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The Challenge of Inequality

Justin Steil

Economic inequality and mobility are increasingly recognized as defining issues for America's future. Between 2009 and 2012, 95% of all national income gains went to the very top 1% of earners. Extreme concentrations of income and wealth pose fundamental challenges to America's ideals of democracy and equal opportunity. Indeed, President Obama remarked in December that "increasing inequality . . . challenges the very essence of who we are as a people." (Obama 2013) Evoking Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry Belafonte, New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio focused his inaugural remarks on the crisis of inequality faced by the city, resolving that he would not let inequality "define our future." (de Blasio 2014)

What do we actually know about the dynamics of income inequality over time? And what can be done about it? Recent economics research by some of

our nation's leading scholars offers important insights into these profound challenges now facing American society. This article reviews some of this recent scholarship, including studies from scholars affiliated with the Economic Disparities research cluster of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at U.C. Berkeley, on accelerating economic inequality, the stalled rate of economic mobility, and the shrinking of the middle class. It also describes several policy recommendations that emerge from this research to address either rising income inequality or rising poverty rates, including raising the minimum wage, enhancing the Earned Income Tax Credit, taxing more progressively, extending investments in education, and addressing residential segregation.

Accelerating Inequality

The share of the national income received by the top 1% of residents in the United States has more than doubled over the last 30 years, rising from 9% of the total in 1976 to more than 22.5% (including capital gains) in 2012. (Alvaredo et al. 2014) The average annual income for the top 1% of households in 2012 was about \$1.3 million, as compared to the median household income of \$51,371. (Alvaredo et al. 2014) The increasing share of income going to the top 1% of earners is not limited only to states that are centers of banking and finance

(such as New York and Connecticut, where average incomes of the top 1% in 2011 were roughly 40 times those of the bottom 99%), but extends to every state in the nation. (Sommeiller & Price 2014)

The recent recession has only exacerbated this inequality because its effects were not evenly distributed. In terms of unemployment rates, the recession affected men more than women, African Americans and Latinos more than whites, and younger workers more than older workers. The recession's impact on unemployment for black men was almost double that for white men and the impact for black women was almost triple that for white women. (Hoynes, Miller & Schaller 2012) Overall, declining workforce participation rates have added a significant obstacle in the path of working- and

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middle-class families' efforts to move further up the economic ladder and have pushed many families into poverty. These challenges are reflected, for example, in an increase in the poverty rate from 12.5% in 2007 to 15.9% in 2012. More than 1 in 5 children currently live in poverty.

Stalled Economic Mobility

The growing economic inequality that the recession accentuated is of particular concern because that growing inequality has the effect of pulling the rungs on the ladder of class advancement farther apart, potentially affecting economic mobility. It is a long-standing pillar of faith in the United States that regardless of where one starts out, one has the opportunity to do better than one's parents. Yet recent research by Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline & Emmanuel Saez (2014) finds that how much children are able to earn as adults is strongly correlated with how much their parents earned. While there is indeed still some mobility across classes, the majority of children retain an economic status similar to that of their parents—more than 60% of those children who grew up in families with incomes in the top fifth of income

earners remain in the top two-fifths, while more than 60% of those children who grew up in families with incomes in the bottom fifth remain in the bottom two-fifths (Chetty et al. 2014).

One of the most surprising findings in this research is that intergenerational mobility varies substantially by metropolitan region. The probability that a child from the bottom fifth will end up in the top fifth of income earners is only 4.4% in Charlotte but nearly three times higher in San Jose—12.9%. (Chetty et al. 2014) A child whose parents' earnings were in the 20th percentile ends up, on average, in the 45th

The middle class is shrinking.

percentile in Salt Lake City, but only the 35th percentile in Indianapolis. (Chetty et al. 2014) In short, the geographic location where one grows up matters significantly for where one ends up economically as an adult.

A Growing Economy but a Shrinking Middle Class

At the same time as inequality is increasing and mobility seems stagnant, the middle class is shrinking. Between 1990 and 2012, the proportion of households with incomes between \$40,000 and \$100,000 (in 2012 constant dollars) fell from 43% to 39%, while the proportion of households with incomes less than \$40,000 (in 2012 constant dollars) increased from 35% to 39%. The middle class is increasingly being pushed toward poverty. But it's not because the U.S. economy has failed to grow.

During the three decades following the Second World War, the United States witnessed rapid upward mobility because productivity and wages grew together and gains were relatively evenly distributed over the income scale. Since the 1980s, however, pro-

ductivity has continued to grow (increasing by 78% between 1980 and 2009) yet median wages have stagnated. (Levy & Kochan 2012) In the 30 years between 1982 and 2012, the median household income increased only \$5,289, from \$46,082 to \$51,371 (in 2012 constant dollars). Where, then, did the economic gains from increased productivity go? A growing share went to the top 1%.

From 1993 to 2012, the incomes of the top 1% grew by 86%, while the incomes of the remaining 99% grew by just 6.6% (an annual growth rate of only 0.34%). (Saez 2013) The top 1% captured over two-thirds of the overall income growth between 1993 and 2012. (Saez 2013) This disparity has only grown since the recession. Looking just at the time period since the economic recovery began in 2009, fully 95% of all of the national income gains went to the top 1%. (Saez 2013)

Is Inequality Inevitable?

Some suggest that this widening gulf between the wealthiest few and the rest is inevitable (e.g., Cowen 2013). Broad historical and international trends suggest, however, that we have the capacity to reduce income inequality and increase economic mobility. First, incomes in the United States were much more equal from the 1940s through the 1970s, when the top 1% of earners took home roughly 9% of national income and the economy grew at a rapid pace. (Alvaredo et al. 2013) Indeed, the significant income gains of the immediate post-war period were generally equally shared across classes. (Alvaredo et al. 2013) Second, the fact that many other industrialized countries have not experienced the same rapid increase in inequality yet have continued to grow economically at a similar pace suggests that national policies can make a difference. (Alvaredo et al. 2013) Finally, the findings with regard to the wide gaps in economic mobility across metropolitan regions suggest that local poli-

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Mindful of Inequality?

Richard Wilkinson & Kate Pickett

The naïve view of inequality is that it only matters if it makes the poor poorer, or if it is unfair. But the truth is that we have deep-seated psychological responses to the levels of inequality in society. Our tendency to equate outward wealth with inner worth means that inequality colors our social perception. It invokes deep psychological responses – feelings of dominance and subordination, superiority and inferiority – and affects the way we see and treat each other.

Our extraordinary sensitivity to being regarded as inferior is only too easily demonstrated. Indian children from different castes may do almost equally well in pen-and-paper tests when they don't know each other's caste. (Hoff & Pandey 2006) But the lower-caste children do much less well as soon as their status is known. Even the most subtle reminder that someone belongs to a social class, ethnic group or gender which is stereotypically regarded as inferior is enough to reduce performance. (Steele & Aronson 1995)

A few years ago, we published evidence that major and minor mental illnesses are three times as common in less equally developed countries as in

the more equal ones. (Pickett, James & Wilkinson 2006) An American is likely to know three times as many people with depression or anxiety problems as someone in Japan or Germany. The differences are not a matter of awareness, definitions or access to treatment. To compare mental illness rates internationally, World Health Organization surveys asked people in each country about their mood, tiredness, agitation, concentra-

Inequality affects the way we see and treat each other.

tion, sleeping patterns, self-confidence and so on, which have been found to be good indicators of mental illness.

