

White Flight Goes to College

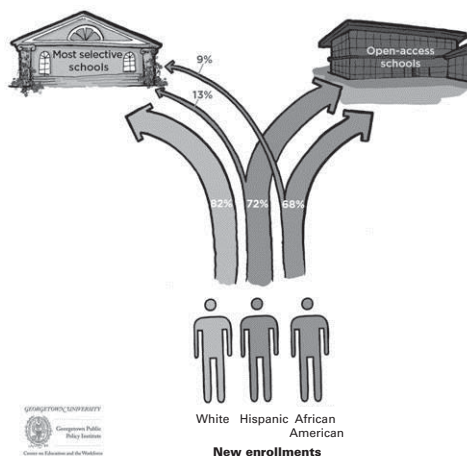
Anthony P. Carnevale & Jeff Strohl

White flight from the center city to better neighborhood schools in the leafy green suburbs has finally arrived on the nation's ivy-covered college campuses. The racial and ethnic stratification in educational opportunity entrenched in the nation's K-12 education system has faithfully reproduced itself across the full range of American colleges and universities.

African Americans' and Hispanics' access to postsecondary education over the past 15 years is a good news/bad news story. Though African Americans and Hispanics scored big gains in access to postsecondary education, both groups are losing ground in their move up to the most selective colleges relative to their growing population shares.

The absolute numbers of African Americans and Hispanics going on to postsecondary institutions have increased markedly, but whites, African Americans and Hispanics are on separate and unequal pathways.

- Between 1995 and 2009, more than 8 in 10 of net new white



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students have gone to the country's 468 most selective colleges, while more than 7 in 10 of net new African-American and Hispanic students have gone to the 3,250 two- and four-year open-access colleges.

Whites are abandoning the open-access institutions and moving up into the selective college tiers and gaining the advantages those schools provide.

- Between 1995 and 2009, the white share of enrollments in the two- and four-year open-access colleges declined from 69% to 57%.

Affluent white students, higher tuitions, and prestige-seeking four-year colleges are all moving to the top tiers of selectivity, while lower-income minority students are left with the less prestigious, lower-spending, poorly funded open-access institutions.

- While more than 140 institutions have moved up into the top three

tiers of selectivity since the mid-'90s, the number of four-year open-access colleges is declining. The result of this dynamic is increased spending per student at the most selective colleges and overcrowding and reduced resources per student in the open-access sector.

Similarly, the larger growth in college seats has been at schools now in the most selective tiers, as compared with open-access colleges.

- Enrollments at the most-selective and better-resourced colleges grew significantly (78%), reflecting increased demand for high-quality postsecondary education. The vast majority of the new seats at top schools went to

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white students. Among open-access, four-year colleges, growth has been significantly slower (just 21%), but the net increases in minority enrollments were concentrated at those schools, resulting in more crowding and fewer resources per student.

The most telling metrics of racial polarization in postsecondary education are comparisons of white, African-American and Hispanic enrollments to their respective shares of the college-age population. Whites have increased their enrollment share in the top 468 colleges relative to their share of the college-age population.

- In 1995, the white share of the college-age population was 68%, and the white share of enrollments at the top 468 colleges was 77%, a 9 percentage point advantage of enrollment share over population share.
- By 2009, the white share of the college-age population was 62% and the white share of enrollments at the top 468 colleges was 75%, a 13 percentage point advantage of enrollment over population share and a 4 percentage point increase within the college-age population.

Over the same period, the enrollment shares of African Americans and Hispanics in the top 468 colleges declined relative to their shares of the

college-age population.

- In 1995, the African-American and Hispanic share of the college-age population was 27%, and their share of enrollments at the top 468 colleges was 12%, a 15 percentage point deficit of enrollment compared with population share.
- By 2009, the African-American and Hispanic share of the college-age population was 33%, and their share of enrollment at

Whites, African Americans and Hispanics are on separate and unequal pathways.

the top 468 colleges was 15%, an 18 percentage point deficit of enrollment versus population share and a 3 percentage point drop within the college-age population.

The white share of enrollment in the 3,250 two- and four-year open-access colleges has declined relative to the white share of the college-age population.

- In 1995, the white share of the college-age population was 68% and the white share of enrollment at the 3,250 two- and four-year open-access colleges was 69%, reflecting a balance between enrollment and population shares.
- By 2009, the white share of the college-age population was 62% and the white share of enrollment at the 3,250 two- and four-year open-access colleges was 57%, a 5 percentage point deficit of enrollment relative to population share and a 6 percentage point decline within the college-age population.

Over the same 15 years, the African-American and Hispanic share of enrollment in the 3,250 open-access colleges increased relative to their share of the college-age population.

- In 1995, the African-American and Hispanic share of the college-age population was 27%,

and their share of enrollment at the 3,250 two- and four-year open-access colleges was 24%, a 3 percentage point deficit of enrollment relative to population share.

- By 2009, the African-American and Hispanic share of the college-age population was 33%, and their share of enrollment at the 3,250 two- and four-year open-access colleges was 37%, a 4 percentage point excess of enrollment relative to population share.

These trends show that the higher education system is more and more complicit as a passive agent in the systematic reproduction of white racial privilege across generations. The higher education system is colorblind—in theory—but in fact operates, at least in part, as a systematic barrier to opportunity for many African Americans and Hispanics, large numbers of whom are qualified but tracked into overcrowded and underfunded colleges, where they are less likely to develop fully or to graduate.

The tracking of white students into the top-tier colleges perpetuates greater rates of white college completion, especially at the elite colleges. Consequently, more college completion among white parents brings higher earnings that fuel the intergenerational reproduction of privilege by providing more highly educated parents the means to pass their educational advantages on to their children. Higher earnings buy more expensive housing in the suburbs with the best schools and peer support for educational attainment. The synergy between the growing economic value of education and the increased sorting by housing values makes parental education the strongest predictor of a child's educational attainment and future earnings. As a result, the country also has the least intergenerational educational and income mobility among advanced nations.

The American postsecondary system increasingly has become a dual

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Poverty and Race (ISSN 1075-3591) is published six times a year by the Poverty & Race Research Action Council, 1200 18th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036, 202/906-8023, fax: 202/842-2885, E-mail: info@prrac.org. Chester Hartman, Editor. Subscriptions are \$25/year, \$45/two years. Foreign postage extra. Articles, article suggestions, letters and general comments are welcome, as are notices of publications, conferences, job openings, etc. for our Resources Section. Articles generally may be reprinted, providing PRRAC gives advance permission.

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Deepening Our Understanding of Structural Marginalization

john a. powell

Over the last decade, there has been a growing appreciation and understanding of the force I call structural racialization or structural marginalization. While there is not yet firm consensus what this term means, there is broad and substantial agreement. Structural marginality is a shift in focus from people and individuals to structures and institutions. Structures are not neutral, and require careful intervention and vigilant monitoring if they are to serve justice and promote inclusion. When structures unevenly distribute opportunities or depress life chances along the axis of race, it can be described as structural racialization. Some of my colleagues use the term “structural racism” to describe this phenomenon.

I seldom use the word “racism” or the term “structural racism”; I much prefer “racialization.” While more difficult to grasp at first blush, this term is more accurate and invites a different inquiry. “Racialization” connotes a *process* rather than a static event. It underscores the fluid and dynamic nature of race. Moreover, “racism” is understood as a consciously motivated force. “Racialization” implies a process or set of processes that may or may not be animated by conscious forces. “Racism” invites a search for a racist actor, much as a web suggests the presence of a spider. “Structural Racialization” is a set of processes that may generate disparities or depress life outcomes without any racist actors. It is a web without a spider.

However, this distinction is not the focus of this article. There are two other concerns I wish to raise and

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address. The first is the overuse of disparities in understanding and addressing structural racialization and structural marginality. The second is the inadequate attention that racial resentment or other forms of anxiety play in generating structural arrangements.

The Overuse of Disparities

There is a tendency to make disparities the focus or primarily analysis for measuring or gauging structural racialization. While I agree that disparities are important and may be

Structural marginality is a shift in focus from people and individuals to structures and institutions.

strongly indicative of structural racialization, this is an incomplete approach that suffers from a number of flaws. Look at almost any report on the state of race in America, and it will likely begin with disparities in a few or many areas: graduation rates, educational attainment, life expectancy, rates of incarceration, income, wealth, and so on. These disparities are soon (and appropriately) put in a context of structural inequality, with the goal being to eliminate the disparities based on race. But focusing predominantly on disparities in this way is a mistake.

Even when properly contextualized, many audiences will assume that disparities are a result of individual factors such as ability, hard work and intelligence rather than structural forces such as educational or employment opportunity. Groups that suffer

from disparities may be stigmatized unless we are exceptionally careful. Research suggests that disparity data are as likely to reinforce negative stereotypes as engender support for structural interventions. While this use of disparities is a mistake, they may still be useful in terms of measuring and analyzing structural racialization. Disparities may suggest areas of focus or investigation as well as evaluate the efficacy of structural interventions. Still, there remain limitations with the use of disparity data and disparity metrics, even well-intentioned.

First, a disparities approach presumes that the baseline position of the dominant, higher-performing group is the appropriate goal for reducing or eliminating the disparity. In the U.S.

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Julius Chambers

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to Julius Chambers, honoring his long and important career in the world of civil rights, who passed away Aug. 2 at the age of 76. An attorney in Charlotte, NC, whose law practice, started in 1964, was the state’s first integrated law firm, Chambers also served as President of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund from 1984 to 1993. He took 8 cases before the U.S. Supreme Court and won them all, among them *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education* regarding school busing. He also served as Chancellor of N.C. Central Univ., his alma mater, and from 1993-2001 was the inaugural Director of the Univ. of North Carolina Center on Civil Rights.

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context, this usually means a focus on white performance or outcomes for setting goals. For example, in trying to close the achievement/opportunity gap, the focus is often on bringing African-American or Latino test scores up to the level of whites. Similarly, if 70% of whites have good health insurance, then achieving the same level of coverage among people of color would presumably result in structural racial equity. This is not only a false assumption, it is an uncritically accepted benchmark. The performance or level of access to resources that a dominant group enjoys is not necessarily the benchmark we should be setting.

On careful examination, it becomes clear why this approach to goal-setting is not correct. First of all, the ideal benchmark is universal access to health insurance and quality health care, including the 30% of whites without insurance. Second, a disparities gap approach assumes that health insurance, or access to a specific good, will translate into similar outcomes. We know that this is not true. Because of the many factors that contribute to health disparities in populations, addressing one factor in a dynamic system when two groups are not similarly situated will not achieve parity along a single-factor dimension.

