explained as a government handout or as welfare or as affirmative action for white people. Instead, those measures were understood as appropriate and sound government policy and as what our government owed young families after the sacrifices of World War II.

Segregation was, of course, further reinforced by Supreme Court decisions in the education context, which first delayed desegregation in *Brown II*, the all deliberate speed decision, and by restricting regional desegregation solutions in cases like *Milliken v. Bradley*, which ensured that whites really could reliably flee integration by leaving the diversity of cities.

Baltimore's history of housing segregation is well documented in books like Antero Pietila's *Not in My Neighborhood* and Edward Orser's book *Blockbusting in Baltimore* and by the litigation in which the Legal Defense Fund participated challenging segregated public housing in Baltimore, *Thompson v. HUD*.

Few realize that Baltimore played a pivotal and pioneering role in introducing residential segregation to northern cities. When the city council of Baltimore passed the first municipal ordinance requiring residential segregation in 1910, it was the talk of the nation. People from cities all over the country called the city council in Baltimore to find out "How did you do it? Send us the bill. Send us the language" and Baltimore literally taught

Few realize that Baltimore played a pivotal role in introducing residential segregation to northern cities.

the rest of the country about how to create municipal ordinances requiring residential segregation.

But I want to talk about what I think are two under-appreciated elements that, as you move forward, particularly in the affirmatively furthering fair housing context, I ask you to draw some attention to, and I do so because they are issues that are very current in Baltimore today because Baltimore's history of housing segregation provides a window into one of what I think are the underappreciated elements that contributed to and reinforced housing segregation and that you somehow must attend to. And that set of decisions is decisions affecting transportation.

I have already talked about the creation of the interstate highway system, without which a suburb would not have been possible. That was a massive, massive transportation investment all over this country. And transportation decisions have too often been made

to further and perpetuate segregation. They often are decisions in which policy-makers acquiesce to community resistance to desegregation or they work in concert with segregated housing policies that ultimately ensure that Blacks have few opportunities to access the services, the jobs, and amenities of well-supported and well-resourced white communities.

That is why it is so ironic that after we watched the disturbing events unfold in Baltimore earlier this year, the death of Freddie Gray, the unrest, the sad and pathetic business corridor in which the E-Z Tobacco Mart is the norm and not the CVS, it is so ironic that just weeks later, the governor of Maryland decided unilaterally to abandon the plan to build the, I admit unfortunately named, Red Line, the rail line that would run east to west in Baltimore City and that had and still has the potential to begin to unlock the rigid insularity of segregated communities, like the West Baltimore community in which Freddie Gray lived. The decision to abandon the Red Line got no ink. Many of you probably never even heard about it. This was a project that had been worked on in Baltimore City for 10 years.

I don't know how many people here are familiar with Baltimore City. Very few of you. So Baltimore was described during the Freddie Gray unrest incessantly on CNN as a major American city. Yes, it is a major American city in that it has a baseball team and a football team and it has a sizeable population and it has a storied history, certainly has a storied civil rights history. It is the birthplace of Thurgood Marshall, tremendous culture, food, extraordinary people, a town I love very much, but it does not have something that most major American cities have. And that is a true, functioning public transportation system.

The lack of that public transportation system, like the housing decisions that Richard talked about, is really by accident. There were plans to create a functioning public transportation system in Baltimore many times. In 1966, the original railway plan for Baltimore

involved a citywide subway system, much like you have in D.C. And if you actually look at the map, it kind of looks like the map of the D.C. Metro. That never happened as white communities protested and expressed their concern about what this would mean in terms of the population moving throughout the system. And so the city settled for a seven-stop rail line that goes from downtown to Johns Hopkins and back again. It is not even a circle. It just goes up and goes back.

The same thing happened in 1992, when the plan was made to create a light rail system that would go through Baltimore, up West Baltimore, and then up into Baltimore County. And there again the system was created in a way that it does not run through residential neighborhoods. It runs only through business districts and runs up into Baltimore County's business districts. And when there is a desire to have another light rail stop, like when we finally were able to get a football team, we spent tens of millions of dollars creating a light rail stop for the stadium.

There was one community that refused to have a light rail stop, a majority white community called Ruxton, which said they did not want that element that might be on this public transportation in their community. So, if you are riding the light rail in Baltimore, the light rail will stop about every three minutes. And then suddenly it will just not stop for 15 minutes. And that is as it passes those communities that objected to having a transportation system stop in their community.

Transportation is the key in many ways to unlocking these closed-in communities like the one you saw in West Baltimore. Transportation is how people get to jobs that exist not largely in the center of Baltimore but on the edges of the community in Baltimore County and in Howard County. They allow women like the mom that everyone lionized on television, Toya Graham, who came out and snatched her son from the protest. It would allow her, living in West Baltimore, to get to Johns Hopkins in East Baltimore,

which actually does have jobs. In fact, Johns Hopkins is one of the great institutions that actually hires ex-offenders as well. But if you are an ex-offender and you live in West Baltimore, your ability to get to that job at 7:00 in the morning means that you will be standing at a bus stop waiting for an hour for a bus that will meander to the city to get you there on time.

And lest that seem like it is only an inconvenience, if you drive through West Baltimore early in the morning and you watch the bus stops, you see the moms who come from public housing and from low-income housing standing at the bus stop. It is dark. They are there at 5:30 so they can get to the 7:00 shift at the hospital. And then you have to ask yourself, "Where are their children? Who will take them to school? Who will make sure that they have something to eat? Who will make sure that they have their homework?" When they arrive in school

Transportation is the key in many ways to unlocking these closed-in communities like the one you saw in West Baltimore.

without those things, what is the reaction of the teacher? What is your reaction when you hear about the children who arrive at school without their homework and with nothing to eat?

So the decision to simply abandon a transportation system that would bring people from one end of the city to the other end of the city, that would bring people to the jobs in the county from the city, is a decision that reverberates through the lives of people in Baltimore City.

The decision that the governor made to abandon the Red Line, unless it is revisited and overturned, is one that will profoundly implicate the obligation of Baltimore City and Baltimore County to affirmatively further fair housing for many years to come.

The settlement in the *Thompson v. HUD* case—that is the public housing

case I referred to—provides vouchers to families to move to communities of opportunity in the region. And that remains critically important. And so, by the way, if you are wondering what you can do to support transportation in Baltimore at this moment, you can allocate additional funds to that program to allow families to move to communities of opportunity. But I think we all recognize that as a corollary, our obligation is also to make every community a community of opportunity.

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Editor's Note

We at PRRAC wish Chester Hartman all the best in his retirement, and we're glad that he'll remain with us in spirit in the continuing publication of *Poverty & Race*. The journal embodies the mission that Chester and others set for PRRAC upon its founding: to bridge connections across disciplines, ask the hard questions that strengthen us as advocates, and offer a community table where the best thinking on social justice issues can be heard.