More recent studies have found the same pattern. One, looking at the 50 U.S. states, found that after taking account of age, income and educational differences, depression is more common in states with more income inequality. Another study, which combined data from over 100 surveys in 26 countries, found that schizophrenia is around three times as common in more unequal than in less unequal societies.

Mental Disorders

So what is happening? In an important research paper, Sheri Johnson, a psychologist at Berkeley, and her colleagues have reviewed a vast body of evidence from biological, behavioral and self-reported accounts, suggesting that a wide range of mental disorders may originate in a “dominance behavioral system.” (Johnson, Leedom & Muhtadie 2012) Part of our evolved psychological make-up and almost universal in mammals, it is a system for recognizing and respond-

ing to social ranking systems – to hierarchy, power and subordination. Brain imaging studies suggest that there are particular areas of the brain and neural mechanisms dedicated to processing social rank. (Zink et al. 2008)

Johnson suggests that conditions such as mania and narcissism are related to inflated perceptions of, or striving for, status and dominance. In contrast, anxiety and depression seem to involve responses to, or attempts to avoid, subordination. Conditions like antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy, which involve egocentrism and lack of empathy, are probably also features of a strong social dominance drive. Bipolar disorder may involve oscillations between striving for status and dominance and feelings of defeat and inferiority.

If these conditions are related to dominance and subordination, you might think it suggests only that things like narcissism would be more com-

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Pete Seeger

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to **Pete Seeger**, who passed away in January at age 94. Those of us (all our readers?) who were familiar with (were lucky enough to see/hear him in person) and influenced by/even participated with him in his creative and passionate integration of music and social justice will miss him greatly. He focused on labor rights, the environment, inequality, peace – and of course racial justice. As the *SF Chronicle* put it, “he adapted the old spiritual ‘We Shall Overcome’ to become the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement.”

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mon at the top of the social hierarchy, and others, like depression, at the bottom. But while depression is much more common lower down the social ladder, it exists at all levels in society: Few are immune to feelings of defeat or failure. Similarly, people can be narcissistic or strive for dominance at

any level in the hierarchy, even though psychologist Paul Piff has shown that higher status is associated with more unethical and narcissistic behavior. (Piff et al. 2012) He found that drivers of more expensive cars were less likely to give way to pedestrians or to other cars; higher-status people were also more likely to help themselves to candies they had been told were in-

tended for children. They also had a greater sense of entitlement and were less generous.

Dominance and Subordination

One of the important effects of bigger income differences between rich and poor is to intensify issues of dominance and subordination, superiority and inferiority. Although there is always some connection between people's income and the social class they feel they belong to, the match between the two is closer in societies with bigger income differences between rich and poor. (Andersen & Curtis 2012)

A recent study of 34,000 people in 31 countries found that, in countries with bigger income differences, status anxiety was more common at all levels in the social hierarchy. (Layte & Whelan 2013) Another international study found that self-enhancement or self-aggrandisement—presenting an inflated view of yourself—was more common in more unequal societies. (Loughnan et al. 2011) That may be why 93% of American students thought they were more skilful drivers than average, while only 69% of Swedes did. (Svenson 1981) We had predicted several years earlier that, because greater inequality increases status insecurity and competition, people in more unequal societies would feel they couldn't afford to be modest about their achievements and abilities. (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010)

The recorded increases in narcissism rates in the USA (as measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory) coincide with widening income differences. (Twenge et al. 2008) Bigger material differences create bigger social distances. Feelings of superiority and inferiority increase, status becomes an essential part of how we judge each other, and we all become more neurotic about impression management and how we are seen.

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America's Growing Inequality

The Impact of Poverty and Race

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Foreword by Congressman Luis V. Gutiérrez

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We are living in a truly extraordinary moment in our history, plagued with economic inequality and rampant injustices. *America's Growing Inequality: The Impact of Poverty and Race* is an essential tool to educate, inspire, and energize people to fight for necessary change.

— **Richard L. Trumka, President, AFL-CIO**

ABOUT THE BOOK

America's Growing Inequality is a compilation of the best and still-most-relevant articles published over the past few years in *Poverty & Race*, the bimonthly publication of the Poverty & Race Research Action Council. This is our fourth collection in a series, featuring some of the most prominent scholars and activists writing in the field. The chapters are organized into four sections: Race & Poverty: The Structural Underpinnings; Deconstructing Poverty and Racial Inequities; Re(emergent) Issues; and Civil Rights History.

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cies can also influence access to opportunity. (Chetty et al. 2014)

Recent economic research suggests that it is possible to reduce inequality and address poverty without significantly slowing economic growth by, among other things, increasing the minimum wage, enhancing the Earned Income Tax Credit, taxing more progressively, investing in education, and addressing segregation.

Minimum Wages

One approach to reducing income inequality is to raise wages for those workers at the bottom of the distribution, the nearly 4 million workers earning the minimum wage or below. (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011) Congress and the White House are currently debating an increase in the federal minimum wage, but there is uncertainty about the impact any increase will have on employment rates, especially for the low-wage workers the increase is meant to help.

The primary argument against the minimum-wage increase is that it may lead to losses in low-wage jobs because: 1) higher wages will raise the cost to employers of producing goods and services and consumers will then reduce their consumption as prices rise; and 2) employers forced to pay higher wages will have more incentives to substitute more efficient technologies for low-wage workers. Any effects on employment rates are likely to fall disproportionately on those groups already hardest hit by the decline in employment during the recession, such as black low-wage workers. At the same time, however, a higher minimum wage shifts more income to low-wage workers who generally spend a greater proportion of their earnings than higher-wage workers, potentially leading to increased demand for goods and services that could boost employment.

The most accurate way to predict what will happen if the minimum wage is increased in the future is to examine

what has actually happened when minimum wages have been increased in the past. Sylvia Allegretto, Arindrajit Dube, Michael Reich, and Ben Zipperer (2013) have studied the effect of state minimum wage increases on the earnings and employment rates of two groups of low-wage workers—teenagers, who comprise more than one-quarter of all workers earning within 10% of the minimum wage, and workers in the restaurant industry, which is the largest employer of minimum-wage workers in the nation.

The findings suggest that many existing studies overestimate the negative impact of minimum wage increases on employment levels because they do not sufficiently take into account the economic and political differences between states with relatively

Growing income inequality is contributing to increasing levels of segregation by income.

high versus low minimum wages. Allegretto et al. (2013) controlled for these differences by comparing the effects of a minimum wage increase across neighboring counties where one county experienced an increase in the minimum wage while the neighboring county did not.