Access to health insurance is merely one input that explains health outcomes. Extending coverage will not result in structural equity if other factors constrain healthy outcomes. This was evident when a CDC study showed that extending health insurance in Massachusetts was insufficient to improve health outcomes. Insured families may lack access to health care providers because they live in racially

and economically isolated neighborhoods without health care providers or lack transportation to reach them. The HPV vaccine, for example, has been proven to reduce the incidence of cervical cancer in girls and women. Yet the vaccination treatment requires a three-dose schedule. Research suggests that many low-income and African-American girls and young women who receive the first vaccination shot are less likely to complete the treatment because of the lack of transportation to the health care provider's office—either owning a car or having a parent with a flexible work schedule or vacation or sick time off to pick up their children from school

“Racialization” connotes a process rather than a static event.

to take them to the doctor three separate times.

Even if we could eliminate the disparities in both inputs and outcomes, that does not mean we are living free of structural racialization. What if we can show that the reason only 70% of whites, following my hypothetical above, have health insurance is itself a result of racial anxiety? Many experts, such as Albeto Alesina and Edward Glaeser at Harvard University, assert that the main reason that the United States has an anemic welfare system compared to other wealthy western nation is race. Race plays a direct and indirect role in the development of these structures. It plays a direct role in that, as they write, “[o]pponents of redistribution in the United States have regularly used race-based rhetoric to resist left-wing policies.” It also plays an indirect role in the formation of critical institutions. As they note, “[t]he formation of the United States as a federation of independent territories led to a structure that often creates obstacles to centralized redistributive policies.” The New Deal had to accommodate itself to the racial strictures of the South, which often meant local control and state

block grants rather than centralized federal administration. This resulted in compromises that were not made in other Western nations. Even if we eliminated the racial disparities in welfare benefits, it would not mean that these structures are no longer racialized.

Critical Structures

This brings me to my next critical point. Structural racialization requires an analysis of the genesis and formation of critical structures, not just how a structure operates or how programs are administered. Just as the welfare system's structure and administration, including acquiescence to state discretion, harms blacks and other people of color, it clearly injured whites as well, who would have benefited from more generous provision and a stronger labor movement. In today's context, it is clear that opposition to taxes on the rich or the regulation of banks is, in part, animated by racial concerns. The rhetoric of “takers” and “makers” and the “47%,” prominent in the 2012 Presidential election, was part of this new racial code.

Consider the forms of racial resentment and massive resistance following the *Brown* mandate that shuttered schools and closed swimming pools in the South for *everyone*. While African-American students suffered, so, too, did lower- and middle-class whites, who lost critical educational and recreational opportunities. The impact may have even been greater, in absolute numbers, on whites. Yet the provision of public goods, in which pools were closed, was an expression of a racialized system. Who benefits from a system and structure that depresses life outcomes for many whites and people of color? This is an important question.

Elites strategically deploy racial rhetoric and concerns about the “undeserving other” to attack regulations and defeat higher marginal tax rates. This does not mean that these elites necessarily have animus to people of

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Intergenerational Impacts of Concentrated Poverty – continued

In our last issue, we began a forum discussion reflecting on the implications of Patrick Sharkey's new book, *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2013). To address the multiple intergenerational impacts he documents, Sharkey calls for a new kind of "durable" urban policy that has potential to reach multiple generations, to generate a lasting impact on families, and to be sustained over time. In this issue, we have included responses from Barbara Sard, Betsy Julian, Alex Polikoff and Herbert Gans.

Concentrated Poverty is a Children's Issue

Barbara Sard

In his new book, *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality*, Patrick Sharkey powerfully analyzes the long-term consequences of living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty—the modern-day “ghettos” in which some 15% of poor children live, frequently for generations. Such neighborhoods, in which 40% or more of the inhabitants are poor, are also predominantly African-American or Hispanic: Few poor white children live in neighborhoods of extreme poverty. Coupled with the emerging literature on the lasting deleterious impacts of the “toxic stress” children experience from prolonged exposure to deep poverty and violence in their homes and communities, Sharkey's must-read book helps us understand why living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty is particularly harmful to children, beyond the impact of growing up in a poor family.

Reducing the number of children living in extremely deprived neighborhoods should be high on the agenda of advocates for low-income children.

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Even in this time of sharply constrained federal resources and federal legislative paralysis, government and its partners at the federal, state and local levels could do much to improve the lives of the most at-risk children, as a forthcoming analysis from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities will explain.

Location Matters

The first step is to recognize that where children live matters, particularly at the extremes of the continua

of neighborhood assets and detriments. Unfortunately, many people interested in poverty issues concluded from the Moving to Opportunity Demonstration (MTO) that location doesn't matter. Sharkey's own research in *Stuck in Place*, along with other studies and a more careful reading of MTO findings, show that neighborhood attributes can have profound effects on poor children. In our analysis this Fall, we will review this literature as a predicate to our findings on the performance of the federal rental assistance programs on providing access
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Making Wrong Right: The Search for a Durable Urban Policy

Elizabeth K. Julian

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The title of Patrick Sharkey's new book says it all: “*Stuck in Place*” describes 45 years of public policy failure. Forty-five years after the Civil Rights Movement promised otherwise, separate is still separate, and separate is still unequal for far too many Black children in America. Sharkey is blunt. “Even today, 31 percent of African American children live in neighborhoods where the poverty rate is 30 percent or greater, a level of poverty that is unknown among white children.” For those children, “living in a high-poverty neighborhood typically
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to opportunity and a discussion of our recommended policy changes.

Federal Rental Assistance and Concentrated Poverty

Stuck in Place also reminds us of the central role government policies play in fostering racially concentrated living patterns, and in isolating the minority poor, particularly African Americans. In that context, here is a preview of what our analysis shows about the extent to which federal housing programs contribute to— or counteract—the broader historical trends Sharkey describes so effectively.

More than 25% of the poor children living in extreme-poverty neighborhoods—roughly about 600,000 children—live in households that receive federal rental assistance. The vast majority of these children—more than 90%—are black or Hispanic. Receiving rental assistance makes it more likely that a family will live in an extreme-poverty neighborhood than poor children generally. (In 2010, 17.5% of families with children that receive HUD-funded rental assistance lived in extreme-poverty neighborhoods, compared with 15.2% of all poor children.) The programs with project-based rental assistance—public housing and privately owned properties with project-based Section 8 subsidies—drive this finding, which is not surprising, given the forces that affected the location of these properties. Two-thirds of the families with children that receive federal rental assistance and live in extreme-poverty neighborhoods are assisted under one of these project-based programs; the others have Section 8 vouchers. (It is a mistake to assume that public housing is the primary cause of these findings. A majority of the families with children that receive federal rental assistance and live in extreme-poverty neighborhoods do *not* live in public housing; they receive tenant-based or project-based Section 8 assistance.)

Location Impacts of Housing Choice Vouchers

Our analysis of data on households that received Housing Choice (Section 8) Voucher (HCV) assistance in 2010 is more encouraging, but also shows substantial room for improvement. Unlike HUD's project-based programs, the HCV program cuts the likelihood of children living in extreme-poverty neighborhoods by about a third, compared with all poor children, and for black and Hispanic families, by half, compared with poor people of the same racial or ethnic group.

Housing vouchers also help poor families with children, particularly

Concentrated poverty neighborhoods are particularly harmful to children.

black and Hispanic families, to live in low-poverty areas (those with poverty rates below 10%). One out of five voucher families with children lived in a low-poverty area in 2010, a significantly larger share than the 15% of poor children generally. The share of black and Hispanic families using vouchers to live in low-poverty neighborhoods is a few percentage points lower than the average, but the gap between the shares of white and minority families using vouchers in low-poverty neighborhoods closed substantially between 2000 and 2010, probably at least in part due to an increase in minority families using vouchers to live in suburban neighborhoods.

Notably, while having a voucher makes little difference in a white family's ability to live in a low-poverty neighborhood, it makes a dramatic difference for minority families. More than double the share of black families with vouchers, and close to double the share of Hispanic families with vouchers, used them to live in low-poverty neighborhoods, com-

pared with other poor blacks and Hispanics generally.

But more than 100,000 families with children in the HCV program—used vouchers to rent housing in extreme-poverty neighborhoods in 2010, despite the better options that having a voucher should make available to them. The share of families with children using vouchers to live in extreme-poverty neighborhoods increased by more than 40%, compared with a decade earlier. Kirk McClure, Alex Schwartz and Lydia Taghavi reported a similar finding in a paper presented at the Nov. 2012 Annual Meeting of the Assn. of Collegiate Schools of Planning; they also found that a smaller share of vouchers was used in low-poverty neighborhoods in 2010 than in 2000. In addition to this evidence that the HCV program is performing *less* effectively than at the end of the Clinton Administration in helping families avoid living in areas of concentrated poverty and to access areas of greater opportunity, a recent analysis for PRRAC by Ingrid Gould Ellen and Keren Mertens Horn (www.prrac.org/pdf/PRRACHousingLocation&Schools.pdf) found that families with vouchers have less access to well-performing schools than poor families without rental assistance.

During the decade 2000–2010, HUD implemented a number of new policies in the HCV program aimed at increasing access to lower-poverty communities that provided better opportunities for families. For example, Congress provided agencies with additional flexibility to subsidize higher rents and allowed families to rent more expensive units by paying more than the standard 30% of income. In addition, HUD raised the “fair market rent” levels for highly segregated metro areas, and instituted a new performance measurement system that gave some credit to agencies that engaged in activities to expand housing opportunities. Our findings, and those of other studies, highlight the fact that these well-intentioned policies have not succeeded in achieving better

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Housing Mobility as a “Durable Urban Policy”

Alex Polikoff

Stuck in Place, Patrick Sharkey's recent book on the relationship between urban neighborhoods and racial inequality, should end the long-running "neighborhood effects" debate. The evidence Sharkey marshals ought to persuade any fair-minded reader that—independent of personal characteristics—the neighborhood in which you grow up *causally* affects your life trajectory.

Against the background of the Adverse Childhood Experiences study (ACE) from the CDC and Kaiser HMO, and medical research explaining why and how bad outcomes happen, it now seems beyond dispute that growing up in a severely distressed, disinvested neighborhood puts adults at risk, not only of emotional and cognitive problems, but also of diabetes, lung cancer, heart disease, and the like. Moreover—another important Sharkey point—the bad outcomes are not confined to the current generation; they are likely to be passed on inter-generationally.