I am honored to be stepping up as the new editor of *Poverty & Race*, and very much look forward to future collaborations with many of our readers. Our current issue, the first on our new quarterly publication schedule, has a special focus on residential segregation today. For me, these articles also showcase the symbiosis of big-picture thinking and concrete tactics, both so important to our collective work. Please enjoy, discuss, and look forward to more P&R!

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And so in enforcing the obligation of local governments to affirmatively further fair housing, you must pay keen attention to the role that transportation decisions have played and are continuing to play in locking in longstanding residential segregation. HUD must work hand in hand with the Department of Transportation uncovering the devastating symbiotic reinforcement of housing segregation and regressive transportation decision-making in order to give life to the AFFH but also to fully meet your obligations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and to ensure that federal funds do not support programs that engage in discrimination.

In the new AFFH rule, you talk about the removal of barriers that prevent people from accessing housing in areas of opportunity. You talk about access to housing outside of areas with high racial or ethnic concentration of low-income residents. How does that happen in a city like Baltimore, where many people cannot afford to own cars? It happens by transportation decisions that work hand-in-hand with a local jurisdiction's plan to affirmatively further fair housing. And to the extent we allow these decisions to be decoupled so that these transportation decisions are made over here. And then later on, you look at Baltimore County's plan or you look at Baltimore City's plan. You are essentially allowing these jurisdictions to grandfather in this segregation through these unreviewed transportation decisions. And so we need these two to come together.

In addition to transportation, there has to be this critical attention to regional solutions. And you know this already. You know the importance of regional solutions to segregation. Judge Garbis in the *Thompson v. HUD* case talked about the way in which Baltimore was being maintained as a segregated pool for the region's poor. And he said that that simply cannot be allowed to stand. But this was, in part, made possible by some of the trans-

portation decisions that I described to you.

You heard Vice President Mondale this morning. You know that in 1968 in talking about the Fair Housing Act, he talked about promoting truly integrated and balanced living patterns. Those balanced living patterns cannot happen without social engineering. And here I want to push back against any negative connotation to that phrase.

So I regard myself as a descendant of Charles Hamilton Houston, the bril-

Judge Garbis in the Thompson v. HUD case talked about the way in which Baltimore was being maintained as a segregated pool for the region's poor.

liant lawyer and dean of Howard Law School and mentor to Thurgood Marshall, who once said of lawyers, "If you are not a social engineer, you are a parasite."

That is our job. Our job is to socially engineer for good. Our job is to socially engineer for opportunity. Our job is to socially engineer for equality. Those are noble goals.

And lest we think that we have a choice about whether we do this, I want to take you back to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and the advocacy that my organization, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, engaged in in that case. You all if you haven't read the decision, you know the decision. And you know that in that decision, the Supreme Court talked about the harm of segregation to African-American children. They talked about the way in which segregation sends a message to African-American children that the state regards them as inferior and that that message becomes internalized.

That may all be true, but what I want you to be clear about is that when we litigated that case and we provided our briefs and we included with our

briefs an appendix signed by 30 social scientists that talked about the harm of segregation on black children, that brief also included an extensive discussion about the harm of segregation to white children. And it talked about the way in which segregation can produce confusion, moral cynicism, and a sense of dislocation among white children that can result in ways in which they rationalize the incongruity they see in their own society, the language of equality and justice that they hear in the rhetoric of the public or that they may even hear from their parents and the reality of what they see happening before them.

In that brief, the social scientist forecasted, I believe, some of what we are seeing today because at the end of the day, when you watch that awful video of Walter Scott running in that park in North Charleston and being shot by that police officer, it is not just that the police officers pull up next to Tamir Rice in Cleveland and shoot him, a 12-year-old boy. It is that when his sister begins to cry and scream "My brother, my brother," that they tackle her to the ground and handcuff her and put her back in the back of a car. It is that they say to the screaming mother "If you don't get quiet, I will arrest you, too." You have to begin to wonder, "What manner of people are these? What has happened to them?"

And so it is my belief that as a democracy, as a society, we can simply no longer afford segregation. We cannot afford the distance between us that allows one to not believe in the humanity of the other.

You and I do not have the luxury of sitting back 30 years from now asking these same questions. If we are in a position of power and authority to influence one iota to lessen that distance between us, it was created by the way in which we live. It allows the othering that doesn't see a grieving mother. And we simply can't afford it anymore.

So in case we are watching these events unfold over the last year and we are thinking that is all about policing and it doesn't really have to do

with us, in case you are thinking, “What does HUD have to do with Freddie Gray?” it has everything to do with it. And so my hope is really to convict you and me—trust me, I do not throw stones—is to convict us as a society, as those who are the engineers, to recognize that we bear responsibility for that as well. It will not be resolved by the conviction of this or that police officer. Of course, there must be justice and accountability. But if we do not begin to take

seriously the harm that segregation is doing to this society, harm that was predicted in 1954, when we submitted these briefs, then we will be here 30 years from now and 40 years from now with your grandchildren and my grandchildren and our great-grandchildren wondering, “What manner of people are these?” They are the ones we allowed to be created by not affirmatively, aggressively recognizing the role we must play in ending segregation once and for all. □

Resources: Baltimore

Baltimore Regional Initiative Developing Genuine Equality, Inc., and Earl Andrews v. Maryland (complaint filed with U.S. Dept. of Transportation), available at www.naacpldf.org/document/baltimore-red-line-complaint.

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African Americans had one of the highest marriage rates in the country: 70 percent. Today, African-American marriage rates are the lowest in the country: According to a Pew Research Center report, “The share of never-married adults has gone up for all major racial and ethnic groups in the United States, but the rate of increase has been most dramatic among Blacks. Among Black adults ages 25 and older, the share who has never been married has quadrupled over the past half century—from 9% in 1960 to 36% in 2012” (Wendy Wang, Kim Parker, 2014). In the period between 1970 and 2001, the overall marriage rate in the United States declined by 17 percent; for blacks, it fell by 34 percent. African-American women are the least likely in our society to marry (Joy Jones, 2006).

Author of works such as *Power Racism and Privilege* (1976) and *When Work Disappears* (1996), renowned Harvard sociologist William Julius Wilson frames this issue as arising from the lack of marriageable African-American males.

By roughly 1975, the dream of a northern promised land for African Americans had given way as America made its move from a producer to a consumer nation. In many urban communities, the industrial jobs that African-American men could work dried up in the late 60s and early 70s. From New York across to Wisconsin, what had been the robust Steel and Factory Belts turned into the job-deficient Rust Belt. The service economy was in ascendance.

At the same time, a reverse social current began flowing. Due in part to hard-fought civil rights legislation and to the riots that exploded across the low-income African American communities from 1968 through the early 1970s, a fledgling educated African-American middle class emerged. Its members began moving out of low-income Black communities into more affluent urban areas.

So a once united, segregated community gave birth to two groups: A

distinct, yet aching familiar African-American underclass and a new African-American middle class. When coupled with the exodus of middle-class whites from low-income urban areas, the departure of middle class blacks significantly increased the concentration of poverty.