Allegretto et al. (2013) found no statistically significant evidence that an increase in the minimum wage reduced the growth of employment. What higher minimum wages did do was significantly lift the earnings of the teenagers and of restaurant workers studied. Higher minimum wages also reduced the high rates of employee turnover that are pervasive in low-wage industries, which is beneficial news for employers who waste significant resources in searching for and training new employees.

The research cannot rule out some effects on employment rates from increasing the minimum wage, even if their magnitude is significantly less than has traditionally been estimated.

Increases in the minimum wage also do not significantly address the declining fortunes of the middle class, but higher wages for the lowest-paid workers have the potential to lift nearly 1 million people out of poverty and add approximately \$2 billion to the nation's overall real income. (Congressional Budget Office 2014)

The Earned Income Tax Credit

The largest federal program currently aimed at raising the incomes of working poor families in the United States is the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). Almost 1 out of 5 tax filers in the U.S. receive the EITC, resulting in an average credit of \$2,194 in 2010. In recent years its impact on families has lifted roughly 4.7 million children above the poverty line annually.

Extensive research has shown that the EITC provides critical support to families who are working but still poor and also that it significantly increases labor force participation for single parents (e.g., Eissa & Hoynes 2006). The additional income it provides to working families has been correlated with improvements in maternal and infant health (Hoynes, Miller & Simon 2012) and with improvements in cognitive achievement in children. (Dahl & Lochner 2012)

The significance of the EITC is highlighted by the fact that at least 26 states have adopted their own earned income tax credit programs to add state benefits to the federal credit. The boost that these state programs provide for low-income families matters for economic mobility. Chetty et al. (2014) find larger earned income tax credits provided by states are associated with higher levels of upward mobility at the metropolitan level.

Recent research on participation in the EITC program during times of economic hardship, however, suggests that it may not serve as an

effective safety net for some groups. (Bitler, Hoynes & Kuka 2014) Taking advantage of the differences among states in both the timing and severity of recent economic downturns, Bitler, Hoynes & Kuka (2014) find that the EITC significantly reduces the effect of an increase in unemployment on the increase in the poverty rate for two-parent households but has only minimal effects for single-parent households.

Together, this research suggests that the EITC is a critical program for raising the incomes of working families and especially for encouraging labor force participation by single-parent households, but that it could do more to provide an effective safety net for those single-parent households that experience employment losses during recessions.

Top Tax Rates

The primary factor contributing to growing income inequality is the consistently rising share of income increases that go to the very top 1% of earners. Alvaredo et al. (2013) have noted that as the share of income going to the top 1% of earners has increased, the top income tax rates have declined. The federal income tax rates for the very highest earners fell from 70% or greater from 1936 to 1981 to 39.6% today for the top income category (i.e., an individual filer making more than \$406,751). It is commonly argued that lower tax rates lead to economic growth, based on the idea that lower levels of taxation for the highest earners spur more work and greater entrepreneurship (e.g., Feldstein 1995; see also Mankiw 2013). But Alvaredo and his co-authors (2013) find no correlation between cuts in the top tax rates and growth in real per capita GDP. Between the late 1970s and the beginning of the recession, OECD countries such as the U.S. or the U.K. that cut top tax rates dramatically have not grown significantly faster than countries that did not reduce their top tax rate, such as Germany or Denmark.

PRRAC Update

• We are pleased to welcome five new members of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board, appointed at our December Board of Directors meeting: **Raphael Bostic**, Univ. of Southern California Sol Price School of Public Policy; **Regina Deil-Amen**, The Univ. of Arizona College of Education; **Rucker C. Johnson**, Univ. of California-Berkeley Goldman School of Public Policy; **Jerry Kang**, UCLA School of Law; and **Patrick Sharkey**, New York Univ. Dept. of Sociology. We look

forward to new and continued collaboration in the months and years to come!

• PRRAC Board member **Ted Shaw** has been appointed Julius Chambers Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Civil Rights at the Univ. of North Carolina Law School. A former Director-Counsel at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Shaw is currently Professor of Professional Practice at Columbia Law School.

Indeed, Alvaredo et al. (2013) suggest that lower top tax rates did not make top income earners more productive, but instead increased their incentives to bargain for higher compensation (see also Stiglitz 2012). And American chief executives have reaped salaries that are multiples higher than

Intergenerational mobility varies substantially by metropolitan region.

their counterparts at companies in similar sectors and of comparable sizes in continental Europe, where top tax rates have remained largely unchanged. Piketty, Saez & Stantcheva (2011) suggest accordingly that the top tax rate could be higher, providing more resources for investment in education and other priorities, without negatively affecting economic growth or productivity.

Investments in Education

Research on numerous fronts reinforces established findings regarding the significance of educational quality for future economic opportunity and

mobility. Recent studies by Rucker Johnson (2010) confirm that differences in early education and school quality are among the most important components of the persistence in income disparities across generations. Johnson (2012) has also found that early childhood educational interventions, such as Head Start, have significant beneficial effects on educational attainment and earnings. The positive effects of these interventions are magnified when spending on those programs is higher and when children subsequently attend schools with higher per-pupil spending during their adolescent years. (Johnson 2012)

These findings are supported by those of Chetty et al. (2014) showing that areas with higher mean test scores in math and English from grades 3-8 (after controlling for income levels) and lower high-school dropout rates were highly correlated with economic mobility. The findings regarding school quality make sense, especially because differences in intergenerational mobility appear to emerge early in life, well before children actually enter the labor market. The findings are also consistent with earlier studies by Chetty and others that have found that kindergarten test scores are highly correlated with college atten-

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dance, homeownership, retirement savings, and later earnings (Chetty et al. 2011; see also Card & Krueger 1992). In short, investments in education beginning in early childhood can increase economic mobility, contribute to increased productivity, and decrease economic inequality.

Residential Segregation

In analyzing the economic mobility data, Chetty et al. (2014) found that higher levels of racial residential segregation within a metropolitan region were strongly correlated with significantly reduced levels of intergenerational upward mobility for all residents of that zone. Segregation by income, particularly the isolation of low-income households, was also correlated with significantly reduced levels of upward mobility. These findings are especially worri-

These policies could be enacted if there is the political will.

some, given that growing income inequality is contributing to increasing levels of segregation by income (see Reardon & Bischoff 2011) and the continuing concentration of poverty. (Jargowsky 2013)

It is not the average income of commuting zones that matter—children in the commuting zones with the lowest mean incomes (around \$21,900) reach the same percentile of the national income distribution at the same rate as those in the commuting zones with the highest incomes (around \$47,600). What matters for the mobility of all residents of the metropolitan region is the level of economic and racial segregation within that region. Building on the insight that enduring neighborhood inequalities create a “durable spatial logic that mediates social life” (Sampson 2012), these findings sug-

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gest that residential segregation is a crucial mechanism in the reproduction of inequality (see Pattillo-McCoy 1999; Sharkey 2013).

These findings regarding the correlation between segregation and lack of economic mobility highlight the significance of local and national efforts to support fair housing enforcement, to invest in fostering greater opportunity in low-income neighborhoods, and to provide more pathways for housing mobility.

