QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER
VOL. 3 • SPRING 2014

GLOBAL HUNGER and the FOOD SYSTEM
An Analysis from the Haas Institute Global Justice Program

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EVENTS
Municipal Distress—Beyond Bankruptcy

DIRECTOR’S BLOG
Mandela’s Work is Our Own

@haasinstitute
The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at the University of California, Berkeley brings together researchers, community stakeholders, policymakers and communicators to identify and challenge the barriers to an inclusive, just and sustainable society and create transformative change. The Institute serves as a national hub of a vibrant network of researchers and community partners. The Haas Institute takes a leadership role in translating, communicating and facilitating research, policy and strategic engagement. The Haas Institute advances research and policy related to marginalized people while essentially touching all who benefit from a truly diverse, fair and inclusive society.

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COVER ART
Perennial sorghum grain, part of new crops being grown at The Land Institute that are less dependent on nitrogen-based fertilizers and better-equipped to anchor soil, virtually eliminating erosion and chemical runoff, and promise a much smaller energy cost. Cover photo courtesy of The Land Institute.

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OUR NEW LOOK!

This edition of our newsletter reflects not only a new logo representing the Haas Institute, but an updated layout as well. Look for more changes in the next issue of our newsletter, on our website and social media sites, and throughout materials we’re developing to continue amplifying the message of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. Sign up for our mailing list at haasinstitute@gmail.com.
THE ISSUE OF INEQUALITY IS BURGEONING in the public consciousness, and the Haas Institute is turning its attention not only to steadily widening income and wealth inequality, but its effects on marginalized groups and the challenges it presents to our politics and democratic norms.

We are fortunate to have not only many of the nation’s leading scholars on income inequality here at UC Berkeley, but as members of the Institute's faculty research clusters (p. 8). Robert Reich is the subject of a wonderful new documentary, Inequality For All, which provides a clear and accessible explanation for economic inequality and the dangers to our economy and democracy. Reich’s film relies on research from another member of the Haas Institute’s Economic Disparities cluster, Emmanuel Saez, who, in collaboration with his longtime colleague and research partner Thomas Piketty, investigated the changing share of income accumulated by the highest earners. Piketty has also authored a landmark new book, Capital in the Twenty-First Century, that builds on their research and illustrates the increasing returns to capital and the dangers of growing concentration of wealth as a result.

Saez is also a member of a team that has put together an exceptional web-resource with Harvard faculty called “The Equality of Opportunity Project” (equality-of-opportunity.org) that measures the percentage of individuals from the bottom quintile of the income distribution that rise to the top quintile. The explanatory paper identifies five key structural factors that correlate to upward mobility. The chair of the Haas Institute Economic Disparities cluster, Hilary Hoynes, has recently written about the importance of the Earned Income Tax Credit. We are proud to announce the publication of a new policy brief that synthesizes the work of these important scholars and offers a summary of prescriptive policy guidance (p. 11).

Perhaps the more challenging issue is not the dearth of solutions or policy prescriptions, but the lack of political will for policies to ameliorate the harms of rising inequality. My colleague, law professor Ian Haney Lopez, has also authored an important new related book, Dog Whistle Politics, with a subtitle that captures his argument: How Coded Appeals Have Reinvented Racism & Wrecked the Middle Class. His work illustrates how race has been used and continues to be used in ways that harm everyone, issues which are also central to my own writing.

The issues of inequality are playing out at the neighborhood and community level. Perhaps the most important book, among the growing chorus of writers in this area in the last few years, is Robert Sampson’s dense but brilliant The Great American City, illustrating the clustering of opportunity and disadvantage using longitudinal research and compelling insights.