The unrelieved density of that poverty converged with several other factors to negatively impact the lives of low-income urban African Americans’ communities. Especially curtailed was the development of their social and

When coupled with the exodus of middle-class whites from low-income urban areas, the departure of middle-class Blacks significantly increased the concentration of poverty.

human capital. Some of these other limiting factors include:

- Keen loss of the vibrant family structure in low-income African-American communities, exacerbated by the legacy of national welfare policy.
- Sharp decline of economic opportunities as the earlier generation’s manufacturing jobs disappeared.
- Continued patterns of structural discrimination in housing, access to credit, and employment opportunities.

Caste System: Alive and Well in Minnesota

In 1998, I became the director of planning and development for Hennepin County. In this role, I was the person in charge of policy research for one of America’s most prosperous counties. Soon after I arrived, I was summoned to a commissioner’s office and he asked me point blank: “Why are so many young men populating street corners in the middle of the day, rather than working earning a living

and raising their families” (Gary L. Cunningham, 2006). Regardless of that commissioner’s awareness, his question triggered a significant four-year quest to find answers.

With my help, the African American Men Project (AAMP) was born. AAMP enlisted the support of community leaders, academics, politicians and the business community. Together we took a deep look at the ecosystem in which young African-American men live. We found some startling realities for these young men (John M. Bryson, Gary L. Cunningham and Karen J. Lokkesmoe, 2002).

In 2002, African-American males 18-30 years of age in Hennepin County shared in the following (Crossroads, 2002):

- 49% lived in one of Minneapolis’ five poorest and least safe neighborhoods.
- Homicide was the most common cause of death.
- Over 44% of this population were arrested each year in the three years studied—a higher percentage than were arrested in the South Africa at the height of apartheid system.
- Twenty-seven times more likely to go to jail than young white men and twice as likely to die.
- Criminal justice expenditures involving them were over \$220 million per year.
- 54% of young African-American children in Hennepin County were being raised in single-parent households.

In 2010, Michelle Alexander defined the mass incarceration of African-American men as the new Jim Crow (those subjugating laws so pervasive across the South from 1870 to 1965). According to Alexander, “The racial dimensions of mass incarceration is its most striking feature. No other country in the world imprisons so many of its racial or ethnic minorities. The United States imprisons a larger percentage of its population than South Africa did at the height of apartheid” (Michelle Alexander, 2012).

Problem: Structures Lock in Poverty

Research confirms that children and adults living in highly concentrated poverty and segregated places experience mutually reinforcing and cumulative negative impacts. Adding together the greater likelihoods of 1) lower educational attainment, 2) living in substandard housing, and 3) being involved in—or being the victims of—crime, the net outcome is falling far short of obtaining the social and human capital necessary to pursue the American Dream.

I recently had lunch with a young planning researcher at the University of Minnesota, a man whom I consider a friend. Of East Indian descent, he and his family had moved to North Minneapolis a few years back. This young man was advocating for social change in the community. He started the conversation off by stating, “While I’m not a segregationist, I believe that we shouldn’t move low-income people of color out of this community to the suburbs and create gentrification.” He further stated that he believes the best approach is “equity in place” to reinvest in the inner city communities so that they can become engines of equity and opportunity.

I said to him, “Anytime you have to start your argument by saying you are not a segregationist, that’s problematic. Segregation has not worked for us.”

Yet on one significant point, my friend is correct: Migrations are happening today in metropolitan areas throughout the country. The areas near downtown—where low-income people of color live—are being gentrified. Professionals (mostly white) who once coveted the suburban lifestyle are now migrating to inner city communities. The impact of their housing choices are driving up property values and displacing low-income people of color.

Over this last decade, events and opportunities, which I’ll describe, taught me many things. They also convinced me that stable, mixed-income, racially diverse communities are the key. Only with them can we address

the tenacious problems—sown over decades of isolation from opportunity structures—that low-income people of color face.

Race Matters: The Twin Cities is Best and Worst Place to Live

Five years ago I was appointed by Minnesota’s Governor Mark Dayton to sit on the regional planning body called the Metropolitan Council. Part of the Metropolitan Council’s charge is to plan economic development of the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area. Working on the council, I learned firsthand that public policy has prompted significant increases in ra-

Federal and local housing policies shaped the present-day geographic areas of racially-concentrated urban poverty.

cial concentrations of poverty. Increasingly so, a person’s zip code is all that’s need to accurately predict their likely life outcomes.

If you’re white, the Twin Cities metropolitan region is one of the best places to live in the country. The Twin Cities is ranked as the fittest, cleanest, best for running, best for finding a job, and among the most literate cities in the nation (Rankings, 2012). The list goes on. According to the Metropolitan Council, in 2015, the Twin Cities ranked #1 or #2 among 25 largest metropolitan areas in the following categories (Metrostats, 2015):

- Population of age 25 with high school diploma
- Percentage of the civilian working age population that is employed
- Percentage of individuals with incomes at or above the federal poverty threshold
- Percentage of householders who own their own homes

However, if you’re a person of color, particularly African American,

your family’s outcomes are diametrically opposed to the above data. In fact, in the same study, the Metropolitan Council found that “the Twin Cities metro’s disparities between African Americans and white, non-Latinos in educational attainment, employment, poverty rates and homeownership are the largest among the top 25 metro[politan areas]” (Metrostats, 2015).

According to the Metropolitan Council, “Unchallenged, these disparities jeopardize the future economic vitality of this region. Currently, residents of color make up almost one-quarter of the metro’s population; by 2040, their share in the region’s total will be 40 percent. The Twin Cities region cannot and will not continue to thrive if disparities hold back a growing share of its population” (Choice, Place and Opportunity, 2014).

Holding in place these horrendous disparities are deeply embedded historic housing patterns, ones that nurture and enforce segregation (Structural Racialization, 2012).

Federal and local housing policies shaped the present-day geographic areas of racially-concentrated urban poverty. These housing policies are reinforced by a variety of systems of opportunity that maintain racial and ethnic inequalities. These include opportunities for:

- Employment
- Access to capital
- Education
- Health care access
- Justice in policing and the courts
- Transit and transportation

Shifting and often reorganizing themselves, these systems of opportunity impact—and are impacted by—the vast networks of our individual and collective behaviors.

Solution: No Easy Answers

It seems that many people want a neat, one-size-fits-all solution. Our western culture nudges us to look at
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these problems from a linear perspective of cause and effect. However, the issues we face are much more complex. They are deeply rooted in the structures of our systems.

The structural issues of racial disparities fit the definition of “wicked problems.” An expert in dealing with complexity and uncertainty, Simon J. Buckingham Shum wrote,

“Wicked problems cannot be tackled by the traditional approach in which problems are defined, analyzed and solved in sequential steps. The main reason for this is that there is no clear problem definition of wicked problems.”

People of goodwill in nonprofit organizations and social services have been working for decades to address some of the “wicked” problems within urban America. However, the problem of systemic intergenerational poverty persists.