These are potentially enormous contributions to urban policy; hopefully they will put us on the road to a clearer-eyed focus on what to do about these neighborhoods before too many more generations of children amass high ACE scores in them. Kudos to Patrick Sharkey!

On the what-to-do question there is less to praise, although here too Sharkey desirably emphasizes an important truth. Whatever we do, he says, point-in-time investments are likely to be pointless. We need what he calls "durable" urban policies. The black ghetto is a construct deliberately

created and maintained over generations; it is hubris to imagine that it can be dismantled quickly or easily. Sharkey rightly urges that to be effective, anything we do must have staying power, not be subject, for example, to the uncertainties of annual Congressional appropriations.

Growing up in a severely distressed, disinvested neighborhood puts adults at risk.

In an audio interview, Sharkey called the Gautreaux Residential Mobility Program an example of durable urban policy. And he has referred approvingly to mobility programs in Baltimore and Dallas that "are giving families the chance to make moves that improve their lives and lead to a permanent change in their neighborhood environments." (Quoted in Richard Florida, July 25, 2013, *The Atlantic Cities Place Matters*.) In his book, however, Sharkey does not give residential mobility high marks. While acknowledging its benefits, especially for children, he suggests as a "tentative conclusion" that residential mobility programs work well only with families moving out of the very worst neighborhoods, not if they come from a "wider range of poor neighborhoods."

This erroneous, if tentative, conclusion stems from two mistakes. The first is that Gautreaux families came from public housing—that is, the very worst neighborhoods—whereas in fact they came mostly from a "wider range" of neighborhoods, for they were mostly *applicants* for public housing, living in private housing in various parts of Chicago. The second is that MTO families from Baltimore and Chicago, where neighborhoods were the very worst, fared better than families from New York, Boston and

Los Angeles, where the neighborhoods were less bad. In fact, as Margery Turner and colleagues have shown, MTO families from all five cities who made substantial moves and stayed in place a long time experienced multiple benefits. (*Benefits of Living in High-Opportunity Neighborhoods*, Urban Institute, September 2012.)

Sharkey is also concerned that large-scale residential mobility might lead to new pockets of concentrated poverty in receiving communities. While acknowledging that there is an "ideal scenario" that would avoid that unhappy result, he assumes (for un-

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Not the Only Explanations

Herbert Gans

Pat Sharkey has come up with some original findings, but neighborhood effects and concentrated poverty are not the only explanations. For example, if poor blacks are kept poor and segregated, and urban renewal or public housing destruction further reduces the supply of housing they can afford, they are likely to stay in the same neighborhood for a generation, or longer. If they had more money, they would move to better neighborhoods just like anyone else.

Incidentally, if we studied the affluent, we might discover that they too stay in the same neighborhoods for generations. The supply of 16-room apartments and 10,000 square-foot mansions is as limited as the supply of affordable housing available to poor blacks. □

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stated reasons) that the ideal scenario would not be employed in new residential mobility programs. In fact, as was done in Gautreaux, mobility administrators in Baltimore and Dallas do avoid clustering that would risk creating new pockets of concentrated poverty. There would be every reason to employ the "ideal scenario" in any new round of residential mobility programming.

While opting for a strategy of fixing up high-poverty neighborhoods, Sharkey rightly notes that the report card on such efforts shows mixed results (a charitable description), and that in any event fixing up is not a stand-alone policy but requires the support of a host of other investments—growing out of a "federal commitment to economic equality"—in human capital, health, transportation, criminal justice and the like.

The arresting and poignant circumstances highlighting Sharkey's thesis is that, notwithstanding the breakthrough gains of the Civil Rights Movement, blacks born after the end of state-sanctioned segregation are doing worse economically than their parents. From sea to shining sea, racial inequality remains a prominent feature of the American landscape. The ultimate lesson to be drawn from Sharkey's book is that we cannot afford to overlook any promising remedial approach—including high-quality housing mobility programs. □

locational results, despite the theoretical advantages that tenant-based assistance provides to enable families to access more desirable neighborhoods.

What Can Be Done?

Policy changes are needed to ensure that federal rental assistance programs provide greater opportunities for families to choose affordable housing outside of extreme-poverty neighborhoods, including in areas with access to better-performing schools, while effective interventions are developed over the longer term to in-

Neighborhood attributes can have profound effects on poor children.

crease incomes, enhance safety and improve educational performance in areas of concentrated poverty. Support of children's advocates for these largely administrative reforms could help persuade the Obama Administration of their importance.

Substantial progress toward these goals is feasible in the next few years, even in the current fiscally constrained environment, without significant additional funding or action by Congress. To realize better location outcomes in the Housing Choice Voucher program, our forthcoming analysis will recommend four sets of interrelated policy changes, based in large part on experience with the mobility-oriented policy changes the program tried since 2000 and insights from recent qualitative research.

1. Federal policy must incentivize and reward agency performance in achieving better location outcomes.

2. Program policies that weight the scale in favor of families using vouchers in poverty- and racially-concentrated areas should be revised or eliminated (e.g., metro-wide Fair Market Rents and lists of potentially available

units only in poverty- and racially-concentrated areas).

3. To expand housing choices outside of racially- or ethnically-concentrated areas of extreme poverty, state and local governments and housing agencies should adopt policies to encourage landlords in low-poverty neighborhoods to participate in the HCV program and to assist interested families to use their vouchers in these areas.

4. The administrative geography of the HCV program must be changed so that the boundaries of agencies' service areas ("jurisdictions") no longer undermine the program's ability to promote access to high-opportunity neighborhoods.

Federal, state and local policies also should promote the preservation of well-located assisted housing, whether publicly or privately owned. More than 200,000 units in HUD's project-based rental assistance programs house families with children in neighborhoods that are less than 20% poor. These properties likely provide opportunities that cannot be replicated at a similar cost, making their preservation an important priority for public policy and investment.

However, new investments to preserve properties that isolate poor children in neighborhoods that may limit opportunity should be made cautiously. To the extent feasible, such housing investments should be coupled with measures to improve schools and other neighborhood amenities, and to expand families' ability to choose where to live without losing rental assistance.

While the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) fares somewhat better than other programs at developing rental housing for families with children in lower-poverty neighborhoods and in proximity to better-performing schools, performance among the states is uneven. Federal leadership is particularly important as LIHTC has the untapped potential to be a major source of affordable housing opportunities for families in high-opportunity areas. State efforts in this

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direction should continue, and federal policy should ensure that families with housing vouchers as well as those protected by the Fair Housing Act are not discriminated against in access to these units.

Most of these recommendations can be implemented by the Obama Administration without new authority or additional funds from Congress. While unglamorous, these types of administrative policies, particularly those incorporated in formal regulations, tend to continue over the long term, despite political changes. In fact, regulatory and other administrative policy changes in the current federal low-income housing programs can be a critical element of the “durable” urban policies Sharkey recommends to reverse the negative effects of the “inherited ghetto.” □

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means living in an economically depressed environment that is unhealthy and unsafe and that offers little opportunity for success.” One of the most salient aspects of a high-poverty neighborhood is the prevalence of violence—black children live in an environment that is “unknown among whites, whether they were born in the late 1950s or the late 1990s.” His meticulous and comprehensive description of the persistence of neighborhood inequality between blacks and whites across generations is brought home in his examination of the consequences of cumulative, multi-generational disadvantage. Perhaps more than any other, Chapter 5 of his book should stir outrage. It makes the ongoing debate between whether the government should continue to pursue “place-based” community development and low-income housing strategies, or expand tenant-based “mobility” strategies, look indulgent. The question might more appropriately be what legal causes of action are available to people who have been subjected to these conditions for multiple

generations while we have engaged in such public policy debates.

While Sharkey’s research conclusions are stark, his policy recommendations for addressing the severe situation he describes are not bold. He revisits the long-running “people versus place” debate, looking for evidence to guide future policy.

The evidence on tenant-based mobility comes primarily from the Gautreaux research, which reflects the results of remedial efforts in a long-running public housing desegregation case in Chicago, and the MTO research, based on a two-year research “experiment” at HUD in the Clinton years. In spite of these very modest investments in tenant-based mobility programs, only one of which was voluntary on the part of the government, he finds that “scholars have generated

One of the most salient aspects of a high-poverty environment is the prevalence of violence.

a substantial amount of evidence to guide decisions about what types of mobility programs are likely to foster positive results.” In spite of design flaws in both programs, he admits that subsequent Gautreaux researchers, “even after attempting to adjust for any differences between families that moved to different residential environments, have continued to find that families placed in low-poverty neighborhoods or less-segregated neighborhoods fared much better than families placed in high-poverty or highly segregated neighborhoods.” Moreover, “these (Gautreaux) studies continue to indicate that mobility out of Chicago’s ghetto seems to have been beneficial—perhaps extremely beneficial—for poor families.” The weaker intervention in MTO produced less encouraging results, but he identifies the weaknesses in design and implementation that could inform future initiatives. Even so, recent, more in-depth MTO research is consistent with his basic conclusion—that sustained exposure to low-poverty, more

advantaged environments over time shows the most promising outcomes. Overall, he concludes that the evidence is “encouraging” that when families are able to move out of the most violent, poorest, racially segregated neighborhoods in the nation, their children’s academic and cognitive test scores rise sharply, and when the degree of concentrated disadvantage surrounding a family declines, children’s economic fortunes improve substantially as they approach adulthood.

Turning to “place-based” strategies, and the evidence of “whether or not a sustained effort to reduce concentrated poverty by investing in neighborhoods will have a positive impact on the residents of those disadvantaged neighborhoods,” he concludes that “there is no equivalent evidence to evaluate that claim,” a startling conclusion in itself, given the time and money that has gone into place-based community and housing development programs and activities over the past 45 years. Sharkey then develops his own evidence, based on extensive survey data available for parents and children over several decades, to conclude that place does matter, and that the policies and program we have been funding to improve the places in which many black children growing up in America have lived over the past 40 years have not had significant positive impact on the children’s lives who live there.

He then concludes that, while there may be a place for tenant-based mobility in limited circumstances, the more durable urban policy is comprehensive and sustained place-based community development and affordable housing investment in communities of disadvantage, albeit focused more on individual outcomes of people living in such environments than such policies have attended to in the past. He acknowledges that it will take more political will than has been demonstrated to date to achieve the sustained and concerted activity necessary for real change in neighborhoods of serious disadvantage; it is

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beyond peradventure that under the best of circumstances, the sort of change required will take a great deal of time; and he acknowledges implicitly that without that political will there is no reason to expect real change. So we are back to the future.