Underscoring the concerns about regional inequality and how these trends play out between municipalities, we recently co-hosted a timely conference in Detroit entitled Beyond Bankruptcy to focus on the issue of municipal distress (p. 16). My colleague Michelle Wilde Anderson has recently published an important article in the Yale Law Journal entitled “The New Minimal Cities” that examines trends of urban municipal distress and focuses on the twenty-eight municipalities that have declared bankruptcy or entered receivership from 2007 to 2013. In particular, her article brings into focus the hard questions about public services, pensions, wages and benefits that fiscal distress prompts. The reason for the title of the conference is not only to draw attention to places like Detroit and Puerto Rico, but also to illustrate how these issues stretch far beyond these extreme examples. Just as the foreclosure crisis upended the economy, municipal distress could be a new iteration of this issue. Tom Sugrue, Ron Sims, Angela Glover-Blackwell and many others spoke at the conference. ▪
WE'RE PLEASED TO HIGHLIGHT many exciting initiatives that the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society has been engaged in since our last edition of this newsletter.

Most recently, we co-authored an amicus (friend of the court) brief filed in the California Supreme Court in support of inclusionary zoning (p. 5). Research suggests that inclusionary zoning is a vital mechanism for reducing racial and economic segregation. In this closely-watched case, developers in San Jose are challenging the city’s inclusionary zoning ordinance which, if not protected, have the potential of widespread negative consequences.

In January, we contributed to a report on the potential environmental, economic and social impacts of the new UC Berkeley and Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory campus planned for development in Richmond, California. This Environmental Impact Review report illustrates the potential risks of gentrification and displacement in Richmond as well as the consequent potential for increased greenhouse gas emission (see p. 6).

The Environmental Impact Review is part of a broader initiative we’re working on that seeks to leverage anchor institutions to benefit local communities based upon the convergence of local institutional interests and community interests, and to ensure that the harmful impacts of developments or expansions by large development initiatives are minimized. Program Manager Eli Moore discusses the critical interplay between anchor institutions and community health in a preview of an upcoming report we’re releasing on this initiative (p. 7).

Since we opened our doors in the summer of 2012, the research agenda of the Haas Institute has gradually shifted in a number of important ways. Our portfolio has evolved from predominantly discrete projects to include a number of broader, ongoing initiatives. While we remain opportunistic, ready and willing to bring our expertise and research to address timely and important matters, we have begun to organize and direct our resources in other ways. In the last issue of the newsletter, we shared news of the launch of the Inclusiveness Index, a diagnostic tool for measuring inclusion across a number of social domains at the local, national and international level. Last fall, we also published a report in Equity Indices that surveyed a range of multi-indicator indices that seek to measure well-being and equity. We are continuing to investigate not only the range of indicators that can provide a more nuanced portrait of life in America and beyond, but that can help us define and understand the American opportunity structure. Our work on opportunity mapping is increasingly focused on non-spatial factors that influence individual and group life chances, as well as the deeper conduits and channels that structure opportunity. Last summer, we advised the UC Davis Center for Regional Change as they launched the Rural Opportunity Index, which brings into focus the differences between rural and urban areas in terms of the opportunity structure.

In the last few months, we have become increasingly concerned with nationwide patterns of municipal distress. While a number of prominent cities and municipalities are experiencing severe economic distress, as epitomized by Detroit, the issue is a nationwide phenomena affecting a majority of communities. That is why we held a conference in Detroit called Beyond Bankruptcy, in order to understand the broader impact of these issues (p. 16).

This month we’ll be publishing our new policy brief on inequality that synthesizes the research of our Economic Disparities cluster members, including Emmanuel Saez, Robert Reich and Hilary Hoynes. We anticipate this brief to be the first of many highlighting the exciting and brilliant work of our cluster faculty.

We have many other projects in the pipeline, so be sure to follow us on Twitter, Facebook and subscribe to our e-newsletter.
Amicus Brief Supports Inclusionary Zoning

Brief Filed in California Supreme Court to Protect Inclusionary Zoning Laws

Press Release from April 2014

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at the University of California, Berkeley was a key contributor to an amicus (friend of the court) brief filed in support of the city of San Jose in a lawsuit that threatens the City’s inclusionary zoning laws. Inclusionary zoning is critical to protecting social inclusion and integration in municipal districts. Without inclusionary zoning laws, residential segregation is further exacerbated, greatly limiting access to economic and social mobility opportunities for low-income families.