Of course, we’re fascinated by the problems, but we act paralyzed, hands tied, never effectively getting at the underlying causes, seldom agreeing on solutions. Meanwhile, racially concentrated areas of poverty continue to grow steadily in the Twin Cities and across the country. We need to start taming these wicked problems.

Using the theory of complex adaptive systems can help us to understand the balancing and reinforcing feedback loops that cause racial economic and social inequalities to persist (Senge M. Peter, 1990). To alter these complex systems will take more than technical approaches; it will require innovative systems of learning (Heifetz A. Ronald, 1994).

Stephen Menendian and Caitlin Watt have given us an excellent explanation of how to think about these systems. In their Kirwan Institute publication *Systems Primer*, they wrote:

“All systems have a structure, and those structures matter. It is the organization and relationships between a system’s parts as much as the components themselves that shape system outcomes and system

behavior.... Systems behavior is different from the sum of its parts, and does not follow from intentions of the individual agents, but on how system agents are interacting with each other within the system structure.”

Menendian and Watt go on to suggest that, “Racial differentials in the United States are as much a product of system structure as they are of individual behavior” (Stephen Menendian and Caitlin Watt, 2008).

The systems thinking of Menendian and Watt suggests how we can start to coax out solutions that will fix our vexing wicked problems.

Leadership Matters

As noted earlier, there has been a significant rise in African Americans who have moved into the middle class over the past two decades. Increasingly in this century, African Americans

The framework for the AALF is based on john powell’s targeted universalism.

hold prominent positions in nonprofit organizations, government, arts, business, education, and philanthropy.

This healthy shift gives us the opportunity to push down on the levers of real change. To do so, we’ll need to combine the historic leadership of the African-American clergy with these emerging leaders in government, business, and the nonprofit sector. So gathered, we could repair the breaches between lower-, middle-, and upper-class African Americans that occurred so many years ago. As a new and potent force in America, these united leaders could forge a common agenda and help enact it to advance the wellbeing of African-American communities.

To test this theory about the potency of a united African-American leadership, as vice president of the Northwest Area Foundation in 2008, I hosted a series of meetings. The first were at my dining room table. I met with key

individuals across class, education, and gender lines in the African-American community in the Twin Cities. These conversations effectively gauged the will among these African-American leaders to leverage opportunities and collectively address the challenges facing our community. This effort became known as the African American Leadership Forum (AALF) (Gary L. Cunningham, Marcia L. Avner, and Romilda Justilien, 2014).

The framework for the AALF is based on John Powell’s targeted universalism, an approach that frames universal goals that are mutually agreed upon in the broader community. As an example, the overarching AALF goal is “a just and healthy society that works equally well for everyone.” This is an all-inclusive goal, which, if achieved, benefits all. To accomplish this goal, however, requires targeted strategies for different groups in society depending on how those groups are situated relative to the opportunities (John Powell, 2012).

The AALF’s work was also guided by the ideas of economist John Nash, who developed a game theory on how groups interact in non-cooperative negotiations. In the case of the African-American community and its interactions with broader society, we have reached what is known as a Nash equilibrium (John Nash, 1951):

Unless the broader society sees a benefit to itself for improving the conditions of African Americans, the allocation of resources and opportunities will remain unchanged.

Encouragingly, the Nash equilibrium also suggests that groups that have enough social cohesion to negotiate a common agenda can improve their chances of transforming the playing field and changing the entire game.

In the intervening years, the AALF movement in the Twin Cities has grown with over 1,500 people participating. The forums have also assisted the nonprofit sector and religious and corporate communities to work toward common objectives that strengthen the African-American community.

Inspired to Start a Fresh Narrative

William Julius Wilson in his book, *More Than Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner-City (Issues of Our Times)*, put out a call for a new framing of the issue of race in America. Inspired by Wilson's call, the Metropolitan Economic Development Asso-

ciation (where I am now President and CEO) and the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society hosted a series of Convenings on Race and Economic (CORE). The primary purpose of CORE is to engage a diverse network of stakeholders in the development of a new framework and agenda that address racial wealth disparities and increase economic security for African Americans.

CORE has hosted full-day learning labs with key stakeholders in seven cities throughout the US in the past two years. These working CORE sessions culminated in a three-day retreat held at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Conference Center in May 2015. The Bellagio CORE retreat was attended by some of the leading practitioners, academics, and community activists work-

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Resources: Forging Equitable Communities

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(*OPPORTUNITY: Cont. from page 13*)

ing on the racial wealth gap in the United States and internationally (Bellagio CORE retreat).

From the Bellagio CORE retreat, here are key excerpts from a keenly debated working draft:

Today powerful elites have rigged the system, capturing government and the marketplace. In their greed, they are hollowing out the middle class, stifling economic prosperity, limiting the mobility of current and future generations, and endangering our democracy.

We need a new approach, founded on the following principles: People first, and for each other.

People first—corporations, the marketplace, and government should serve people, and not the other way around.

People for each other—we owe each other a duty of care and respect and, seeing ourselves in others, we gain the power to create a society where all people can attain their full potential.

When I stepped back and looked at the preliminary findings of the CORE work, I was very surprised. I went into this work with the idea that African Americans needed to develop something separate and distinct in terms of an economic strategy and agenda. I came away moved by the need for African Americans to not just coexist with whites on opposite sides of our cities but to interact regularly within a larger American social framework. To build opportunity structures that work for African Americans, the guiding principle must be that the structures in this larger framework will work equally well for everyone.

Coming Full Circle

Fifty years after the initial riots in North Minneapolis, we sadly have come full circle. Once again many African Americans and their allies have taken to the streets of Minneapolis and other American cities to demand an end to police misconduct. The

police violence and mass incarceration are symptoms of a much deeper fundamental issue within our democracy. As Martin Luther King so eloquently stated about African Americans,

“We must frankly acknowledge that in past years our creativity and imaginations were not employed in learning how to develop power.... Although our actions were bold and crowned with successes, they were substantially improvised and spontaneous. They attained the goals set for them but carried the blemishes of our inexperience” (Martin Luther King, 1967).

For over 50 years, African Americans have used the strategies of mass protest and civil disobedience. With limited success, they have brought to the nation’s attention the painful costs of African Americans’ exclusion from the circle of those who matter.

Unfortunately, we have not been able to translate these “bold and spontaneous” actions into sustainable power. In the heat of the moment, the system responds. Its newly wrought policy actions yield scattered and inadequate outcomes. So a few more short-lived programs appear; a few more Black people can climb up the elusive ladders of opportunity.

In contrast, the majority of African-American people still live wrapped up, largely out of sight, in the vicissitudes of poverty. When the fundamental opportunities structures go unchallenged, the living conditions of low-income African-American people remain the same.

Conclusion

For too long, we’ve been caught up each in our own conscience-numbing dreams.

It is the time for all of us to wake up, to not just admit we have a problem but to name it and own it together. It’s time to change the old patterns that have wasted so much human potential. It is time for a new narrative that spells out how we can move forward together. □

(*SEGREGATION: Cont. from page 1*)

United States. (Full disclosure: The authors’ team contributed an *amicus* brief cited by the Court on this point, and John Powell is on the board of the Inclusive Communities Project, Respondent).