Why the reluctance to embrace expanded tenant-based mobility, even when it seems to satisfy Sharkey's own criteria for a "durable" policy component of urban policy? He gives several reasons, including his view that not everyone wants to "move to opportunity." That is a straw man. Mobility proponents have consistently maintained that a decision to make a mobility move should be an informed and voluntary choice, consistent with the view that housing mobility, at least for African-American families confined to the ghetto, is a civil right. And beyond that, we have not yet provided a fraction of the opportunities needed for families who want to move to safer neighborhoods with improved schools.

He also cites more "pragmatic" reasons why tenant-based mobility may not be sufficiently politically palatable to qualify as a "durable" policy. Those make more sense, though Sharkey overstates his case. Any "successful" program or policy for poor people must figure out a way to make it a "win-win" for more powerful interests and constituencies. (Food Stamps have the agriculture and food retail industries; public housing construction had the labor unions, etc.) Housing mobility strategies do not serve the political interests of any traditional constituency, certainly not one with any power. Indeed, almost by definition, mobility policy put the interests of low-income minority families at the top of the interests-served fountain. People with power and influence are not accustomed to having to wait for their benefits to "trickle down." Place-based policies, on the other hand, do have influential constituencies with interests. And that influence is reflected in the last 45 years of public policy.

Politicians and Public Resistance

Laws are passed and policies made by people actively involved in the political process. Politicians on both sides of the aisle, white and non-white, are products of the demographic status quo. For obvious and not so obvious reasons, public policy that creates opportunities for low-income minority families to move out of high-poverty, segregated neighborhoods into housing in more affluent, predominantly white neighborhoods is not a cause many politicians will support, much less champion. Sharkey's analysis of the challenges that would be involved in expanding residential

Why the reluctance to embrace expanded tenant-based mobility?

mobility strategies underscores that reality—though his analysis does not reflect the actual scale of even our most ambitious housing mobility programs.

In Chapter 6, Sharkey seeks to justify his "rejection" of expansion of tenant-based housing mobility as a "durable urban policy" by invoking images of families moving out of the ghetto, "*en masse*." He cautions advocates of a more expansive residential mobility program about seeking "to disperse the ghetto population across a metropolitan area" because such efforts would be "politically hopeless" due to Americans' preferences with regard to the race and class of their neighbors. He cites the proposal of one Yale Law Professor to "offer" subsidies that "allow" every resident of poor, racially-segregated neighborhoods to move to economically and racially-diverse neighborhoods across the metropolitan area and invokes the image of six million Black families from the ghettos invading the rest of the metropolitan area. He lectures that "attempts to *engineer* the type of 'ideal' communities that policy analysts or academics envision by moving large number of residents

across a city will never end well." One might say the same thing about attempts to *engineer* economically and racially homogeneous neighborhoods by isolating and containing large numbers of Black Americans in high-poverty, severely disadvantaged geographies. That has not ended so well either, at least for those so contained. The main difference is that the former is not and has never been close to being even momentary public policy, but the latter has been de facto "durable urban policy" for the last 45 years. By setting up this false dichotomy, Sharkey fails to grapple with the real public policy choices that should be debated around housing mobility programs—how to dramatically expand existing "durable" desegregation like the Gautreaux, Dallas and Baltimore mobility programs to more places in order to benefit hundreds of thousands of additional families (a much more feasible goal than Sharkey's example), while working to design and implement the kind of ambitious re-investments that he says are necessary to achieve similar results for the families who stay.

As daunting as these political challenges are, there are even more powerful interests that will continue to hold back housing mobility policy, and we need to confront these directly if we are to have any hope for progress in this area.

The "Affordable Housing Industrial Complex"

This is my term for the powerful set of economic interests that has evolved over five decades and continues to expand in poor communities across the country. Public housing created jobs for the construction trades, the HUD-assisted privately owned housing programs (221d3 and 236) created not only jobs, but perhaps more importantly made many political donors of both the Democratic and Republican Parties wealthy. Today, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program, the most sophisticated and complicated low-income

housing development program to date, takes the notion of “doing well by doing good” to new levels. The big banks, the syndicators/investors, the government-supported “intermediaries,” the developers, non-profit and for-profit, all the related entities that operate in that environment, and certainly the law firms that represent them, all make serious money on their way to creating each unit of affordable housing for a low-income family (and even then some resist the notion that the lowest-income people can be served). While at least a segment of this industry sees the possibilities of creating affordable housing opportunities in higher-opportunity areas for low-income people seeking to escape the poverty and distress of the ghetto, that is not the history of federal low-income housing development programs. The reasons for this continuing imbalance have been widely documented, but suffice it to say HUD has never complied with its obligation under the Fair Housing Act to require that its low-income housing development programs affirmatively further fair housing and address effectively the legacy of segregation and neglect of African Americans who need low-income housing assistance. And to date the Department of Treasury, which regulates the LIHTC program, simply refuses to acknowledge that obligation. So, while not excusable, it is perhaps not surprising that housing development, like any investment, has taken the path of least resistance.

Community Development Institutions

CDCs whose work is focused on a specific urban geography rarely have an interest in supporting housing mobility strategies. To the extent that small CDCs have aligned themselves with the housing development industry, they, perhaps more than the bigger players, have a stake in insuring that housing development dollars, and particularly developer fees, continue to support housing development in the communities in which they work. The

CDC community has a long and rich relationship with both the large philanthropic and progressive political communities that have influence on policy and funding related to low-income people and communities. Housing mobility strategies are not consistent with the CDC business models developed over the past 40 years, and change is not yet seen as desirable, though some CDCs have been exploring more regional models.

If Sharkey is right, the federal government will and should continue to primarily focus resources on enhanced community development and revitalization strategies to improve

Sharkey revisits the long-running people vs. places debate.

conditions in the most distressed neighborhoods and communities, where current and future generations of low-income African-American children are going to be born, grow up, live and die. I have spent a significant part of my life as a poverty lawyer representing people who live in such communities, trying to address the history of social and economic disinvestment (and non-investment) by the public and private institutions in the communities in which I have worked. While I am not as optimistic as Sharkey about how those efforts are going to play out over the next two generations, I will continue to support real community revitalization and redevelopment activities, and advocacy to compel the commitment of resources necessary to make such communities equal to the predominantly white communities that have always had those advantages. However, it is also important that we not conflate economic and community revitalization with the development of low-income housing in an already concentrated neighborhood.

Housing mobility as a public policy choice inadvertently suggests a different level of accountability for place-based strategies. In spite of efforts to ignore or deny the successes and ben-

efits of the very limited government investments in housing mobility over the years, the fact is that mobility works pretty well for the families able to make that choice. From Gautreaux, to Dallas, to Baltimore the conclusion really is inescapable that low-income people of color who desire to do so can effectively be assisted to move from high-poverty neighborhoods of disadvantage to low-poverty ones of advantage. Sharkey’s research shows that when they do, and are able to remain in better environments for a sustained period of time, they and their kids do better on a number of “life chances” indicators. No, not every kid from the ghetto goes to Harvard in the first generation after a move, but from looking at Sharkey’s data they are more likely to be alive, be reasonably mentally healthy, and to graduate from high school, all of which are prerequisites to more ambitious achievements.

After 40 years waiting for “opportunity to come to them,” perhaps it is reasonable if some people “stuck in place” decide they want to “move to opportunity” that already exists elsewhere. Established interests on both the right and the left do not see that choice as one worthy of a federal program or policy. However, for those who disagree, Sharkey’s book really makes the case for redoubling our efforts to give families, particularly those with children, a chance to live in less disadvantaged places—*now*. In keeping with the current popular “Transit Oriented Development” theme, housing mobility should be advanced as a sort of 21st Century “Under-Ground Railroad,” drawing its resources and its support from passionate “true believers” in the goal of an open and inclusive society, and in the obligation to remedy the ongoing harms of Jim Crow segregation for African Americans whose lineage shares that history.

The families with whom I and my colleagues work on a daily basis are not naive about the costs and benefits of moving into a new environment, which they know is filled with both

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opportunities and risks. Our job is to make sure they have all the information they need to make an informed choice, and the support to effectuate that choice if they decide to make the move. There is nothing like watching a mom who says she is tired of having to sit up all night to make sure no one breaks in her door, look at a map which shows her that she lives in an area (and in a housing unit often built by a federal low-income housing program) that the local police have designated as a crime “hot spot,” and then showing her places on that map where

she could move where she probably won't feel the need to do that. She knows that it may be a place where more white people live than she lives near now, and it may be a place she only has heard of. She may need to get her old clunker running, because there is no reliable public transportation, and her kids may struggle, at least initially, in a new and more demanding school. There will be other challenges, depending on personal and community circumstances. But until she looked at that map, and talked to a counselor, she didn't know that her voucher would buy her a unit in a non-crime hot spot, non-food desert, non-

low-performing school attendance zone. Because no one has told her. Not the Housing Authority, not the city, not the local “community leaders,” not her caseworker, not HUD, and certainly not anyone in the low-income housing development community. Sometimes, with that information, she chooses to stay, and sometimes she chooses to move, but whatever the choice, after she works with someone truly dedicated to making it real, she knows she had one. Given the unforgiving and unforgivable story that Sharkey's research tells, that is worth the effort. □

(COLLEGES: Continued from page 2)

system of racially separate pathways, even as overall minority access to the postsecondary system has grown dramatically. The dual pathways in postsecondary education are not only racially separate but they produce unequal results, even among equally qualified students. The authors find that preparation for higher education matters in allocating access and success at the most selective 468 colleges, but it's not the whole story. Differences in access, completion and earnings persist even among equally qualified whites, African Americans and Hispanics.

- More than 30% of African Americans and Hispanics with a high school grade point average (GPA) higher than 3.5 go to community colleges, compared with 22% of whites with the same GPA.
- Among students who score in the top half of test score distribution (that is, high-scoring students) in the nation's high schools and attend college, 51% of white students get a BA or higher, compared with 34% of African-American students and 32% of Hispanic students.

This polarization of the postsecondary system matters because resources matter. The 468 most selective colleges spend anywhere from

two to almost five times as much per student as the open-access schools. Higher spending in the most selective colleges leads to higher graduation rates, greater access to graduate and professional schools, and better economic outcomes in the labor market, even compared with white, African-American and Hispanic students who are equally qualified but attend less competitive schools.