Conclusion

After reaching a high point in 1928 when the top 1% received 23% of national income, income inequality declined from the 1930s until the 1970s while the economy grew. Through this period of economic growth, there was support for government investment in programs like the New Deal and the G.I. Bill that were designed to create a safety net and to invest in educational and residential opportuni-

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to workers. Nevertheless, each of these policies, if carefully implemented, has the potential to lift working households out of poverty, support greater economic mobility, or reduce the growth of income inequality. The inter-relatedness of these issues suggests that a strategy of focusing on both poverty and inequality is important, recognizing that, although related, poverty and inequality are not the same. To understand the impacts of such policies

Extreme concentrations of income and wealth challenge America's ideals of democracy and equal opportunity.

going forward requires disaggregating information on different populations and geographic areas, especially because the existing research has identified wide variations among each.

All of these policies could be enacted at local, state and federal levels—if there is the political will. On the one hand, the increasing concentration of income at the top of the income scale creates the possibility that inequality becomes ever harder to challenge, as that income can be used to influence the perception of its fairness through the media, and efforts to address it, through lobbying. (Alvaredo et al. 2013) On the other hand, the widening gulf between the top 1% and the remaining 99% creates momentum for creative policies that can bring together broad constituencies to address the structures that continue to pull us apart. □

ties (at least for whites—see e.g. Katznelson 2005).

Income inequality has now reached levels not seen since the 1920s. Recent research suggests that policies such as investments in education, more progressive taxation, and efforts to address the racially and economically segregated structure of U.S. metropolitan areas could decrease inequality and increase economic mobility. Higher minimum wages and enhanced EITC, although addressing poverty, most di-

rectly also have the potential to affect inequality and mobility.

Policymakers must be attentive to the impacts universal approaches such as these can have on differently situated groups that could have the unintended impact of exacerbating existing disparities. Particularly low-wage workers could be hurt by a slight increase in minimum wages that could cause some reductions in employment, the reduction of some employment benefits, or additional costs passed on

Don't forget to send us items for our Resources Section.

The Imprint of Status and Class

With rising inequality strengthening all the ways in which status and class imprint themselves on us from early childhood onwards, we should not be surprised by the evidence that social mobility has slowed and equality of opportunity for children has become a more distant dream. (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010; Krueger 2012) Nor should we be surprised that all the problems more common lower down the social ladder—including violence, poor health, bullying, incarceration, low math and literacy scores, teenage births and lower levels of child well-being—all become anything from twice to ten times as common in more unequal countries. (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010) The USA pays a high price for being one of the most unequal of the rich developed societies.

Humans have lived in every kind of society, from the most egalitarian hunter-gatherer bands of our pre-history (described by Christopher Boehm in his recent book *Moral Origins*), to the most brutal tyrannies. We instinctively know how to be caring and sharing, creating social bonds of friendship, mutuality and cooperation. We also know how to do status competition, how to be snobs, looking up to superiors and down on inferiors, and how to talk ourselves up. We use these alternative social strategies almost every day of our lives, but inequality shifts the balance between them. A study covering 26 European countries found that people in more unequal countries were less willing to take action to help others—whether the sick, elderly, disabled or others in the community. (Paskov & Dewilde 2012)

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that we become less nice people in more unequal societies. One of the better-known costs of inequality is that people withdraw from community life and are less likely to feel that they can trust others. This is partly a reflection of the way status anxiety makes us all

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more worried about how we are valued by others. But good social relationships are key to human well-being. Study after study shows that they are highly protective of health (Holt-Lunstad, Smith & Layton 2010) and essential to happiness. (Layard 2005;

Dunn, Akin & Norton 2008) And now that we can compare robust data for different countries, we are reminded of what we once knew intuitively—that inequality is divisive and socially corrosive. □

Transit-based Opportunity—Lessons from Dayton

Matthew Martin

The linkages between neighborhoods and academic achievement, health, and life outcomes have been thoroughly documented in research literature in recent decades.¹ Most recently, this work has even demonstrated that life expectancy can be predicted based on zip code,² and a growing body of research has begun to connect neighborhoods to infant mortality rates.³ Neighborhoods matter.

This reality creates urgent needs for families lacking viable options to move out of distressed neighborhoods, and for those whose long-standing connections to severely marginalized places give them reason to want to stay and engage in their revitalization. Basic needs such as the ability to afford to remain in one's home, and to feed one's children, are among those urgencies. People live in places with scarce resources for different reasons, including affordability and social ties. Regardless of motivations, when communities lack jobs, well-performing schools, healthful food sources and sound medical facilities, residents are forced to look elsewhere for them, or go without. Because of high poverty and limited automobile access for many in distressed communities, public transit is a critical need and a bridge to get to work, school, the grocery store and the doctor's office.

Where opportunity structures are failing, well-designed transportation systems thus provide a critical linkage between residents of distressed communities and areas in the region where opportunities and amenities are more robust. The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity of Ohio State University has thus stressed throughout its first decade of Opportunity Communities work that lives can be improved *both* by enhancing the

ability of low-income families to move into areas that enjoy richer opportunity assets, and by improving linkages to such assets while families remain connected to neighborhoods they seek to help improve.

The Dayton Story

A recent story from Dayton, Ohio underscores the importance of transportation equity, and sheds light on the power of public transit to link marginalized communities to opportunities throughout a region with differentially located assets. Beginning in March 2010, the Greater Dayton Regional Transit Authority (GDRTA) proposed a 1.5-mile extension of service, including the construction of six bus stops just inside the suburban bor-

Life expectancy can be predicted based on zip code.

ders of the City of Beavercreek. From a transportation planning perspective, the additions made perfect sense: They would extend bus service from West Dayton, where poverty and unemployment rates were high, past the existing terminus at Wright State University, across I-675, into an area of rich commercial activity, including the popular Fairfield Commons Mall, where transit riders, employees of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, as well as students and employees of Wright State University, could access employment and shopping opportunities, as well as medical and educational offices.

But the GDRTA knew that sensible ideas sometimes meet with resistance, so it took steps to assuage any concerns with its proposal. To move forward, the GDRTA needed the Beavercreek City Council to approve its application for the necessary permits; it

worked with the city's Public Service Division to ensure that all aspects of their proposal conformed to the city's Code. By November 2010, after several revisions reduced the proposed stops from six to three, Beavercreek's Public Services Director was satisfied that the application was ready to be forwarded to the City Council.

Opposition from Beavercreek

The Beavercreek City Council held its first public hearing on the GDRTA's plan in February 2011, at which Council members were informed that the application satisfied all design criteria for public transit stops included in the city Code. Beavercreek City staff gave an overview of the proposal, and the Director of GDRTA explained the agency's interest in enhancing transit riders' access to jobs, educational resources and other services that the new stops would enable. Only three members of the public spoke at the hearing, all in support. Despite this, some Council members expressed reservations, citing safety issues, negative feedback received from some of Beavercreek's residents, and questions about the benefits to the City. The matter was tabled for further deliberation.