At issue in the case are the city’s zoning requirements that protect San Jose’s efforts to continue to build and provide affordable housing in economically integrated neighborhoods. The case, entitled California Building Industry Association v. City of San Jose (Affordable Housing Network of Santa Clara County), is currently pending before the California Supreme Court. The outcome is expected to reverberate nationally as California is seen as a key leader in inclusionary zoning practices that help prevent widening inequality in metropolitan areas. San Jose is of particular interest due to its unique geographic role in the technology economy.

The Haas Institute co-authored and provided key support for the research and analysis of this brief in order to emphasize the important role that affordable housing plays in all sectors of life. More than 45 housing scholars, fair housing advocates and legal and policy analysts signed in support of the brief, including the Haas Institute’s Director John A. Powell and Assistant Director Stephen Menendian.

Menendian noted, “San Jose is at the epicenter of a national conversation on rapidly widening inequality. In co-authoring the brief, we are emphasizing the essential importance of inclusionary zoning ordinances in preventing further displacement of low and middle income residents.” Menendian, a legal scholar who has written about fair housing issues for the last decade, further adds: “Lack of inclusionary zoning will result in further economic and racial segregation, which has proven long-term negative effects on all residents of an area.”

Mike Rawson, lead counsel for the City of San Jose, noted in an email to all signatories on the amicus brief: “The evidence marshaled, the analysis presented, and the picture that emerges of the crushing reality of segregation and opportunity denied are profound. The brief will ensure that the justices will see the case in all its ramifications.”

The amicus brief gives an analysis of the United States’ history of economic and racial residential segregation and the pernicious effects of the nation’s history of exclusionary zoning, policies which directly targeted groups of color. Inclusionary zoning is a unique and effective policy utilized by local governments to meet the challenges they face in regards to land use. The brief also details how inclusionary zoning expands opportunities for low and moderate income households.

“Housing is more than just shelter. Where we live affects residents’ opportunities for employment, school, transportation and other community assets. Simply increasing affordable housing is not enough. Where the housing is located is critical since we know that when poverty is concentrated, all other life chances are also compromised,” emphasizes John A. Powell, Director of the Haas Institute.

Underwater America

New Report Reframes the So-Called Housing ‘Recovery’

A new report was launched at a press conference on May 8 in Richmond, CA, that highlights the problem of widespread “underwater mortgages”—homeowners...
stuck in loans for more than their home is worth—which persists in many communities across the country.

The report identifies the nation’s most troubled hot spots: the cities, metro areas and communities where the highest proportion of homeowners still have negative equity, or are “underwater.” Authors argue that market forces alone will not bring the recovery to these severely impacted communities, and issue an urgent call for local or federal intervention to reduce mortgage principal.

The authors analyze negative equity and foreclosure data together with race and income data, at a zip code level, as well as city and metropolitan areas. The report uncovers how the legacy of predatory lending has resulted in a disproportionate negative impact on African American and Latino communities. One in ten Americans live in the 100 hardest hit cities where the number of underwater homeowners range from 22% to 56%, as cited by the report.

The report outlines recommendations to counter the foreclosure crisis. The authors propose that loan holders such as banks, government sponsored enterprises (i.e., Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac) and investors should reduce the principal on underwater mortgages to current market values. If loan holders are unable, they should allow these loans to be purchased by publicly-owned or nonprofit entities that are willing to restructure them with fair and affordable terms. Additionally, local municipalities should use all options to facilitate the goal of resetting mortgages to current market values, including the use of “reverse eminent domain” to acquire mortgages in order to restructure them with fair and affordable terms. Additionally, local municipalities should use all options to facilitate the goal of resetting mortgages to current market values, including the use of “reverse eminent domain” to acquire mortgages in order to restructure them with fair and affordable terms, a strategy currently being pursued by the city of Richmond. Lastly, banks, government entities and investors that own vacant homes that have already been foreclosed upon should sell them to publicly-owned or nonprofit entities that can convert them to affordable housing units for residents of the community instead of selling them to speculators.