- The completion rate for the 468 most selective four-year colleges is 82%, compared with 49% for two- and four-year open-access colleges;
- At top-tier colleges, students who enrolled with SAT scores over 1000 obtain a graduate degree at a rate of 15%, compared with 3% similarly qualified students who attended a four-year open-access college; and
- Thirty-five percent of students from top-tier schools obtain a graduate degree within 10 years of obtaining a Bachelor's degree, compared with 21% of students from the open-access schools
- Greater postsecondary resources and completion rates for white students concentrated in the 468 most selective colleges confer substantial labor market advantages, including more than \$2 million dollars per student in higher lifetime earnings, and

access to professional and managerial elites, and careers that bring personal and social empowerment.

Access to the most selective 468 four-year colleges—and their greater completion rates—is especially important to African Americans and Hispanics, in part because attaining a BA is an important threshold for racial equality in earnings.

- African Americans and Hispanics gain 21% earning advantages when they attend the more selective schools, compared to 15% for whites who attend the same colleges.
- African Americans and Latinos who attend one of the top 468 colleges graduate at a rate of 73%, compared with a rate of 40% for equally qualified minorities who attend open-access colleges.

College readiness is important in explaining low completion rates, but preparation is not the whole story. Virtually all of the increase in college dropouts and the slowdown in completions are concentrated in open-access colleges, in substantial part because they are too crowded and underfunded. This dynamic leads to significant loss of talent among both minorities and lower income students.

- More than 240,000 high-scoring students who come from the bottom half of the income dis-

tribution do not get a two- or four-year degree within eight years of graduation from high school. The data show that roughly one in four (62,000) of these high-scoring/low-income students are African-American or Hispanic.

- There are more than 111,000 high-scoring African Americans and Hispanics who do not achieve a two- or four-year degree within eight years. If these students had attended one of the top 468 colleges and graduated at similar rates, 73% would have graduated.

So, what can be done? In combination, both race- and class-based affirmative action can ensure that highly qualified African-American, Hispanic and lower-income students gain access to well-funded and selective colleges that lead to elite careers.

But affirmative action is not enough to make more than a dent in the larger systematic racial and class bias in the core economic and educational mechanisms. Affirmative action, whether it is race- or class-based or some combination of the two, can help out those who strive and overcome the odds, yet does relatively little to change the odds themselves.

There are always African-American, Hispanic and working-class strivers who beat the odds, but for the mass of disadvantaged people it is the odds that count. The odds are stacked against African-American, Latino and low-income students. Disadvantage, like privilege, comes from a complex network of mutually reinforcing economic and educational mechanisms that only can be dealt with through a multifaceted economic and educational policy response. These economic and educational mechanisms are colorblind and class-blind in theory but not in fact. They are nested together in ways that make their combined negative effects mutually reinforcing, resilient and superficially legitimate as racial and ethnic barriers to opportunity.

The education system is colorblind in theory. In fact, the education system operates, at least in part, as a systematic barrier to college for many minorities who finish high school unprepared for college. Polarization by race and ethnicity in the nation's postsecondary system has become the

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color, but it does mean that they are more willing to align with right-wing conservatives to work to weaken government in order to expand their prerogative. They are willing to use this strategy to generate and shape structures that will support their power and protect their wealth.

For this reason, it was important in the wake of the sub-prime crisis for the elites to assign the lion's share of blame onto the "racial other"—rather than their own greed and fraudulent practices—to support the position that banks should not be regulated and to fight federal efforts to generate foreclosure relief using principal modifications. Recall that the Tea Party was sparked by Rick Santelli's rant against the government's HAMP program, which he said would "subsidize losers' mortgages." This blame activated not only hostility from the Tea Party and others to efforts to support homeowners, but also to regulating the banks and, later, Obamacare. One consequence is that Democrats are much less likely to talk about race or to formally introduce solutions that would help hard-hit communities.

The result is that our response to the sub-prime credit crisis continues to create new, structurally racialized systems in place of the old. The re-

capstone for K-12 inequality and the complex economic and social mechanisms that create it. The postsecondary system mimics and magnifies the racial and ethnic inequality in educational preparation it inherits from the K-12 system and then projects this inequality into the labor market. □

trenchment of credit and of the expansion of homeownership will impact all of us. If this is to be changed, it will demand an understanding and recognition of the dynamics of structural racialization in a more complete way, which must also entail a race-conscious response.

We need to begin by recognizing that structural racialization does not require a racist actor, race-explicit consciousness or even racial disparities. If the depressed life outcomes are produced by structures, then ending conscious discrimination is of little consequence and might actually exacerbate the negative impact of these structural dynamics by insulating the status quo from intervention. In this situation, we might need positive or affirmative action to change and disrupt these patterns. We live in structures powered often by unconscious behavior and long-standing habits. The formation of habits and othering at some level is human, and unavoidable, but can be influenced.

While disparities may be an expression of structural inequalities, the absence of disparities does not mean a racially just society. While disparities may be diagnostic, they cannot be our focus. Rather, our goal must be to foster structures that support positive life outcomes untainted with racial resentment or anxiety. □

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“Ground Truths” about Housing Discrimination

Fred Freiberg

Since passage of the federal Fair Housing Act 45 years ago, tens of thousands of “testing” investigations have been conducted. Testers are trained to pose as prospective buyers or renters for the purpose of obtaining information about the practices of housing providers (e.g., real estate brokers, landlords, property management companies, etc.). Simulating ordinary consumer behavior often makes it possible to discern whether housing providers are complying with fair housing laws. From these investigations, we have learned a lot about how, where and why housing discrimination occurs. But do these collective insights into discriminatory housing practices inform our current policies, research and enforcement efforts?

In an effort to understand our complex and changing weather patterns, meteorologists conduct sophisticated modeling and analyze atmospheric conditions, historical patterns and satellite renderings. But they also want to know, particularly during turbulent weather, what the situation looks like on the ground. Storm-chasers and storm spotters are sometimes called upon to provide valuable information as a storm is occurring. Getting the “ground truths” about these storms can keep us all safer in the future, as well as when these destructive weather events are occurring. In developing effective strategies to minimize collateral damage and keep people safe in time of tumultuous weather events, the “ground truths” help decision-makers understand what is happening and plan accordingly.

I currently work for the Fair Housing Justice Center (FHJC), a regional civil rights organization based in New York City that, among other activi-

ties, employs testers to investigate housing discrimination and enforce fair housing laws. After nearly four decades of supervising and participating in thousands of testing investigations across the nation, it is my view that certain “ground truths” about housing discrimination, although commonly known and extensively documented, continue to be ignored or overlooked. This knowledge rarely informs our decision-making when it comes to allocating resources, conducting research or developing effective enforcement strategies for reducing the level of discrimination in our nation’s housing markets.

One way some housing providers minimize contact is to withhold or provide misleading information.

The ground truths about housing discrimination give credence to what should be a fairly self-evident fact, namely that **most violators of fair housing laws try to elude detection**. That should not strike us as unusual. Bank robbers wear masks to conceal their identity, and criminals wear gloves so as not to leave fingerprints. We all slow down when driving on a highway as soon as we see a police vehicle with radar. We do not want our illegal conduct to be detected. We do not need to stretch our imaginations to understand that housing providers who continue to violate fair housing laws also want to avoid getting caught in the act or having a complaint filed against them. But it does mean that we need to consider the nature of these practices when assessing the situation on the ground.

Violators elude detection by avoiding or minimizing contact with unwanted populations.

How do housing providers do this?

Some selectively advertise or refrain from advertising available housing. Most housing providers the FHJC has found engaging in discriminatory practices based on race or national origin do not advertise on craigslist or in online or print media publications that have a more public and general circulation. Some landlords do not advertise at all and resort to word of mouth, referrals from existing tenants, or posting notices or signs that will likely go unnoticed by minority populations. Some selectively advertise in publications targeted to specific audiences based on race, ethnicity or religion.

Another way to avoid or minimize contact with unwanted populations is to profile applicants or selectively respond to inquiries from the public. The use of “linguistic profiling” to screen out people who telephone, by attempting to discern their race or national origin from their voice, is one practice. As a security measure, some housing providers install cameras at the entrance to their buildings. This technology can also be used by on-site agents for more nefarious purposes, to help them decide whether or how to respond to in-person inquiries once a person’s race or ethnicity is observed. Testing has also documented overt instances where on-site agents literally peeked through curtains or blinds to determine whether they should answer the door, depending upon the person’s race. In other instances, testing has revealed that owners or agents agree, over the phone, to meet prospective renters or buyers at a home or apartment building and then drive by and do not stop if they see that the person is not white.

One way some housing providers minimize contact is to withhold or provide misleading information about themselves or their property. Blind ads in newspapers intentionally do not disclose the address of the building or relevant information about the en-

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tity offering an apartment for rent. Some agents in New York assume names other than their own when interacting with people they do not want to rent to. Recently, the FHJC conducted tests at a suburban rental building where a man told an African-American tester that he did not know where the agent was or whether there were any apartments available because he was just doing some work around the building. A short time later, the same man identified himself as the building agent and showed a white tester an available apartment. Withholding identifying information, offering very little information or providing misleading information can make it extremely difficult for someone to later file a complaint. This is particularly true when a renter does not know the agent is lying and has no point of comparison.

Finally, another way some building owners avoid or minimize contact with unwanted populations is to use real estate agents or management companies who implement their discriminatory preferences. It is relatively easy for real estate brokers and management companies that maintain a large inventory of housing to steer applicants to or away from available housing based on their race or national origin. Some agents take pride in the fact that they can find housing for everyone who contacts them, while strictly complying with the discriminatory preferences of individual owners. Unsuspecting renters or buyers have no way to know that they were not shown the full range of available housing options.

Violators elude detection by unequally applying facially neutral policies to exclude or disqualify unwanted populations.

How do housing providers do this? Some initially tell everyone about a set of stringent requirements, qualifications, terms or procedures for renting an apartment or buying a home (e.g., high rents; excessive application fees, security deposits or downpayments; intrusive background checks; long waiting lists; steep an-

nual income or credit requirements, etc.) and then, as applicants express further interest and have additional contact with the agent, the agent offers to waive or reduce the stated requirements for the more “desirable” applicants. The unwanted applicants leave, erroneously believing that fair and objective criteria simply disqualified them from consideration.