Segregation from the 19th Century to the 21st

But how are we to understand segregation? Why does it matter? What does it look like, and how do we measure it?

Segregation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was relatively easy to understand. Segregation in the nineteenth century was not primarily a housing phenomenon, but was instead institutional and ingrained in everyday life. There was clarity on the divide between Black and white space and behavioral norms, even as people lived and worked in close physical proximity. Courthouses, theaters, restaurants, hotels, factories, buses, and schools were segregated by law and culture, but Blacks and whites lived in the same cities and towns; municipalities, jurisdictions, and neighborhoods were not needed to do the work of separating. Blacks and whites lived physically close and socially and culturally far apart. Segregation was embedded not only into law, but culture and commonsense understanding. Although this was most visible in the South, it was also true in many respects in the North.

In the twentieth century, segregation evolved and took a different form that centered on housing. By the 1920s, the federal government began playing a much larger role in the housing market, and, for the first time, with federal direction and funding, housing segregation took root and proliferated, especially in the post-war era, even as the other institutionalized forms of segregation were being dismantled in the courts and elsewhere. In a sense, segregation morphed from occurring in schools and public transportation to city blocks and suburban lots.

In some ways, the effort to integrate public spaces and dismantle formal segregation under law is what triggered a countervailing effort to re-inscribe segregation in our institutions, structures, and living patterns. The government played a key role in both movements. The challenge to Jim Crow laws in the courts and in other parts of the federal government was paralleled by federal investments in residential infrastructure that became the locus for new expressions of segregation. Federal support was tied to the promotion and acquiescence of jurisdictional structures that created a racially segregated housing market.

At the same time, the attack on segregation was narrowed to explicit and *de jure* expressions. This permitted rampant housing segregation that ultimately translated into *de facto* educational and opportunity segregation. When the Supreme Court ruled in 1974 that courts could not de-segregate schools across district lines without a demonstration of discriminatory intent, it was a signal and invitation to white flight and an escape hatch from the *Brown* mandate. Whites could obtain the benefits of opportunity hoarding without asserting a desire for racial separation.

Although housing remains the locus of segregation in the twenty-first century, we have witnessed notable shifts and new complexities emerging. By the early 2000s, there was increasing evidence of urban change. Poverty was growing in the suburbs, but especially inner-ring suburbs. A growing number of non-white families moved into these suburbs, and led to additional white flight. Inner-ring suburbs were replaced by second ring or outer-ring suburbs, as the wealthy continued to move further toward the periphery. As a result, poverty began to migrate to the suburbs, and by the 2000s, there was more poverty than ever in the suburbs. Metropolitan demographics may be shifting yet again.

The United States in the twenty-first century is a more diverse, multi-racial and multi-ethnic society than in the twentieth century, and while our metropolitan regions remain deeply

segregated, the patterns of segregation are taking new, and deeply troubling, turns. Segregation today is more complex than a simplistic portrait in Black and white terms or in terms of residence. It turns out that understanding segregation, its harmful effects, and how to measure it, is more complicated than ever.

Measuring Segregation

Segregation is both an intuitive concept and a slippery one. As noted, we understand segregation as living apart. Accordingly, Massey and Denton define segregation as “the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of an urban environment” (1988). Yet it’s clear that people may be segregated in varying ways, as we have already seen. Even in terms of

Segregation is both an intuitive concept and a slippery one.

residence, people may be segregated across a municipal border, a geographic barrier or they may be clustered or concentrated within a larger region. Similarly, groups may be clustered and concentrated or scattered in clusters.

Segregation is not only a complex phenomenon, but measuring it has become more complex and challenging as well. The measures of segregation that have helped us understand Black-white segregation by residence may no longer be the best measures to understand segregation in an increasingly diverse, multi-racial society. Understanding the strengths and limits of such measures helps illuminate the full extent to which we continue to “live apart.”

The most well-known and widely used measure of segregation is the dissimilarity index. The dissimilarity index measures how evenly various racial groups are spread across neighborhoods within metropolitan areas. A dissimilarity index score indicates the

percentage of a subgroup that would have to move to achieve integration. A score of 100 indicates that every neighborhood has residents of only one particular group (“complete segregation”), whereas a score of zero indicates proportional representation of each group throughout the metropolitan region (“complete integration”).

According to the dissimilarity index, Black and white segregation peaked in 1970 at 81.4, and has been in a gradual decline every decade since. Since then, it has fallen to 73.0 (in 1980), 67.2 (in 1990), 63.1 (in 2000), to 59.0 in 2010. If one looked only at dissimilarity values since 1970, one might conclude that the United States was well on its way towards residential integration. However, this simple portrait of segregation largely misses the mark.

First and foremost, the rate of decline between each decennial census has fallen significantly. Each decennial census indicates less progress. Between 1970 and 1980, dissimilarity scores fell by nearly nine points. However, between 2000 and 2010, it fell by three. This might not be so troubling if it weren’t for a second fact, that the measured rate of segregation in 1970 is considered very high, not far from that measured in South Africa under apartheid. Our current measure of segregation, 59.0, is still considered a very high level of segregation. In real world terms, it means that more than half of African Americans (or whites) would have to move residence to achieve a fully integrated society. Modestly improving dissimilarity index scores should not mask the persistence of segregation in our society.

Critically, however, segregation scores as measured by dissimilarity index scores were dramatically better in the first half of the twentieth century, with values of 30.9 in 1910, 43.2 in 1920, and 58.1 in 1930. In other words, the United States today is more segregated than it was in the 1920s, a period associated with lynching and Jim Crow terrorism.

Although the dissimilarity index remains the most widespread measure of

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segregation, by the mid-1970s, social scientists were beginning to question whether it was the best measure for a complex phenomenon. Although the dissimilarity index indicates the distribution of populations within a given area, it cannot tell us much about the particular patterns within that geographic area or region, such as whether populations are clustered, concentrated, or scattered.

Perhaps most importantly, improvements as measured by the dissimilarity index could be attributed, for example, to the small numbers of affluent and middle-class Black families that have moved into traditionally segregated and predominantly white neighborhoods, but tell us little about the overall integration of most African-Americans.

Another measure of segregation seeks to measure the “exposure” of groups rather than their evenness by looking at whether groups share a common residential area—not just how well distributed they are throughout an area. The two primary measures of exposure, the interaction and isolation indices, measure flips sides of the same coin: the degree of exposure of the average minority group member to the average majority group, and the degree of isolation as measured by the average exposure of minority members to the same group. Using this approach, as of 2010, the average white resident of a metropolitan area resides in a neighborhood that is 75.4 percent white, 7.9 percent Black, 10.5 percent Hispanic, and 5.1 percent Asian. In

contrast, a typical African-American resident lives in a neighborhood that is 34.8 percent white, 45.2 percent Black, 14.8 percent Hispanic, and 4.3 percent Asian. Although understated by the dissimilarity index, these figures reflect demographically different worlds.