The five authors who contributed to the report are: Peter Dreier from Occidental College; Saqib Bhatti from the Nathan Cummings Foundation; Rob Call from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Alex Schwartz from The New School; and Gregory Squires from The George Washington University.

The report has received national press attention including an op-ed in The New York Times by Peter Dreier calling attention to the false claims of the housing recovery, and many local news agencies in the hardest-hit metropolitan areas, such as the SF Bay Area, detailed the report’s findings on TV and radio.

Download the report at diversity.berkeley.edu/haas-institute/underwater-america-report.

Development Without Displacement

An Analysis of Potential Effects of Residential Displacement for New Richmond Bay Campus

Press release from January 2014.

UC Berkeley and Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory have proposed a second campus, poised to be the biggest public project in Richmond since the WWII shipyards attracted workers in the 1940s. Researchers at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society assisted community-based organizations in Richmond with an analysis of the proposed Richmond Bay Campus’ (RBC) social, economic and environmental impacts.

The planned expansion will have wide-ranging long-term impacts on the Richmond community and Bay Area. The Haas Institute and community partners Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment and Contra Costa Interfaith Supporting Community Organization seek to ensure that the benefits of the planned expansion are inclusive of the surrounding community, particularly groups historically marginalized from major development projects. The partnership is working to provide low-income renters, families, unemployed and underemployed, formerly incarcerated and immigrant residents, small business owners and others the resources and avenue to engage in decision making around the development of the new campus. Input from these stakeholders and technical analysis have raised concerns about housing affordability, employment opportunities, displacement and other potential impacts.

The Haas Institute research team, headed by Eli Moore, has been meeting with Richmond community residents who worry that the new campus could cause further rent increases for this already vulnerable population. According to the analysis, “nearly half (48%) of renters in Richmond are housing cost burdened [paying more than 30% of income toward housing] and low income.” The proposed campus will increase housing demand without increasing the supply. Richmond is one of the few areas in the Bay Area’s urban core with relatively affordable housing. The majority of residents near the proposed campus site are renters, and according to the study, “Richmond has some of the highest concentration of low-income renters within the region.”

The effect may cause the already at-risk population to relocate to more affordable housing in the outer-suburbs.
The environmental impact of displacement may be significant, as greenhouse gas emissions increase when the local population moves to the outer suburbs, resulting in increased commute times. If low-income populations move away from the high job concentration in the urban employment hubs, their commutes will get longer. As commute times increase, so will greenhouse gas emissions. Additional analysis by an environmental engineer working with community leaders found potential air and water pollution.

“The challenge for Richmond, the University of California, and Lawrence Berkeley Labs is to forge strategies that allow for the economic effects of the new campus to have a broad and inclusive impact,” the report authors state. Community leaders recommend particular strategies to mitigate consequences including job training, targeted hiring among the local population and a living wage requirement for contracts. The researchers suggest that with strong support for affordable housing and regular conversations between community leaders and campus decision makers, the project could become a model for high-tech campuses seeking to leverage their economic power for inclusive community economic development.

The Richmond Bay Campus: An Opportunity?

A new report analyzes anchor institutions in Richmond and priorities that residents have set for pursuing inclusive opportunities. Community opportunity and inclusion are deeply intertwined with the actions of community “anchor institutions,” such as universities and hospitals. In their capacity as major employers, purchasers of goods and services, conduits for investment and training and education partners, these anchors shape the neighborhood conditions and pathways that link communities to assets and industries in their region. From Syracuse to Portland, Miami to Pittsburgh, a growing list of communities and institutions have developed strategies for taking greater advantage of the role anchor institutions can play in advancing inclusive community economic development.

Through a partnership with grassroots community groups in Richmond, CA, the Haas Institute is focusing on the role of a new research campus being planned by UC Berkeley and Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory (LBNL)—known as the Richmond Bay Campus—in furthering opportunity and inclusion in marginalized communities. Top university and LBNL leaders have already begun to respond to community proposals by signing a letter of commitment that formalizes their pledge to meet goals related to local hiring, educational partnerships, workforce development, local procurement and a community partnership process.