Residency preferences proliferate in the New York area. They take different forms and are used by Housing Authorities, subsidized housing developments, tax credit housing, housing cooperatives, and other private housing providers. Some specify that a

Violators have engineered many creative and effective techniques for eluding detection.

preference will be given to applicants who currently “live or work” in a community. Others prescribe that, to qualify, applicants must be related to someone in a community or be referenced by people who already live in the development. FHJC investigations have found that many times these “preferences” have a discriminatory impact, are not applied equally, or are not really preferences at all, but instead operate as discriminatory residency requirements in predominantly white communities.

Violators elude detection by masking their discriminatory conduct.

How do housing providers do this? One way is to provide friendly, courteous and helpful treatment in all initial contacts, even if it involves lying to or deceiving prospective applicants on the basis of their race, color or national origin. I have talked for years about the need to replace our image of housing discrimination as a “slammed door” with a “revolving door” where people are politely and courteously escorted in, out of and ultimately away from the desired housing. This is the most prevalent form of discrimination that testing un-

covers and often occurs with housing providers who have adopted some of the previously mentioned practices.

Whether the illegal discrimination involves conduct that dodges, conduct that disqualifies, or conduct that is disguised, violators have engineered many creative and effective techniques for eluding detection. So what do we do with this information? While any one of these housing provider practices may not be dominant in the marketplace, collectively these subtle or stealth practices limit the housing choices available to renter and homebuyer populations protected by fair housing laws. The practical implications of these ground truths is that they create a pernicious self-sustaining cycle in our metropolitan regions and help to explain why we have made only limited progress in reducing the level of housing discrimination, particularly based on race and national origin. The cycle operates in this manner:

First, many violators employ practices to effectively elude detection.

Second, if consumers are unable to detect the discrimination, it will not be reported.

Third, if discrimination is not reported, no enforcement action will result.

Finally, if there is no enforcement action, illegal discrimination continues.

The lynchpin to breaking this cycle and reducing illegal housing discrimination is to pursue public policies, research designs and enforcement strategies that take into account the ground truths I described.

For fair housing enforcement professionals, these ground truths point to at least two obvious conclusions:

1. A purely complaint-driven approach to enforcing fair housing laws will never lead to substantial reductions in illegal housing discrimination.

2. A balanced and effective enforcement strategy must include a more strategic use of resources to conduct pro-active testing investigations aimed at documenting systemic housing discrimination.

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By committing more resources to and placing a greater emphasis on targeted and pro-active systemic testing investigations, we could significantly accelerate reductions in the level of housing discrimination in our nation and remove many of the barriers to housing choice that continue to harm our communities.

For researchers, we need research that is focused on topics and issues that will help reduce housing discrimination. For instance, can publicly available data (e.g. population characteristics, advertising practices, housing characteristics, etc.) be used to develop useful algorithms or models that might aid enforcement agencies to better identify communities and housing providers of interest for systemic testing investigations? Research that leads to a more strategic use of scarce public resources might improve the effectiveness of fair housing law enforcement programs. In contrast, the recently released HUD-sponsored 2012 Housing Discrimination Study fails to live up to its stated promise of producing a “current national estimate of discrimination against Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in rental and sales markets nationwide.” Although offering some interesting insights, the sampling methods, testing protocols and analysis employed by HDS 2012 underestimate and overlook many discriminatory practices. We must ensure that the ground truths that emanate from decades of testing investigations and enforcement activity better inform the national research agenda on fair housing.

Policymakers and government officials would also benefit from exploring some of these ground truths to determine if new laws or regulations could curtail the subterfuge that some housing consumers encounter during their search for housing. For instance, should the government better regulate and more closely monitor how housing is advertised and marketed for rent or sale and require disclosure of the entity making the housing available to consumers? Should rental housing

providers and property management companies that control access to multi-family buildings be licensed and regulated by states? Should the federal government conduct a nationwide review of how residency preferences are being implemented by local communities, Housing Authorities and other housing providers who receive federal subsidies, to determine if they discriminate against protected populations, concentrate poverty and per-

Housing discrimination represents an attack on our democratic values.

petuate residential racial segregation?

Even though housing discrimination is underreported by government enforcement agencies and underestimated by researchers, decision-makers in private philanthropy need to understand this is not a social problem that was “solved” by the passage of fair housing laws. Housing discrimination remains a significant barrier to mobility and a potent force that continues to limit opportunity and divide our communities. To those who allocate funding and resources to address the persistent and systemic issues of poverty and inequality in our metropolitan regions, these grounds truths portend serious challenges and require an equally serious response. So long as government pursues a wholly inadequate complaint-driven

enforcement scheme, foundations and private donors must step up and provide more resources to support systemic testing aimed at combatting persistent and pervasive housing discrimination in our metropolitan regions.

We must never lose sight of the fact that housing discrimination inflicts substantial harm on individuals, families and communities. Housing discrimination is an impediment to achieving the type of robust competition that characterizes an open or free market. It limits the opportunity for inter-group contact that can reduce biases, stereotypes and prejudices. It restricts populations from gaining access to areas that may offer greater educational, employment or other opportunities. Housing discrimination reinforces a host of inequalities that continue to undermine social cohesion and impose enormous costs on our nation.

The essential sense of feeling fully enfranchised or belonging to a society is diminished when you find that your ability to obtain housing is going to turn on your race, color, national origin, disability or other illegal factors. It devalues the inherent worth of individuals and entire populations when such a basic human necessity as shelter is denied for these reasons. Housing discrimination represents an attack on our democratic values, and reducing it must, once again, become a major domestic priority for our nation. □

Recent regulatory comments and advocacy available at www.prrac.org

Comments on HUD’s proposed Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing rule (September 2013)

Comments on changes to the proposed Civil Rights Data Collection, U.S. Dept. of Education (August 2013)

Comments on changes to HUD’s Affirmative Fair Housing Marketing Plan (June 2013)

“Continuation and Expansion of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit” (May 2013)

“Improving the Choice Neighborhoods Program” (May 2013)

Same-Sex Marriage: the Supreme Court Chose States Rights Over Equal Rights

Peter Dreier

Should the states decide whether black Americans can marry white Americans?

Today, that idea seems absurd. Most Americans believe that states shouldn't be allowed to trample the basic right of interracial couples to marry—even if a majority of people in a state want to do so. It would be unfair—a clear violation of equal rights. That's one reason we have a federal government.

But that's exactly what the Supreme Court did in June. Its two rulings—overturning the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) and invalidating California's Proposition 8 (which banned same-sex marriage) on technical grounds—reflect the basic conservatism of the Roberts Court. They stopped short of proclaiming same-sex marriage a basic right. They left it to the states to determine whether gay Americans have the same right to marry as their straight counterparts.

Compare this to the Supreme Court's bold 1967 ruling in *Loving v Virginia*, which knocked down state anti-miscegenation laws. At the time, "states' rights" was the justification used by Southern racists to defend Jim Crow laws, including school segregation, racial discrimination in restaurants and buses, severe limits on voting by African Americans, and bans on interracial marriage. Back then, the Supreme Court was *ahead* of public opinion regarding interracial marriage. In June, the cautious

Supreme Court was far *behind* public opinion on same-sex marriage. It is hard to see how the legal case for same-sex marriage is any different, but the Supreme Court chose to advocate states' rights over equal rights.

Nevertheless, advocates of same-sex marriage are rightly celebrating. The June rulings did represent a major victory for social justice. The battleground now moves to the states.

The Court chose to advocate states' rights over equal rights.

In the past year alone, six states have legalized gay marriage, bringing the total number to 13 states, including California. In contrast, 29 states now have constitutional amendments defining marriage as between a man and a woman. There's no doubt that in the near future, gay activists and their straight allies will persuade many states to overturn those laws and legalize same-sex marriage, but the fact that they will have to do so on a state-by-state basis reflects the Supreme Court's essential conservatism.

The battles to end prohibitions on interracial marriage and same-sex marriage were not simply legal matters fought out in the courts. They were part of broad social movements that involved a variety of protest tactics that injected the issues into the public debate and challenged Americans' cherished views. The legal strategy was part of a wider arsenal of tools used to bring about change.

In 1948, the California Supreme Court legalized interracial marriage in *Perez v Sharp*. It was the first state to do so. At the time, most Americans opposed the idea. Ten years later,

when half the states still had laws prohibiting interracial marriage, 96% of Americans opposed black-white marriages. By 1967, when the Supreme Court decided the *Loving v Virginia* case, 16 states still had anti-miscegenation laws on the books. More shocking, 72% of the American public still opposed interracial marriages.

It wasn't until the 1990s that even half of Americans said they approved of marriage between blacks and whites. In 2011, the most recent poll on the topic, 96% of black Americans and 84% of white Americans supported interracial marriage. It may be shocking to some that 16% of white Americans still disapprove of interracial marriages, but the shift in public opinion over five decades has been steady, irreversible and overwhelming. Equally important, 97% of Americans younger than 30 support interracial marriage.

In 1967, the Supreme Court justices, no doubt influenced by the Civil Rights Movement, ruled that states did not have the right to ban marriage between people of different races. They based their ruling on the 14th Amendment's "equal protection" and "due process" clauses.

The case was filed by an interracial couple—Mildred Jeter Loving, a black woman, and Richard Loving, a white man—who lived in Central Point in rural Virginia. Two movies about the Lovings' case—*Mr. and Mrs. Loving* (a 1996 made-for-TV dramatic film) and *The Loving Story* (a 2011 documentary)—make clear that the Lovings were not civil rights activists. They were a humble working-class couple who simply wanted to live as husband and wife and raise their three children in Virginia, where they were born and where they and their extended families lived.

(Please turn to page 18)

Peter Dreier (dreier@oxy.edu) is Professor of Politics and chair of the Urban and Environmental Policy Department at Occidental College. His latest book is The 100 Greatest Americans of the 20th Century: A Social Justice Hall of Fame, published by Nation Books.

(MARRIAGE: Continued from page 17)

In June 1958, they drove 90 miles and got married in Washington, DC, to circumvent Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which made interracial marriage a crime. The local police raided their home at night, hoping to find them having sex, which was also a crime in Virginia if it was performed by an interracial couple. The cops found the Lovings in bed. Mrs. Loving showed them their marriage certificate on the bedroom wall. That was used as evidence that they had violated Virginia's law. The Lovings were charged with "cohabiting as man and wife, against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth."

In his ruling, Leon M. Bazile, the Virginia trial judge, wrote:

"Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, malay and red, and he placed them on sepa-

rate continents. And but for the interference with his arrangement there would be no cause for such marriages. The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix."

On Jan. 6, 1959, the Lovings pled guilty and Bazile sentenced them to one year in prison. The judge said he'd suspend their sentence if they agreed to leave the state for 25 years. They agreed and moved to Washington, DC.