Two more hearings followed over the next five weeks, during which Beavercreek Council members asked the GDRTA to satisfy 19 additional design standards, several well beyond the city's Code and never before demanded of any applicant. Things like: the installation of police call boxes at each of the stops; video surveillance cameras with real-time feed to the local police station; billing the GDRTA for police services; and a \$150,000 deposit from the transit authority for unanticipated costs. The GDRTA agreed to some of the Council's re-

(Please turn to page 12)

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(DAYTON: Cont. from page 11)

quests in order to comply with all of the standards in the City's existing Code, but it balked at others, pointing out that many of the demands were highly unusual and cost-prohibitive. Over time, the opposition of some of Beaver Creek's residents had become clearer, suggesting that the matter had turned into a NIMBY scenario, with residents expressing fears about litter and public safety. When the matter was finally called, the City Council voted unanimously against the bus line extension.

FHWA Intervention

Following the decision, a local grassroots community organization known as Leaders for Equality and Action in Dayton (LEAD) partnered with Advocates for Basic Legal Equality, Inc. (ABLE) to file a complaint with the Federal Highway Administration's (FHWA) Office of Civil Rights. The complaint alleged that Beaver Creek's decision violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Department of Transportation regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race in federally-assisted programs, and would have a disparate impact on Dayton's communities of color. The Kirwan Institute supported the complaint with maps and demographic analysis that substantiated the disparate impact claim.

The FHWA launched an investigation, interviewing Beaver Creek staff and City Council members, along with representatives of other local transportation agencies. An open forum was held, during which attendees took a bus tour and walked the hazardous overpass that bridged the freeway to allow passage from the end of the existing bus route into Beaver Creek. Supplemental site investigations and data analysis, along with additional stakeholder engagement, played an added part.

In June of 2013, the FHWA issued its decision, finding as a preliminary matter that it had jurisdiction to con-

sider the case. On the merits, the agency agreed that Beaver Creek's decision had a disparate impact on African-American transit users, which placed in jeopardy millions of dollars in federal funding if the city refused to change course and allow construction of the stops to commence. In October 2013, the Beaver Creek City Council reluctantly reconsidered and voted to approve the GDRTA's application, 5-2. Following two months of collaboration between GDRTA and the City's public service division, transit service along Pentagon Boulevard began in January 2014.

Avoiding litigation and the potential loss of federal funds plainly played a role in the outcome of this story, and

Communities and families can be supported by creative transit-based policy.

should be considered as a strategy by other communities with similar concerns. The case also highlights the importance of continued efforts to preserve the disparate impact standard. The *Mount Holly* housing bias case, recently settled, is a key example of how disparate impact claims are under attack. The Obama Administration and federal agencies must continue to push back, as without that standard, challenges like this would have no prospect of success. Additionally, initiatives like the HUD Sustainable Communities Program represent a more proactive approach to coordinating housing and transportation policy in a way that increases access to opportunity for all communities.

As we close out the year celebrating the 50th anniversaries of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter From Birmingham Jail" and the March on Washington, as well as the 150th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the nation has paused to recognize both the strides we have made toward racial equality and the distance yet to be traversed. Hostility to a plan that would extend a bus route origi-

nating in a neighborhood that is 70% Black to one that is 75% White,⁴ shows us that more remains to be done to attain Dr. King's dream.

A Model for Other Regions

The dispute that played out between Dayton and Beaver Creek provides a model for other regions. Transportation can provide a critical link to opportunity, as can housing mobility and holistic place-based investments. While our communities work to improve conditions that impede opportunity and contribute to unwanted gaps in life outcomes, communities and families can be supported by creative transit-based policy, connecting people and communities to the opportunities they need in order to thrive.

¹ Turner, Margery Austin. "Why Housing Mobility? The Research Evidence Today" *Poverty & Race*, Jan./Feb. 2005.

² Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. "Short Distances to Large Disparities in Health" - Commission to Build a Healthier America, 2013.

³ Sue C. Grady, "Racial disparities in low birthweight and the contribution of residential segregation: A multilevel analysis" - *Science & Medicine*, Vol. 63, Issue 12, Dec. 2006, pp. 3013-3029, ISSN 0277-9536.

⁴ Based on 2011 American Community Survey estimates for the census tracts surrounding each end of GDRTA bus route 01. □

New on PRRAC's
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Integrated Pre-K education:

We joined members of the National Coalition on School Diversity in detailed comments on the Department of Education's new \$250M early education initiative - urging that the new program guidelines try to avoid separating low-income children of color from their middle-class peers. We also cited recent research that children in kindergarten and pre-K are the most segregated age group in America, by race, ethnicity and income.

Resources

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Race/Racism

- **Genetics and the Unsettled Past: The Collision of DNA, Race, and History**, eds. Keith Wailoo, Alondra Nelson & Catherine Lee (370 pp., 2012, \$29.95), has been published by Rutgers Univ. Press [14498]
- "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political View of the Past," by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, is a highly-praised 30-page article from the March 2005 *Journal of American History*. Available at http://www.uvu.edu/sei/docs/the_long_civil_rights_movement.pdf [14525]
- **Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power**, by Junius Williams (408 pp., 2014), has been published by North Atlantic Books [14535]
- "A Valuable Reputation," by Rachel Aviv, in the Feb. 10, 2014 *New Yorker*, provides a fascinating and disturbing account of African-American biologist Tyrone Hayes' work and travails (with the industry, government and media) regarding his research on seriously damaging impacts of the herbicide atrazine -- and the role of race. [14545]
- **Uncommon Vision: The Life and Times of John Howard Griffin** is the film documentary version (by Morgan Atkinson et al.) of Griffin's book, *Black Like Me*, chronicling this White man's 1959 tour of The South disguised as a Black man. His detailed description of the difficulties, insults, maltreatment he experienced was widely circulated, throughout the US and internationally, and is regarded as having an important role in the Civil Rights Movement. DVD available at www.morganatkinson.com [14550]
- **The New Black: LGBT Rights and African-American Communities** is a 2014 release from California Newsreel, news@newsreel.org [14551]
- **Medgar Evers: Mississippi Martyr**, by Michael Vincent Williams (432 pp., 2011, \$34.95), was published by Univ. Arkansas Press [14559]
- **Autobiography of Medgar Evers: A Hero's Life & Legacy Revealed Through His Writings, Letters & Speeches**, by Manning Marable & Myrlie Evers-Williams (331 pp., 2005), was published by Basic Civitas Books [14560]
- **Civil Rights Stories**, eds. Myriam Gilles & Risa Goluboff (2008), has been published by Foundation Press, 877/888-1330 [14563]
- **The Lost Promise of Civil Rights**, by Risa Goluboff (384 pp., 2010, \$22), was published by Harvard Univ. Press (?). [14564]
- **Some of the Lost History of the Civil Rights Movement**, by Robert Rohlifing -- publishing inf. not accessible. [14565]
- **Stokely [Carmichael]: A Life**, by Peniel E. Joseph (424 pp., March 2014), has been published by Basic Civitas Books [14568]
- **Freedom Rider Diary: Smuggled Notes from Parchman Prison**, by Carol Ruth Silver (240 pp., 2014, \$35), has been published by Univ. Miss. Press, 3825 Ridgewood Rd., Jackson, MS 39211. Silver, a lawyer, was later elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. [14569]
- **Negroes and the Gun: The Black Tradition of Arms**, by Nicholas Johnson, a Fordham Univ. Law professor (379 pp., 2014), has been published by Prometheus Books [14576]
- **We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement**, by Akinyele Omowale Umoja (351 pp., 2013), has been published by NYU Press [14577]
- "Moving the Race Conversation Forward, Part 1: How the Media Covers Racism, and Other Barriers to Productive Racial Discourse," from *ColorLines* (35 pp., Jan. 2014), is available at act.colorlines.com/acton/formfd/1069/0073:d-0001 [14583]
- "Moving the Race Conversation Forward, Part 2: Racial Discourse Change in Practice," from *ColorLines* (39 pp., Jan. 2014), is available at act.colorlines.com/acton/attachment/1069/f-0115/1/-/-/-/ [Racial_Discourse_Part_2.PDF](#) [14584]
- **Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class**,