The new Haas Institute report, Community Opportunity and the Richmond Bay Campus (out in early June), explores policies and practices that anchors in the region could implement to further greater inclusion in education, career pathways, employment, wealth building, housing, environmental health and community partnership. The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity provided an analysis of opportunity in the Bay Area using 18 indicators known to shape opportunity across education, economics, transportation and housing and neighborhood environment. The analysis revealed that 89% of the census tracts in Richmond were low or very low opportunity. The new report reveals there are actions that the Richmond Bay Campus could take, from targeted hiring of disadvantaged workers to investment in a community land trust, that would ensure that the avenues to opportunity are opened and existing residents are able to benefit from the new development.

More info on the Richmond project at diversity.berkeley.edu/richmond-partnerships.
At the heart of the Haas Institute are **seven clusters of teaching and research** that focus on addressing society’s most pressing and pivotal issues related to vulnerable and marginalized populations.

The Haas Institute creates coherence among faculty clusters and provides leadership on policy and the formation of structures, while endowed Cluster Chairs lead faculty members in aligning areas of research to work on the **game-changing issues** that emerge.

The seven research clusters are:

- Disability Studies
- Diversity and Democracy
- Diversity and Health Disparities
- Economic Disparities
- LGBTQ Citizenship
- Religious Diversity
- Race, Diversity and Educational Policy

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**DISABILITY STUDIES**

The Research Cluster in Disability Studies aims to support theoretical and applied research, policy analysis, teaching, and community partnership on disability issues, at local, national and global levels. Working to understand the meaning and effects of disability socially, legally, politically and culturally, at various points in space and time, we seek to eliminate barriers to full social inclusion; advance the civil and human rights of people with disabilities; elucidate the complexities of disability experience; develop new critical paradigms for understanding disability in relation to race, gender, sexuality, transnational perspectives and economic disparities; and open up new ways of thinking about and from the vantage point of disability.

**CLUSTER CO-LEADERS**

Susan Schweik  
Professor of English  
Katherine Sherwood  
Professor of Art Practice

**CLUSTER MEMBERS**

Mel Y. Chen  
Women’s Studies  
Frederick Collignon  
Bancroft Library  
Georgina Kleege  
English  
Raymond Lifchez  
Architecture, City and Regional Planning  
Jane Mauldon  
Goldman School of Public Policy  
Marsha Saxton  
Disability Studies  
Nancy Scheper-Hughes  
Anthropology

**SPRING 2014 ACTIVITIES**

- On February 24, the Disability Studies, Diversity & Democracy, and Health Disparities research clusters, along with the UC Berkeley Department of Rhetoric, co-sponsored a book talk by **Sarah Jaquette Ray**, Assistant Professor and Program Leader of Environmental Studies at Humboldt State University and author of *The Ecological Other: Environmental Exclusion in American Literature* (University of Arizona Press, 2013).

- On March 10, the Disability Studies Cluster sponsored a book talk by **Alison Kafer**, Associate Professor of Feminist Studies at Southwestern University and author of *Feminist Queer Crip*.

- On March 18, the Disability Studies Cluster sponsored a book talk by **Rachel Adams**, Professor of English and American Studies at Columbia University and author of *Raising Henry: A Memoir of Motherhood, Disability, and Discovery*.

- The Disability Studies Cluster **Spring Lecture Series** was sponsored by the cluster. Five senior scholars gave lectures:

  - On March 17, Professor **Rob Imrie** gave a lecture titled “Designing for Complete Streets: The Interrelationships Between Vision-Impairment and Space Sharing in Cities.” Imrie is Professor of Sociology at University of London, Goldsmiths. Professor Imrie’s research interests are in the
geographies of disability and the built environment; urban governance and community development; the impact and implications of urban policy; urban design and the codification and regulation of architecture; and more generally on disability, design and embodiment. He is currently director of the European Research Council.

- On April 1, Professor Michael Stein gave a lecture titled “The UN Disability Rights Treaty: Participation, Politics, and Prospects.” Executive Director of the Harvard Law School Project on Disability and former Cabell Professor at William and Mary Law School, Stein played a prominent role in the drafting of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. A widely published and internationally known scholar, Professor Stein counsels governments on disability law and policy, represents international disability rights organizations, and trains disability human rights advocates around the globe. Professor Stein has taught at Harvard, NYU, Stanford, and William and Mary.