In November 1963, the Lovings

The 1924 Virginia law endorsed the doctrine of white supremacy.

filed a motion in the state trial court to reverse the sentence on the grounds that it violated the Constitution's 14th Amendment. It took four years to

reach the U.S. Supreme Court. In the interim years, the Civil Rights Movement galvanized America and stirred its conscience about racial injustice. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. Change was in the air.

The Supreme Court at the time included two conservative Republicans (John Harlan and Potter Stewart), a moderate Democrat (Byron White), and two Southerners (former KKK member Hugo Black of Alabama and Tom Clark of Texas, both Democrats), as well as three solid liberal Democrats (William Douglas, William Brennan and Abe Fortas). Chief Justice Earl Warren, a moderate Republican as California Governor who became a liberal on the Court, used his persuasive skills to engineer a unanimous decision. In deciding the *Loving* case, the justices no doubt recognized that, despite the fact that many Americans still opposed interracial marriage, the tide of history was turning, and they wanted to be on the right side.

Warren penned the opinion for the Court, noting that the Virginia law endorsed the doctrine of white supremacy. He wrote:

"Marriage is one of the 'basic civil rights of man,' fundamental to our very existence and survival. . . . To deny this fundamental freedom on so unsupportable a basis as the racial classifications embodied in these statutes, classifications so directly subversive of the principle of equality at the heart of the Fourteenth Amendment, is surely to deprive all the State's citizens of liberty without due process of law. The Fourteenth Amendment requires that the freedom of choice to marry not be restricted by invidious racial discrimination. Under our Constitution, the freedom to marry, or not marry, a person of another race resides with the individual and cannot be infringed by the State."

Re-read Chief Justice Warren's words. Then substitute same-sex marriage for interracial marriage and see if his views are any less compelling.

Recommendations for Further Information

Loving v Virginia

Decided June 12, 1967 – U.S. Supreme Court

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=388&invol=1>

Films:

The Loving Story (2011 documentary film - 77 mins.)

Directed by Nancy Buirski, produced by Nancy Buirski & Elisabeth Haviland, Cc-produced by HBO Documentary Films. Website: <http://lovingfilm.com>

Teaching Guide from Southern Poverty Law Center

http://www.tolerance.org/sites/default/files/general/The%20Loving%20Story%20Study%20Guide_0.pdf

Mr. and Mrs. Loving (1996 made-for-TV dramatic film – 105 mins.)

Written & directed by Richard Friedenberg. Starring Ruby Dee, Timothy Hutton, Lela Rochon.

Readings:

Kate Sheppard, "'The Loving Story': How an Interracial Couple Changed a Nation", *Mother Jones*, Feb. 13, 2012

Sister M. Annella, "Interracial Marriages in Washington, D.C.," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 36, No. 4, August 1967: 428-33

Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 83, No. 1, 1996: 44-69

Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001)

Michael J. Klarman, *From the Closet to the Altar: Courts, Backlash, and the Struggle for Same-Sex Marriage* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2012)

Jason Pierceson, *Same-Sex Marriage in the United States: The Road to the Supreme Court* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013)

Most Americans would now agree that to deny gays and lesbians the right to marry is, as Warren put it, "directly subversive of the principle of equality at the heart of the Fourteenth Amendment." Today's version of anti-miscegenation laws are those that prohibit same-sex marriage.

When the Supreme Court issued its *Loving v Virginia* ruling, many white Americans believed that African Americans were inferior people. Some Americans today have similarly bigoted views about gay people, also justified on religious grounds and with reference to what they believe the Bible says and what God wants. You could hear these beliefs echoed by the lawyers and some of the witnesses staking out the anti-gay marriage side in the Proposition 8 trial in California. You can still hear them on conservative talk radio shows and among the protesters in front of the Supreme Court building in June, claiming to defend the institution of marriage.

But the number of Americans who hold anti-gay views is rapidly shrinking. More and more people have confronted their own values and views about a subject that was once taboo in their own lifetimes. In 1992, only 52% of Americans said that they knew someone who is gay or lesbian. By

2010, that figure had increased to 76%. In 1994, 40% of Americans believed that people choose to be gay, and in 2004, 33% thought so. This year, 62% of those surveyed agreed that "being homosexual is just the way they are," while only 24% believed that "being homosexual is something that people choose to be."

In 1993, only 44% of Americans believed that gays should be allowed to openly serve in the military, according to a *Washington Post/ABC News* poll. Three years ago, more than 75% thought so. In 2010, President Obama signed legislation ending the 17-year "don't ask, don't tell" policy.

Public support for gay marriage has hit a new high and will no doubt continue to expand. According to a recent *Washington Post/ABC News* poll, 58% of Americans now believe it should be legal for gay and lesbian couples to get married; 36% say it should be illegal. Only 10 years ago, those numbers were reversed, with 37% favoring same-sex marriage and 55% opposed. Among Americans ages 18 to 29, support for gay marriage is overwhelming, hitting a record high of 81% in the new poll, up from 65% just three years ago. Support has also been increasing among older Ameri-

cans. Three years ago, 66% of Americans ages 65 and older opposed same-sex marriage. This year, 55% of that age group oppose gay marriage, 44% support it and 6% have no opinion.

In 1967, the Warren Supreme Court boldly ignored prevailing public opinion and overturned state bans on interracial marriage on the grounds that they violated the 14th Amendment. But in June, when it came to same-sex marriage, the Roberts Supreme Court chose to be on the side of "states' rights" caution rather than on the side of "equal protection" for all.

The tide of public opinion has already turned, and there's no going back. Even a growing number of Republican politicians are reversing course and jumping on this bandwagon. Soon, conservative politicians and groups will no longer be able to use gay marriage as a "wedge" issue to stir controversy and win elections. When children born this year reach voting age 18 years from now, they will take same-sex marriage for granted. And they will surely wonder how it was even possible that America once deprived gays and lesbians of the right to marry. □

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

Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (46¢ unless otherwise

indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Race/Racism

- *The Tribal Moment in American Politics: The Struggle for Native American Sovereignty*, by Christine K. Gray (230 pp., 2013, \$85—but available as e-book as well), has been published by Alta Mira Press, <https://rowman.com/ISBN/9780759123809> [14160]

- "Race & Beyond: Remembering the Many Voices at the March on Washington," by Sam Fullwood III (July 2013), is available (no price given) from the Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005 [14169]

- "Memory and Mobility: Place, Race and Remembrance in America's Historic Black Towns" is a short article in *CURS Update*, Summer 2013, the publication of the Ctr. for Urban & Regional

Studies at Univ. N. Carolina-Chapel Hill. Available (no price given) from 919/962-3074, urbanstudies@mail.unc.edu, <http://curs.unc.edu> [14172]

- "The Color of Law: Voting Rights and the Southern Way of Life," by Louis Menand, is an excellent 9-page background to & description of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, in the July 8 & 15, 2013 *New Yorker*. [14175]

- *Jobs, Freedom and the Forgotten History of Civil*

Rights, by William P. Jones (320 pp., July 2013, \$26.95), has been published by W.W. Norton. The book focuses on the March's radical roots. [14177]

● **"9 Ways to Organize the Next Civil Rights Movement,"** by Carl Gibson (July 2013), is available (possibly free) from Nation of Change, 800/803-6045, info@nationofchange.org [14179]

● **"And don't call ME a racist! A treasury of quotes on the past, present, and future of the color line in America,"** selected and arranged by Ella Mazel (162 pp., 1998), was published by Argonaut Press in Lexington, Mass. Over 1,000 quotes, divided into 3 secs.: Past/Present/Future, and attributed to/sourced from (and indexed by) over 200 well-known figures—e.g., Arthur Ashe, Julian Bond, Bill Clinton, Lani Guinier, MLK, Paul Robeson, Toni Morrison. Great collection. Most likely out of print, maybe available as used book via Internet. [14189]

● ***The Speech: The Story Behind Dr. Martin Luther King's Dream*,** by Gary Younge (180 pp., Aug. 2013, \$18.95), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14190]

● ***The Black Panthers Speak*** (328 pp., Sept. 2013, \$19) has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14193]

● ***The Black Power Mixtape, 1967-1975*,** ed. Goran Hugo Olsson (192 pp., June 2013, \$21.95), has been published by

Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14194]

● ***The Political Economy of Racism*,** by Melvin Leiman (\$22), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14197]

● ***My People Are Rising: Memoir of a Black Panther*,** by Party Captain (\$17.95), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14200]

● ***The Nation's Longest Struggle: Looking Back On the Modern Civil Rights Movement*** is a book done by Wisconsin high school students—has a lot of SNCC interviews in it. \$29.95, from D.C Everest Sr. HS, attn: Paul Aleckson, 6500 Alderson St., Weston, WI 54476 [14207]

● ***Julian Bond: Reflections on the Civil Rights Movement*** is a 34-min. biographical sketch film by Eduardo Montes-Bradley. Joan Browning, a civil rights activist from way back, says, "It is fabulous!" DVD available from Amazon (search "Julian Bond"), \$29.99 + s/h; \$200 for teachers' edition. [14209]

● ***The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom*,** by Bruce Hartford (2012), is available as a Kindle book or can be read on a computer—contact bruceh@crmvvet.org for instrucs. Available from Amazon too. [14223]

● **"Freedom '63 Re-mixed: Legacies of the March on Washington"**

was an Aug. 16, 2013 event, organized by the Rosa Luxemburg Fdn. and held at Harlem's Schomburg Ctr. for Research in Black Culture. Participants included Dottie Zellner, Dick Gregory & others. Inf. from maphcu2@gmail.com, www.rosalux-nyc.org [14176]

● **"Levels of Racism: A Theoretical Framework and a Gardener's Tale"** appeared in the *Amer. J. of Public Health*, vol. 90, 2000, 14 pp. Available at <http://ajph.apha.org/publications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.90.8.1212> [14210]

● **"Blacks, Jews, and Social Justice in America,"** sponsored by and at the Brandeis American Studies Program, will be held **June 10-12, 2014**. Dec. 1 deadline for paper and panel proposals, to amstconference2014@brandeis.edu [14227]

Civil Rights History

● ***A Freedom Budget for All Americans: Recapturing the Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in the Struggle for Economic Justice Today*,** by Paul LeBlanc & Michael D. Yates (297 pp., 2013, \$16.95), has been published by Monthly Review Press, 146 W. 29th St., #6W, NYC, NY 10001, 800/670-9499 [14168]