by Ian F. Haney Lopez (304 pp., Jan. 2014), has been published by Oxford Univ. Press [14585]

- **An Honorable Budget for Indian Country: Fiscal Year 2015 Budget Request** (125 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Natl. Congress of American Indians, is available at www.ncai.org/NCAI_2014_Budget_Request.pdf [14604]

- **"Reading Between the Data: The Incomplete Story of Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders,"** by Farah Ahmad & Christian E. Weller (March 4, 2014), is available (no price given) from the Ctr. for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, progress@americanprogress.org [14617]

- **"The Meaning of Race in 21st-Century America"** was held by the Ctr. for American Progress, Feb. 26, 2014. Inf. from progress@americanprogress.org [14610]

Poverty/Welfare

- **"Through a Different Lens: The War on Poverty and a New Vision for the Future"** is a 44-page, Jan. 2014 study from the Family Independence Initiative. Available (no price listed) from the Init. at 1203 Preservation Way, #100, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/452-9341, www.fii.org [14492]

- **What Do We Know About the Intersection of Welfare and Disability Programs?** (2014) is available from MDRC, 475 14th St., #750, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/663-6372 [14612]

- **"Overcoming Barriers to Economic Opportunity in America Today: Renewing the War on Poverty Fifty Years Later,"** the 2014 UDC Law Review Symposium, will take place at the David A. Clarke School of Law, **April 4, 2014**. Among the speakers: Labor Dept. Sec. Thomas E. Perez, PRRAC Bd. member Prof. John C. Brittain, Peter B. Edelman of the Georgetown Law Ctr. on Poverty, Inequality & Public Policy. Inf. from libertelli@udc.edu [14618]

- **"Disrupting the Poverty Cycle"** is an **April 10, 2014** Boston conf., their 2nd biennial such, put on by the Crittenton Women's Union. Inf. from 617/259-2946, xduan@liveworkthrive.org [14554]

Criminal Justice

- **"Invidious Deliberation: The Problem of Congressional Bias in Federal Hate Crime Legislation,"** by Prof. Sara Rankin of Seattle U. School of Law, is forthcoming in the *Rutgers Law J*. She'd be happy to share a hard copy of the most recent version: 206/398-4393, rankins@seattleu.edu [14540]

- ***Shackled and Chained: Mass Incarceration in Capitalist America*,** by Eugene Puryear (2013, ca. 200 pp.), has been published by PSL Publications, 415/821-6171, books@PSLpub.org [14542]

- **"Broadening the Bench: Judicial Nominees and Professional Diversity"** (12 pp., 2014[?]) is available (no price listed) from the Alliance for Justice, 11 Dupont Circle., 2nd fl., Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-6070, www.afj.org [14561]

- **"Communities, Evictions & Criminal Convictions"** (68 pp., 2013) is available from Formerly Incarcerated & Convicted People's Movement, www.FICPMovement.wordpress.com [14607]

- **"Criminal Justice in the 21st Century: Eliminating Racial & Ethnic Disparities in the Criminal Justice System"** was a conference held Oct. 19, 2012 by NYU's Brennan Ctr. for Justice and several other orgs. PRRAC Board member Ted Shaw was among the presenters. A 40-page 2013 publication of the same title, drawn from the conf., is available (no price given) from the Natl. Assn. of Criminal Defense Lawyers, 202/872-8600 [14578]

- **"Access to Justice for Low-Income Litigants in Civil Cases"** is a **March 26, 2014** Webinar put on by the Univ. Wisc. Inst. for Research on Poverty. Inf. from David Chancellor, 608/890-1317, dchancel@ssc.wisc.edu [14616]

Economic/Community Development

- ***A Freedom Budget for All Americans: Recapturing the Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in the Struggle for Economic Justice Today*,** by Paul Le Blanc & Michael D. Yates (303 pp., 2013), has been published by Monthly Review Press. scott@monthlyreview.org [14514]

- ***Detroit: Three Pathways to Revitalization*,** by Lewis D. Solomon (171 pp., 2013), has been published by TransAction Books. [14523]

- **"Voters Support Economic Justice Policies,"** by Anzalone Liszt Grove & The Feldman Group, from American Women, the Natl. Partnership for Women & Families, and the Rockefeller Family Fund (5 pp., Feb. 2014), is available at www.americanwomen.org/research/document/PUBLIC-RELEASE-AW-FEB-5-RELEASE-pdf [14586]

- **"Asset Building and Economic Security in Mississippi,"** by Wilhelmina Leigh & Melissa R. Wells (31 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Jt. Ctr. for Political & Econ. Studies, is available at [www.jointcenter.org/sites/default/files/upload/research/files/Leigh and Wells - Asset Building in MS - 01.29.2014.pdf](http://www.jointcenter.org/sites/default/files/upload/research/files/Leigh%20and%20Wells%20-%20Asset%20Building%20in%20MS%20-%2001.29.2014.pdf) [14592]

- **"Powering Advanced Industries: State By State,"** by Mark Muro, Kenan Fikri & Scott Andes (8 pp., Feb. 2014), from The Brookings Institution is available at www.brookings.edu/~ /media/research/files/papers/2014/02/19-ai/advancedindustriestatebystate.pdf

- **"Is Equitable Development Possible in the 21st Century? Prospects & Possibilities for Washington, DC,"** sponsored by ONE DC, will be held **March 27** at George Washington Univ., DC. Inf. from dmoulden@onedconline.org [14571]

Education

- **"Subprime Learning: Early Education in America Since the Great Recession,"** by Lisa Guernsey, Laura A. Bornfreund, Clare McCann & Conor Williams, is a 25-page Jan. 2014 Policy Paper, available (likely free) from guernsey@newamerica.net [14533]