Since the average African American lives in a neighborhood that is 35 percent white, the exposure score of African Americans to whites is 35. In contrast to the dissimilarity index, exposure index scores over the last 70 years suggest an inverse pattern. Segregation, as measured by exposure, declined from 35 in 1950 to 31 in 1980, but has slowly risen to pre-1950 levels, suggesting that although our met-

Segregation matters most because it tells us how we distribute opportunity.

ropolitan areas may appear more integrated, actual neighborhoods are as segregated as they were more than a half century ago, before the civil rights era.

As serious as these concerns are, both the exposure indices and the dissimilarity index suffer from another significant deficiency, in that they can only be used to measure the distribution of two groups relative to each other. When trying to measure levels of segregation in a multi-racial society, different measurements are needed.

Perhaps the best measure of segregation for multiple groups is the entropy index, which measures the average difference between a group’s proportion within a geographic area compared to that of a larger region as a whole. For example, you would be able to use this index to measure the degree of segregation of all racial subgroups within a neighborhood, community or municipality compared to the larger metropolitan area or region. Another advantage of this approach is that it does not depend on the overall size of the subgroup, and therefore indirectly measures concentration as well.

Recent data shows that seventy-five percent of African Americans in the country live in only 16 percent of the Census Block Groups in the United States. As a corollary, 30 percent of African Americans live in Census Block Groups that are seventy percent African American or more. Since racial groups tend to be heavily concentrated, the entropy index may be a superior measure of segregation.

A Segregated Society

Some measures reflect segregation that is more pronounced than in the past, and others suggest gradual improvements. Regardless of the particular measure used, the data reflects a society that is highly and persistently segregated nearly 50 years since the passage of the Fair Housing Act. The growth of our metropolitan regions and the complexity of our racial dynamics masks considerable levels of persistent segregation.

In particular, it appears that people are segregated most visibly across municipal borders rather than within them. In an *amicus* brief we filed in the most recent *Fisher* case before the Supreme Court (supporting the continuing use of affirmative action as a consideration in collegiate admissions), we mapped inter-district school segregation in Texas, and the results were stunning. Despite the fact that Texas has no racial or ethnic majority (non-Hispanic Whites constitute 44 percent of the population), only 13 percent of the 1,024 school districts in the state have no racial majority. Nearly 40 percent of those districts have a racial/ethnic supermajority, meaning that more than 75 percent of the students are members of the majority race of that district. A regional analysis might understate or overlook entirely this lived reality of segregation.

Although inter-district segregation is persistent and severe, perhaps the most disturbing expression of segregation is visible only at the regional level. The “middle-out” patterns of urban change that defined the twentieth century—the movement from urban cen-

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ters to the suburban and exurban periphery—is reversing and contracting, in what some call “the great Inversion.” The demand for urban residential housing by millennials and young professionals is leading to rapid gentrification in many of our major urban metropolises.

The effort of many lower- and middle-income residents to escape urban blight between 1990-2010 led the wealthier to peel away into second ring and outer ring suburbs. But what was once an escape route has now become a trap.

Despite our cultural diversity, we inhabit a segregated society. Even as our metropolitan regions become more diverse, the lived experience of segregation persists as we balkanize into different neighborhoods and communities. Why does this matter?

Opportunity Segregation

Segregation matters most because it shapes and reflects the distribution of opportunity. Some have suggested it is not necessary for blacks and other people of color to live close to whites. But segregation has never been simply about the sorting of people, but about sorting of opportunity and the resources that shape life chances. When this is considered it not just interracial contact we are concerned about when we talk about segregation and integration, but the full breadth of opportunity properly understood.

Segregation occurs by race and income in a dynamic, interconnected pattern. Because we live in a segregated society, families and groups not only do not live together, but they are not invested in each other. Segregation is a mechanism for what Charles Tilly called “opportunity hoarding.” Segregation ensures that group membership correlates to artificial geographic and institutional boundaries. If white families live in one school district, and black families live in another, even if they are adjacent, then they are not invested in the success of the other.

So what should we do? First, we must better understand the dynamics and damage of segregation both on excluded and marginalized groups and the

Since segregation is about exclusion, we must not only understand how exclusion happens, but how we might achieve inclusion.

overall health of society in order to develop more effective interventions.

Second, we must develop and refine research methods that can support effective interventions and responsive policies. We have worked on several such approaches. Since segregation is in part about opportunity, we have focused on the structuring and access to opportunity. This can be demonstrated through opportunity mapping. This

Resources: Segregation

Remedial Phase Expert Report of John Powell in *Thompson v. HUD* (Kirwan Institute, 2005).

Jargowski, Paul A. “The Architecture of Segregation” (The Century Foundation, 2015)

was a methodology used in *Thompson v. HUD*, one of the largest public housing cases of the last generation, and the underlying methodology is being adopted by HUD as part of its new AFFH rules. It is too early to know how this will in fact work. But we know that hoarding by neighborhood or jurisdiction is a problem.

Since segregation is about exclusion, we must not only understand how exclusion happens, but how we might achieve inclusion. Instead of just focusing on structural and cultural discrimination, we should be also be focusing on structural and cultural inclusion. This recognition informs the Haas Institute Inclusiveness Index, which we have been developing as a diagnostic instrument to better understand why certain regions or countries fare better in terms of inclusion across group boundaries.

We should affirmatively fashion our structures to work to support the outcomes we seek. For example, there is a great deal of research that supports the importance of racial, economically- and ability-integrated schools. We should look at how our housing programs and the siting of public housing or use of federal funds gives families and students access to high-performing, well-integrated schools, or why it fails to do so. We should also look at jurisdictional arrangements through a similar lens. Our courts too often accept and fail to disrupt practices that perpetuate segregation or that would permit remedial action. Our goal must be to move beyond legal schemes limited to intent and make our structures and culture affirmatively address the “othering” performed by segregation and exclusion from opportunity. □

PRRAC Update

● **LaKeeshia Fox** joined PRRAC’s staff in December as our new Law & Policy Associate. LaKeeshia comes to PRRAC from the HUD Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, where she worked on the team that developed HUD’s Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing

Rule. Ms. Fox also worked at HUD and the Department of Justice as a Presidential Management Fellow. She is a graduate of North Carolina Central University School of Law, and is the second native North Carolinian on our staff (along with our Policy Analyst **Michael Hilton**).

proximately 50 organizations have expressed willingness to participate in the co-design process; and 12 working groups have been organized. This initial design phase will take four to six months beginning in February of 2016.

3. While Honorary Co-Chairs of the formal commission have been identified, national and local commission members will be named during the collaborative design phase with input from the diverse participating partners.

4. Memoranda of Understanding are being developed with partnering organizations, to bring clarity to how these groups represent a broad coalition of stakeholders and how the TRHT aligns with their own organizational mission, vision and strategies.