Economic/Community Development

● **"Immobile, unequal"** is the heading of a short item in *Left Business Observer*, recommending an article by economics Prof. Miles Corak of the Univ. of

Ottawa, to appear in a forthcoming issue of *J. of Economic Perspectives*. Corak is reachable at 613/562-5800, x4648, mcorak@uottawa.ca [14230]

● **The 2013 Opportunity Finance Network Conf.** will be held **Oct. 15-18, 2013** in Philadelphia. Inf. from markpinsky@opportunityfinance.org [14215]

Education

● ***Rethinking Mathematics: Teaching Social Justice by the Numbers*,** eds. Eric (Rico) Gutstein & Bob Peterson (286 pp., expanded 2nd ed., 2013, \$24.95), has been published by Rethinking Schools, 414/964-9646, kris@rethinkingschools.org [14186]

● ***Striking Back in Chicago: How Teachers Took on City Hall and Pushed Back Education "Reform"*,** by Lee Sustar (220 pp., Nov. 2013, \$16), is available from Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 973/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14191]

● ***The Future of Our Schools: Teachers Unions and Social Justice*,** by Lois Weiner (\$16), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14204]

● ***Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*,** by Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis (\$22), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14205]

- **"Blacks & Jews: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges"**—about the 1930s flight of Jewish intellectuals from Nazi Germany, so they could resume their teaching careers—was held at the Maret School (Wash., DC) June 18, 2013, sponsored by Operation Understanding, reachable at 3000 Conn. Ave. NW, #335, Wash., DC 20008, 202/234-6832, www.oudc.org [14157]

- **"Institute for Equity, Effectiveness and Excellence at Hispanic Serving Institutions,"** sponsored by the Univ. So. Calif. Ctr. for Urban Education, will be held **Oct. 11, 2013** at the Center. Inf. at 213/740-5202, cue.usc.edu [14206]

Employment/ Labor/Jobs Policy

- **"On Raising the Minimum Wage"** is a short, well-done facts & arguments publication of Smart Talk, available (likely free) from the Inst. for America's Future, 1825 K St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20006, 202/955-5665, www.ourfuture.org [14170]

- ***Jobs With Justice: 25 Years, 25 Voices***, eds. Eric Larson, Larry Cohen, Rev. Calvin Morris & Sarita Gupta (Aug. 2013, 192 pp., \$15.95), has been published by PM Press, 510/658-3906, info@pmpress.org [14178]

- **"Why We Need a New Civil Rights and Labor Movement,"** by Mark Vorpahl, is an Aug. 2013 op-ed, available (likely free) from Nation of Change, info@nationofchange.org [14220]

Environment

- **"Political Economy of the Environment,"** co-sponsored by the Union of Radical Political Economics & New Politics, will be held **Oct. 5, 2013** at St. Francis College in Brooklyn. Inf. from Bruce Rosen, bxqny@me.com [14221]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **"Diverse Children: Race, Ethnicity, Immigration in America's Non-Majority Nation,"** by Donald Hernandez & Jeffrey S. Napierala (July 2013), from the Foundation for Child Development, is available (no price given) from anya@fcd-us.org [14165]

- **"Sequestration: The Impact on the Most At-Risk Population -- Native Youth"** (11 pp., May 2013), from The Aspen Institute's Center for Native American Youth, is available (no price given) from the Center, One Dupont Circle, #700, Wash., DC 20036-1133, 202/736-2905, cnay@aspeninstitute.org [14166]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- ***A Place at the Table*** is a powerful new (2013?) film documenting the nation's hunger crisis, the 50 million Americans struggling to put food on the table. Contact ARISE in Montgomery, AL, which showed the film June 6, 2013, 256/533-6083, daleclem@knology.net for inf. [14158]

Health

- **"Race can be Crucial in Transplant Cases"** was a long, interesting article in the Aug. 6, 2013 *Wash. Post*, describing many ways non-whites face greater difficulties regarding several important health issues. [14188]

- **"State-by-state fact sheets" & "Health Care Changes Wizard"** are 2 new (Aug. 2013) HHS publications to assist in outreach & education around the Affordable Care Act. Inf. from Amy Smoucha, Field Dir., Families USA: field@familiesusa.org [14212]

- **"The First Rebellious Nursing! Conference"** will be held **Sept. 27-29, 2013** in Philadelphia. Inf. from rebelnursing@gmail.com [14213]

- **"Partnering Toward a Healthier Future: Addressing Disparities in Behavioral Health"** is a **Dec. 3, 2013** conference, sponsored by the Univ. of Maryland Center on Health Disparities, 301/315-3677. Former Surgeon General David Satcher is the keynote speaker. [14162]

Housing

- **"227,000 Names on List Vie for Rare Vacancies in Public Housing"** was a long, detailed article in the July 7, 2013 *NY Times*, about how the nation's largest housing authority manages admissions. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/24/nyregion/for-many-seeking-public-housing-the-wait-can-be-endless.html?hp&_r=02 [14159]

- **"Precaution: Obstacles for Latinos in the Virginia Rental Housing**

Market" (22 pp., 2013) is available (no price given) from the Equal Rights Center, 11 Dupont Circle NW, #450, Wash., DC 20036, www.equalrightscenter.org [14171]

- **"The Nation's Home Foreclosure Crisis: There is a Solution"** is a short article in *CURS Update*, Summer 2013, the publication of the Ctr. for Urban & Regional Studies at Univ. N. Carolina-Chapel Hill. Available (no price given) from 919/962-3074, urbanstudies@mail.unc.edu, <http://curs.unc.edu> [14173]

- **"Housing Instability: A Continuum of Risk"** (8 pp., July 2013) is available (possibly free) from the Inst. for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., 4th fl., NYC, NY 10003, info@cphusa.org [14180]

- ***Race, Riots and Revolution: Black Housing in the 1960s***, by Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor (\$16), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14198]

- **Right to Housing:** The American Bar Assn. House of Delegates, on Aug. 12, 2013, passed a resolution calling on the U.S. government at all levels to implement the human right to housing. Inf. from Elaine MacPherson at the Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty, 202/638-2535, emacpherson@nlchp.org [14224]

- **"Solutions 2013,"** a national conf. on state & local housing policy, sponsored by the Natl. Housing Conf. & the Ctr. for Housing Policy, will be held **Sept. 16-18, 2013** in Atlanta. Inf. from

Immigration

- **No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border**, by Mike Davis & Justin Akers Chacon (\$18), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14202]

Rural

- *Appalactions* is the quarterly(?) newsletter of the Appalachian Community Fund. Contact them at 507 S. Gay St., #1120, Knoxville, TN 37902 [14154]
- *Transforming Places: Lessons from Appalachia*, eds. Stephen L. Fisher & Barbara Ellen Smith (2013[?], \$30), has been published by Univ. of Illinois Press, www.press.illinois.edu [14156]

Miscellaneous

- "Upward mobility varies geographically" was the description of a 2013(?) study from the Equality of Opportunity Project, by Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline & Emmanuel Saez. Inf. from chetty@fas.harvard.edu, info@equality-of-opportunity.org [14161]
- "All-In Nation," by Vanessa Cardenas & Sarah Treuhaft (266 pp., July 2013), a joint collaboration between the Center for American Progress & PolicyLink, is available (no price listed) from progress@americanprogress.org [14167]
- *In Solidarity: Essays on Working-Class Organization and Strategy in the United States*, by Kim Moody (328 pp., Dec. 2013, \$22), is being published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [14192]

- "Five Options in an Era of Stalemate, Stagnation and Decay," by Gar Alperovitz (Aug. 2013), is available (likely free) from The Democracy Collaborative, 6930 Carroll Ave., #501, Takoma Park, MD 20912. The 5 (analysis of them at Truthout) are: A New Progressive Realignment? Build a Movement; Go Local; Friendly Fascism; Revolutionary Reconstruction. [14214]

- *Focus* -- now available only electronically -- in its Spring/Summer 2013 issue features articles on health, savings, Empowerment Zones, jobs, work conditions. Inf. from the Univ. of Wisconsin Inst. on Race & Poverty, irpfocusalert@ssc.wisc.edu [14216]

- *The Activist's Handbook: Winning Social Change in the 21st Century-2nd ed.*, by Randy Shaw (2013), has just been published by Univ. Calif. Press. Available from them & Amazon. [14219]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **The Equal Rights Center** (Wash., DC) is hiring a **Testing & Special Projects Mgr.** Ltr./Resume/Refs. to MRothstein@equalrightscenter.org [14150]
- **Colorado Legal Services** is seeking a f.t. **Supervising Atty.** for their Denver office Housing Rights & Homeless Prevention Unit. Ltr./resume to Carol Germano, CLS, 1905 Sherman St., #400, Denver, CO 80203, germano@colegalserv.org [14208]
- **The Center for Effective Government** (DC) seeks an energetic, skilled **Online Communications Manager** to manage and implement its online communications strategy. Ltr./resume/writing sample/graphics samples to hiring@foreffectivegov.org.

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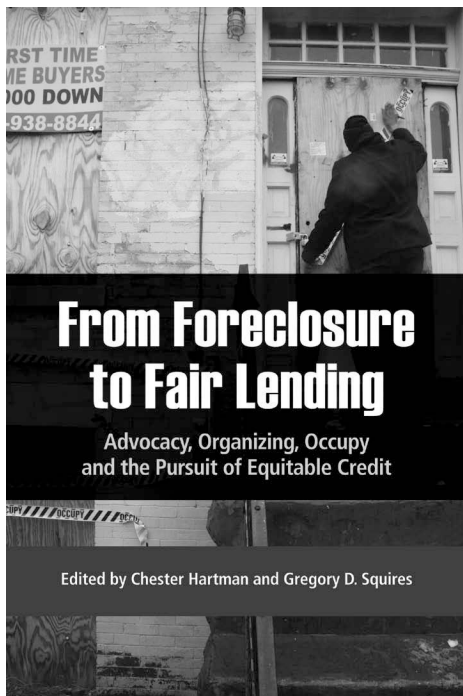
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ISBN print: 978-1-61332-013-6
 ISBN ebook: 978-1-61332-014-3
 Publisher: New Village Press
 Distributor: Consortium
 Pages: 352, Trim: 6" x 9"
 Binding: Paperback
 Illustrations: photography, diagrams
 Special: Full Index
 BISAC Categories: Social Science, Economics

Publication date: October 15, 2013
Price: \$19.95

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From Foreclosure to Fair Lending Advocacy, Organizing, Occupy, and the Pursuit of Equitable Credit

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