- **"The Rising Cost of Not Going to College,"** from the Pew Research Ctr. (66 pp., Feb. 2014), is available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2014/02/SDT-higher-ed-FINAL-02-11-2014.pdf [14587]

- **"Early Reading Proficiency in the United States"** (4 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Annie E. Casey Fdn., is available at www.aecf.org/~ media/Pubs/Initiatives/KIDS%20COUNT/E/EarlyReadingProficiency/EarlyReadingProficiency2014.pdf [14588]

- **"STEM Urgency: Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics Education in an Increasingly Unequal and Competitive World,"** by Joseph S. Miller & John B. Horrigan (34 pp., Feb. 2014), from the Jt. Ctr. for Political & Econ. Studies, is available at [www.jointcenter.org/sites/default/files/upload/research/files/STEM Final - 2.5.2014.pdf](http://www.jointcenter.org/sites/default/files/upload/research/files/STEM%20Final%20-%202.5.2014.pdf) [14591]

- **"Expanded Learning Opportunities: Helping Latino Students Achieve Success"** (12 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Natl. Council of La Raza, is available at www.nclr.org/images/uploads/publications/expandedlearningopportunities_no1final.pdf [14593]

- **"Engaged to Achieve: A Community Perspective on How Parents are Engaged in their Children's Education"** (15 pp., Oct. 2013), from the Natl. Urban League's Wash. Bureau, is available at [nulwb.iamempowered.com/sites/nulwb.iamempowered.com/files/Engaged to Achieve Final.pdf](http://nulwb.iamempowered.com/sites/nulwb.iamempowered.com/files/Engaged%20to%20Achieve%20Final.pdf) [14594]

- **"Lead the Transformation of Classrooms, Schools & Communities"** is a Carnegie Fdn. Summit, to be held **March 12-19** in San Francisco. Inf. from Anthony Bryk, [t.bryk=carnegiefoundation.org@mail39.atl111.rsgsv.net](mailto:t.bryk@carnegiefoundation.org@mail39.atl111.rsgsv.net) [14521]

Employment/Labor/Jobs Policy

- ***Getting Back to Full Employment: A Better Bargain for Working People,*** by Dean Baker & Jared Bernstein (116 pp., 2014[?]), has been published by the Ctr. for Econ. & Policy Research, 1611 Conn. Ave. NW, #400, Wash. DC 20009, 202/293-5380 [14575]

- **"The Long-Term Unemployed in the Wake of the Great Recession,"** by Andrew Schaefer (8 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Carsey Inst., is available at <http://carseyinstitute.unh.edu/sites/carseyinstitute.unh.edu/files/publications/IB-Schaefer-Long-Term-Unemployment-web.pdf> [14595]

- **"Monthly Latino Unemployment Report: The Federal Minimum Wage,"** by Alicia Criado (5 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Natl. Council of La Raza, is available at www.nclr.org/images/uploads/publications/EmpReportJan2014.pdf [14596]

- **"Employment: A Human Right"** was a Feb. 5, 2014 event, held at the Rayburn House Office Bldg., featuring Larry Mischel of The Economic Policy Inst., Dean Baker of the Ctr. for Econ. & Policy Research, and John Cavanagh of The Inst. for Policy Studies. Inf. from netfa@ips-dc.org [14528]

Families/Women/Children

- ***Focus:*** The Fall/Winter 2013-14 issue of this periodical put out by the Univ. Wisc. Inst. for Research on Poverty is largely devoted to articles on families. Further inf. from Dawn Duren, duren@ssc.wisc.edu [14526]

- **"Low-Income Working Mothers and State Policy: Investing for a Better Economic Future,"** by Deborah Povich, Brandon Roberts & Mark Mather (16 pp., Feb. 2014), from the Working Poor Families Project, is available at www.workingpoorfamilies.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WPFP_Low-Income-Working-Mothers-Report_021214.pdf [14597]

- **"Child Well-Being: A Framework for Policy and Practice"** was a Feb. 4, 2014 Forum put on by Chapin Hall. Inf. from mvanbree@chapinhall.ccsend.com [14517]

- **"Families and Inclusion,"** sponsored by the Inst. for Education Leadership, will be held **April 8-9** in Cincinnati. Inf. from parishl@iel.org [14570]

Health

- **"Racism-Related Vigilance"** is a term used to describe a person's worries about racism. The Jan. 2014 *American Journal of Public Health* reports that a new study, based on data from the Chicago Community Health Study, documents that such persons are more likely to have high blood pressure. [14567]

- **"Expanding Federal Family and Medical Leave Coverage: Who Benefits from Changes in Eligibility Requirements?"** by Helene Jorgensen & Eileen Applebaum (18 pp., Feb. 2014), from the Ctr. for Econ. & Policy Research, 202/293-5380, is available at www.cepr.net/documents/fmla-eligibility-2014-01.pdf [14598]

- **"What's in the ACA for Asian & Pacific Islander American Small Business Owners?"** is a 1-pager in the Jan. 2013 issue of *American Health Forum*, available at www.apiah.org/resources/resources-database/what's-asian-pacific-islander-american-small-business-owners? [14600]

- **"Overlapping Eligibility and Enrollment: Human Services and Health Programs Under the Affordable Care Act,"** by Stan Dorn, Julia Isaacs, Sarah Minton, Erika Huber, Paul Johnson, Matthew Buettgens & Laura Wheaton (53 pp., Dec. 2013), is available from the Urban Institute at www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/413028-Overlapping-Eligibility-and-Enrollment-Human-Services-and-Health-Programs-Under-the-Affordable-Care-Act.pdf

Homelessness

- **Home Visiting for Homeless Families Demonstration Project** is being carried out in Chicago. Inf. from Mark Valentine, 312/453-1974, mvalentine@ounceofprevention.org [14499]

- **"A Homeless Bill of Rights"** (Jan. 2014) has been written by Prof. Sara Rankin of the Seattle U. School of Law. She is regularly updating it but would be glad to send you a hard copy of the most recent version. 206/398-4393, rankin@seattleu.edu [14539]

- **"The Housing Vaccine for Homeless Families: It's time to do what works"** is a Feb. 13, 2014 blog post from Dr. Megan Sandel. Inf. from Childrens Health Watch, 617/444-6366, childrenshealthwatch@childrenshealthwatch.org [14552]

Housing

- **"Fair Housing: Know Your Rights!"** is a 62-page, 2014 consumer guide published by the Housing Research & Advocacy Ctr. in Cleveland. For copies, contact denglish@thehousingcenter.org [14538]

- **"Make Louisville Home for All: A 20-Year Plan for Fair Housing"** (56 pp., 2013), from the Louisville Human Relations Commn., can be downloaded free from http://metropolitanhousing.org/wp-context/uploads/member_docs/FairHousingReport_2013.15.pdf or contact the Metropolitan Housing Coal., PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204 [14556]

- **"The Role of Investors in Acquiring Foreclosed Properties in Low- and Moderate-Income Neighborhoods: A Review of Findings from Four Case Studies,"** by Christopher E. Herbert, Irene Law & Rocio Sanchez-Moyano, is a 36-page, Oct. 2013 study of Las Vegas, Atlanta, Cleveland & Boston, from the Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies, 1033 Mass. Ave., 5th fl., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-7908. [14566]