5. There are many national efforts such as the HUD AFFH rule and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), Common Good: Humanities in The Public Square initiative that may provide opportunities and community structures for deeper engagement. Efforts are underway to leverage these opportunities and increase community engagement.

6. While WKKF is providing initial funding, this effort is envisioned as a five to ten year process with multiple funding partners.

7. The four to six month design phase will be followed by an implementation process that begins in fall of 2016.

Leveraging What We've Learned

This unprecedented moment could mark the beginning of a healed and transformed America, one that has put racism behind us because we no longer believe in it consciously or unconsciously, nor do we allow it to continue to shape our communities, our economy and our democracy. Racial bias is an often unspoken part of the American fabric. Through the ages,

America has attempted to address racism. Strides were made when slavery was abolished with the legislation of freedom, the era of Reconstruction, and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. The sovereignty movement for Native Americans demonstrated progress. The apology and reparations for the Japanese internment in World War II began a healing process. But these measures and eras met great resistance and were only brief episodic moments in our nation's long history. They did not delve deeply enough into racial healing or try to uproot conscious and unconscious beliefs in racial differences and racial hierarchy. The legacy of racism still affects diverse children, families and commu-

Today most of the children born in the United States are children of color.

nities. Yet, we know and have demonstrated over the last decade through our America Healing network of grantees that Americans can come together and change attitudes and beliefs. We can hold each other accountable and begin the hard work of racial healing in our homes, schools, media, neighborhoods and places of worship. The TRHT process will provide more opportunities for this healing and transformational work.

There is tremendous learning, as well as the potential for healing divisions and inequities in our society within the true story or narrative of how we came to be the America that we are today. We must explore this largely hidden story together and find answers to critical questions. We must learn from history so as not to repeat or perpetuate past errors. How did what we now know to have been absurdly wrong, the idea of a taxonomy—a human hierarchy based on superficial physical characteristics such as skin color, facial features, and hair texture become a central organizing principle of our democracy? Why was it allowed

to persist for centuries? What reinforced the idea that some people deserved basic care and human rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, while millions of people were treated as if they did not deserve these same rights? How has this belief shaped our public policies and systems including housing, immigration, justice and education? To what degree was and is this embedded belief still used today both consciously and unconsciously to justify conditions that foster poverty, segregation and continued relegation to struggle for so many in this country as they try to achieve innate desires for freedom and worth?

Today most of the children born in the United States of America are children of color. They deserve to know the answers to these questions. Moreover, they deserve to grow up in a country that has truly jettisoned that historic taxonomy of human value; the belief in a hierarchy of worth which would relegate them to a lesser place in society while affording automatic privilege to others? Racial healing activities help to generate the public will at both individual and community levels to unite and work together to create more equity. There is much work that remains to be done to uproot the legacy of racial hierarchy and assure the resources and protective factors that all children need.

WKKF racial equity/racial healing investments and grants have generated insights, such as the mechanisms of unconscious bias, and the power of narrative to shape perceptions, the efficacy of healing circle methodologies in building trust and relationships, while helping to alleviate internalized racial anxiety, adversity and stress. These and related tools and mechanisms can now be leveraged to design an appropriate racial healing process for this nation. In addition, the WKKF approach to racial healing is an inclusive approach. By focusing on our humanity, the approach engages many diverse communities: Native American, Latino, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, African American, Arab American and white.

The proposed racial healing process for the United States would engage all of these groups within local communities across the nation and focus on developing the capacity to embrace our individual and collective humanity. Healing experiences would not be designed as a forum which emphasizes victims or perpetrators, it would be designed as a way to change deeply held beliefs and to address their larger consequences.

There is a growing recognition of the basic human need and desire for peace. Today's, as well as previous, generations of war refugees and those seeking freedom from terror and instability provide a palpable reminder that as a species the human family is driven to escape from conflict, oppression, and suffering. We are also reminded that cruelty will not be tolerated forever. Experiences of compassion, empathy, love and kindness are not only human needs, they are human rights. The concept of healing is at its most fundamental level an expression of this reality. To heal is to relieve suffering, to foster wholeness and well-being. Racial healing acknowledges the suffering, protracted inhumanity and cruelty caused by adherence to the belief in a hierarchy of human value. Racially-based denial of the full humanity of millions of people has persisted for centuries in the United States. This belief and ideology was legally sanctioned, violently enforced and culturally normalized despite its absurdity. But the human spirit will not be defeated. The system was met with courageous, determined, and continuous resistance by diverse groups of people. Our true history is filled with stories of cooperation, compassion and solidarity across racial and ethnic groups. These responses led to tremendous progress, resilience and landmark victories that affirm human and civil rights. The true story, the narrative about the creation and maintenance of, as well as the resistance to and ultimate (but yet to be realized) demise of a racialized culture in the United States is a collective story of our shared relationships. It embodies the true American history as one of diverse

groups that "people" the United States and sovereign Indian Nations. This narrative, with all its nuanced implications has yet to be fully told, embraced or understood. It must become the curriculum for our country and be a narrative that affirms our journey toward the realization of true democracy.

The Business Case for Racial Equity

Tragic shootings in Charleston, South Carolina in June 2015 led to a call for removing the confederate flag from that state's capitol building. The confederate flag symbolizes adherence

By closing the earnings gap and educational gap, businesses, government and the overall economy stand to see great economic growth.

to past ideology. It also represents an embedded belief in a hierarchy of human value upon which South Carolina's, as well as America's, foundational legal systems, public policies and economic strategies were built and sustained. The legacy of this belief is represented today in persistent patterns of inequality which cannot be allowed to continue if the United States is to remain economically viable. According to the publication "The Business Case for Racial Equity" (<https://www.wkcf.org/news-and-media/article/2013/10/the-business-case-for-racial-equity-quantifies-the-cost-of-racism-in-the-us>), if the average incomes of minorities were raised to equal their white counterparts, total U.S. earnings would increase by 12 percent or nearly one trillion dollars. The earnings gain would result in 180 billion dollars in corporate profits. Closing the education gap between African-American and Hispanic students and white students would have increased the U.S. GDP by two to four

percent in 2008, representing between \$310 billion and \$525 billion.

By closing the earnings gap and educational gap, businesses, government and the overall economy stand to see great economic growth. While the economic gains would be measurable and concrete, moral and ethical leadership benefits outweigh economic gains for the United States on local, national and global scales. A large scale racial healing process is an important foundational step to producing needed societal changes.