- **"Opening doors: An investigation to barriers to senior housing for same sex couples"** (44 pp., Feb. 2014) is available from The Equal Rights Center at www.equalrightscenter.org/site/DocServer/Senior_Housing_Report?docID=2361

- **"A Proposed Demonstration of a Flat Rental Subsidy for Very Low Income Households,"** by Mary K. Cunningham & Josh Leopold (25 pp., Jan. 2014), is available from the Urban Institute at <http://www.urban.org/publications/413031.html>

- **"The Housing Affordability Challenges of America's Working Households,"** by Janet Viveiros & Lisa Sturtevant (8 pp., Feb 2014)), Center for Housing Policy, available at www.nhc.org/media/files/Landscape2014.pdf

- **"The National Low Income Housing Coal. 2014 Housing Conf. & Lobby Day"** will take place **April 27-30, 2014** in DC. Among the speakers: former HUD Sec. Carla A. Hills, Stephen F. Coyle of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Fund, Moises Loza of the Housing Assistance Council, Rep. Maxine Waters (CA). Inf. from outreach@nlihc.org [14613]

Immigration

- ***Managing Borders in an Increasingly Borderless World***, eds. Randall Hansen & Demetrios Papademetriou (275 pp., 2013), has been published by the Migration Policy Inst. [14532]

- ***Our Future Together: How Immigrants Will Reshape Our Workforce*** is a short Feb. 2014 video from The Ctr. for American Progress, progress@americanprogress.org [14553]

- **"Who We Are: Municipal ID Cards as a Local Strategy to Promote Belonging and Shared Community Identity"** is a 51-page Feb. 2014 document, aimed at helping the immigrant population, available (no price listed) from the Brooklyn-based Ctr. for Popular Democracy, 347/915-0432. [14557]

- **"Immigration: America's Demographic Edge,"** from the Bipartisan Policy Center (36 pp., Jan. 2014), is available at bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/ImmigrationDemographic.pdf

- **"Improving the EB-5 Investor Visa Program: International Financing for U.S. Regional Economic Development,"** by Audrey Singer & Camille Galdes (26 pp., Feb. 2014), is available from The Brookings Institution at www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2014/02/05-eb5/eb5_report

- **"Securing Borders: The Intended, Unintended, and Perverse Consequences,"** by Randall Hansen & Demetrios G. Papademetriou (21 pp., Jan. 2014), is available from The Migration Policy Institute at www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/BadActors-Hansen-PapademetriouFINALWEB.pdf

- **"A Strategic Framework for Creating Legality and Order in Immigration,"** by Demetrios G. Papademetriou & Will Somerville (30 pp., Jan. 2014), from the Migration Policy Institute is available at www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/BadActors-Papademetriou-SomervilleFINALWEB.pdf

- **"Managing Borders in North America: Charting the Future"** was a Feb. 7, 2014 event put on by the Migration Policy Inst. Inf. from events@migrationpolicy.org [14529]

Miscellaneous

- ***My Country 'Tis of Thee: My Faith, My Family, Our Future,*** by Keith Ellison, Democratic Congressman from Minnesota (district encompassing Minneapolis and its surroundings). He's the first Muslim to be elected to Congress and Co-Chairs the Congressional Progressive Caucus for the 113th Congress. Book is 304 pp., \$25, published (in 2013) by Gallery Book/Karen Hunter Publishing [14519]

- ***Folk Rewind*** is a wonderful compilation of the 1950s and 60s folk music revival by John Sebastian of The Lovin' Spoonful and featuring many of the well-known performers of well-known songs: Kingston Trio, Byrds, Youngbloods, Pete Seeger et al. -- music so important to progressive social and political causes, such as the Civil Rights Movement. DVD, produced by TJ Lukinsky et al., available from Amazon and other sources [14548]

- **"Millions to the Polls: Practical Policies to Fulfill the Freedom to Vote for All Americans,"** by J. Mijin Cha & Liz Kennedy (92 pp., Feb. 2014), from Demos, is available at www.demos.org/millions-polls [14601]

- **"The Government By the People Act: Legislation to Curb the Power of Wealthy Donors and Put Government Back in the Hands of Voters,"** by Adam Lioz (21 pp., Feb. 2014), from Demos, is available at www.demos.org/publication/government-people-act [14603]

- **"Growing Up Bond"** was a Feb. 3, 2013 event held at Univ. Mass.-Amherst by Julian Bond and his siblings,

commemorating the work and extensive papers of their father Horace Mann Bond, a major figure in the world of African-American education. The digitized collection of his papers is at <http://credo.library.umass.edu> [14527]

Job Opportunities/Fellowships/Grants

- **The American Youth Policy Forum (DC)** is hiring an **Operations Coordinator**. Applics. at <http://www.aypf.org/about/employment-opportunities/> [14608]

- **The Mental Health Advocacy Project** is seeking a **Supervising Attorney** for its project with their Health Legal Services team. Inf. from Kyra Kazantzis, 408/280-2401 [14493]

- **The Legal Aid Fdn. of Silicon Valley** is seeking a **Supervisory Attorney** for its Mental Health Advocacy Proj./Health Legal Services team. Inf. from Kyra Kazantzis, 408/280-2401 [14494]

- **Greater Hartford Legal Aid** is seeking a **Litigation and Advocacy Director**. March 3, 2014 is date by which they would like to receive applications (but isn't presented as a firm deadline). advocacydirectorsearch@ghla.org for applic. requirements & deadline [14500]

- **The National Housing Law Project (SF)** is hiring a **Supervisory Atty.** for its affordable housing/civil rights work. Ltr./resume/writing sample/3 refs. to recruiting@nhlp.org, Supervisory Atty. in Subject line [14543]

- **The American Civil Liberties Union (NYC)** is hiring a **Staff Atty.** for its Women's Rights Proj. Ltr./resume/law school transcript/writing sample/names+tel.#s for 3 refs. to hrjobsWRP@aclu.org, WRP-08/ACLU-W in Subject line [14547]

- **Reducing Racial & Ethnic Disparities in Juvenile Justice Certificate Program**, of the Georgetown Univ. Ctr. for Juvenile Justice Reform, is accepting applics. through April 18, 2014, Inf. from the Ctr., 3300 Whitehaven St. NW, Wash., DC 20057, 202/687-2749. [14562]

- **The Lisa Kernen Justice Fellowship** is accepting applics. by April 7, 2014. Recipient must be located in SF May 1-July 31. Inf. from Ellen Shaffer, 415/922-6204, ershaffer@gmail.com [14579]

- **The Joseph S. Murphy Inst. for Worker Education & Labor Studies (CUNY)** is seeking a **Coordinator** for its Urban Studies Program (\$55,062-\$74,133). March 22, 2014 deadline. Applic. (job posting #6463) at <http://www.cuny.edu/index.html> [14611]

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