The Urgency and Opportunity of Now

If we are as a nation to finally jettison the theory of humanity as a hierarchical taxonomy, what are we to replace it with? We must replace the 18th century view of humanity with anew capacity to see ourselves in the perceived "other." Doing so will drive more empathetic, compassionate responses and help to foster healing. The good news is that the late 20th century and the 21st century offer us new insights into human genomics, neuroscience and social sciences that are extremely helpful as we transform our understandings and ways of relating to one another. For example, when we say race is a social construct that has no basis in biological science we can also assert that there is more genetic difference within previously defined racial groups than there is between them. Human genome research has established this as fact. There is also now solid evidence about the geographic origins and historic migration patterns of the entire human family. There is scientific consensus that we all trace our beginnings back to the continent of Africa. But if history is any predictor we know it can take decades sometimes more than a century to replace an archaic emotionally charged idea with a new concept that shatters institutional and individual biases. Today's information technology can be used to leverage rapidly evolving insights in

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(HIERARCHY: Continued from page 19)

the field of neuroscience to help us identify and overcome our biases. Organizations such as local police departments and public defenders are now using computerized implicit association tests to identify and reduce their own biases. This kind of work must be taken to scale as part of a comprehensive national racial healing strategy.

America must finish this unfinished business. We cannot just acknowledge, or merely use, recent tragedies to raise awareness of the problem; we must heal the cause. Healing must include all races and all social and economic

classes. There must be a solemn commitment to this work, to unifying our nation, to rejecting racism, to finding strength, not resentment, in our differences. Our children, and collective futures are at stake.

America has an opportunity to become a world leader in racial healing. There's an urgency to address this issue today. The changing demographics demand that something be done—most children in our near future will be kids of color, and too many will live in poverty. It creates an imperative for the nation to change the future now. We cannot wait another 100 years. □

New on PRRAC's Website

Promoting fair housing goals in FHFA's "Duty to Serve" proposed rule (March 2016)

Preserving civil rights standards in the Rental Assistance Demonstration (February 2016)

Comments on HUD's Public Housing Agency Plan rule (January 2016)

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: www.prrac.org

Race/Racism

- **Opportunity, Responsibility, and Security.** Written by Robert Doar, Lawrence M. Mead, and Michael R. Strain. Published by the AEI/Brookings Working Group on Poverty & Opportunity (Dec. 3, 2015). www.aei.org/publication/opportunity-responsibility-and-security/ [15085]
- **Truth, Racial Healing & Transformation Initiative.** Published by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation (January 28, 2016). www.wkkf.org/news-and-media/article/2016/01/wkkf-leads-broad-coalition-to-launch-trht [15092]
- **Black Lives Matter: The Schott 50 State Report on Public Education and Black Males.** Published by the Schott Foundation for Public Education. blackboysreport.org/# [15093]
- **Race and Economic Jeopardy For All: A Framing Paper for Defeating Dog Whistle Politics.** Written by Ian Haney Lopez. Prepared for the AFL-CIO (January 2016). [15094]
- **State of Hispanic America: Working Toward a More Secure Future.** Written by Samantha Vargas Poppe. Published by the National Council of La Raza (January 2016). publications.nclr.org/ [15105]

Civil Rights History

- **Our Voices Our Democracy: Victories Since Citizens United and the Road Ahead Empowering Voters Over Wealthy Special Interests.** Written and edited by the staff of the Center for Media and Democracy, Common Cause, Demos, Every Voice, People For the American Way, Public Citizen, ReThink Media, and U.S. PIRG (February 2016). www.demos.org [15102]

Economic/Community Development

- **Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City.** Written by Matthew Desmond. Published by Crown Publishing Group (March 1, 2016). [15090]
- **Retirement Inequality Chartbook: How the 401(k) Revolution Created a Few Big Winners and Many Losers.** Written by Natalie Sabadish and Monique Morrissey. Published by the Economic Policy Institute (September 6, 2013). www.epi.org/publication/retirement-inequality-chartbook/ [15096]
- **Designing Public Financing Systems to Advance Equity and Independent Political Power.** Published by Demos (February 5, 2016). www.demos.org/ [15101]
- **Automatic Voter Registration: Finding America's Missing Voters.** Written by Liz Kennedy, Lew Daly, & Brenda Wright. Published by Demos (January 20, 2016). www.demos.org [15104]

Education

- **Discretion and Disproportionality: Explaining the Underrepresentation of High-Achieving Students of Color in Gifted Programs.** Written by Jason A. Grissom and Christopher Redding. Published by AERA Open (January 2016). ero.sagepub.com/content/spero/2/1/2332858415622175.full.pdf [15083]
- **Charters Without Borders: Using Inter-district Charter Schools as a Tool for Regional School Integration.** Written by Halley Potter. Published by The Century Foundation (September 2015). apps.tcf.org/charters-without-borders [15087]
- **How Racially Diverse Schools and Classrooms Can Benefit All Students.** Written by Amy Stuart Wells, Lauren Fox, and Diana Cordova-Cobo. Published by The Century Foundation (February 9, 2016). www.tcf.org [15107]
- **A New Wave of School Integration: Districts and Charters Pursuing Socioeconomic Diversity.** Written by Halley Potter and Kimberly Quick, with Elizabeth Davies. Published by The Century Foundation (February 9, 2016). www.tcf.org [15108]

Employment/Labor/Jobs Policy

- **Why Fair Job Scheduling for Low-Wage Workers Is a Racial Justice Issue.** Written by Liz Ben-Ishai. Published by *In These Times* (January 19, 2016). www.inthesetimes.com [15082]

Families/Children

- **Together from the Start: Expanding Early Childhood Investments for Middle-Class and Low-Income Families.** Written by Halley Potter and Julie Kashen. Published by The Century Foundation (October 2015). apps.tcf.org/together-from-the-start [15086]
- **Research Shows Housing Vouchers Reduce Hardship and Provide Platform for Long-Term Gains Among Children.** Written by Will Fischer. Published by Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (October 2015). www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/3-10-14hous.pdf [15088]

- **Point of Entry The Preschool-to-Prison Pipeline.** Written by Maryam Adamu and Lauren Hogan. Published by Center for American Progress (October 2015). cdn.americanprogress.org [15089]

- **The Raising of America: Early Childhood and the Future of Our Nation** Produced by California Newsreel with Vital Pictures. (2015). www.raisingofamerica.org [15095]

Food/Nutrition/Hunger

- **2016 National Anti-Hunger Policy Conference.** Co-sponsored by the Food Research and Action Center and Feeding America. Held February 28th-March 1, 2016. www.antihungerpolicyconference.org/ [15097]

Housing

- **Practical Steps to End Poverty for Families in the Housing Choice Voucher Program.** Published by the Greater New Orleans Fair Housing Action Center (January 2016). www.gnofairhousing.org [15081]
- **How Zoning Restrictions Make Segregation Worse.** Written by Richard Florida. Published by City Lab (January 4, 2016). www.citylab.com/housing/ [15084]
- **Redefining Revitalization: An Analysis of Community Revitalization in Texas' Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program.** Written by Megan Randall. Published by *Texas Architecture* (January 2016). soa.utexas.edu/life-work/publications [15091]
- **Public and Indian Housing Mobility Convening.** Held by the U.S. Dep't of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C. (January 2016). portal.hud.gov [15098]
- **Housing Voucher Mobility in Cuyahoga County.** Written by Lenore Healy & Michael Lepley. Published by the Housing Research & Advocacy Center (February 2016). www.thehousingcenter.org/ [15099]

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