- On April 8, Professor Brenda Brueggemann gave a lecture titled “Deaf What? Constructing James Castle.” Brueggemann is Professor of English at University of Louisville, where she recently joined the faculty as Director of the University Composition Program. Brueggemann is an international figure in Disability Studies, one of the founders of the field (especially within Rhetoric) in the late nineties. She has written several books and also served as editor and contributor to Literacy and Deaf People: Cultural and Contextual Perspectives (2004) and Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities (2002) and Women and Deafness: Multidisciplinary Approaches (2006). She has served as editor for the Galaudet University Press “Deaf Lives” series (autobiography and biography) and coedited the journal, Disability Studies Quarterly from 2006-2012. Brueggemann was the founder and faculty advisor for the American Sign Language program, and the director for the interdisciplinary Disability Studies program at Ohio State University.

- On April 14, Professor Karen Nakamura gave a lecture titled “Trans/Disabilities: Sex, Eugenics, and Disability Discourses in Contemporary Japan.” Nakamura is Associate Professor of Anthropology and East Asian Studies at Yale University. Her publications include the co-edited Many Ways to be Deaf: International Variation in Deaf Communities (2003), Deaf in Japan: Signing and the Politics of Identity (2006), and A Disability of the Soul: An Ethnography of Schizophrenia and Mental Illness in Contemporary Japan (2013). She has also made two ethnographic films: the award-winning A Japanese Funeral (2010) and Bethel: Community and Schizophrenia in Northern Japan (2007). Her current book project, Trans/Japan, Trans/Disability, is about the transgender population in southern Japan and the uses of disability law by transgender activists. She has been developing a course on universal design as part of her work with Yale’s Center for Engineering Innovation and Design.

- On April 23, Professor Sandra Sufian gave a lecture entitled “Risk, Disability, and the History of Adoption in America.” Sufian is Associate Professor of Medical Humanities and History in the Department of Medical Education of the College of Medicine, and Associate Professor of Disability Studies in the Department of Disability and Human Development in the College of Applied Health Sciences at the University of Illinois-Chicago. Currently, she is working on a project about the history of the adoption of children with disabilities in twentieth century America called Familial Fitness: Risk, Disability and Adoption in America, 1920-1990. She co-organizes the Health and Society working group of the UIC Institute for the Humanities and is the founder and board member of the Global Network of Researchers on HIV/AIDS in the Middle East and North Africa. Sufian is on the Board of the Disability History Association and is the chair of the Advisory Committee on Disability for the American Historical Association. She is also co-founder and organizer of a national mentorship program for graduate student historians of disability, and is on the Disability Culture Committee and ADA Committee at UIC.

**DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY**

The central focus of the Diversity & Democracy Cluster is the question of how liberal democratic principles and practices adapt to an increasingly diverse population. The questions of citizenship and membership that flow from this agenda are both descriptive and normative, and touch on the formation and fragmentation of personal and communal identities by which “we” and “they” are created, the disputes about the categorization of groups and the allocation of rights and benefits to such groups (based on race, ethnicity, religion, national origin or legal status), and the participation of all individuals and groups in civic and political life. These questions demand the interdisciplinary efforts of philosophers, social scientists, and legal scholars.

**CLUSTER LEADER**

Rodney Hero
Distinguished Cluster Chair of Diversity and Democracy, and Professor of Political Science

**CLUSTER MEMBERS**

Irene Bloemraad
Sociology

Cybelle Fox
Sociology

Christopher Edley
Berkeley School of Law

Christopher Kutz
Berkeley School of Law

Taeku Lee
Political Science
Irene Bloemraad:
- Bloemraad was named a member of the U.S. National Research Council panel that will report on the “Integration of Immigrants in U.S. Society.”
- Bloemraad was awarded the American Cultures Innovation in Teaching prize for combining service learning and community partnership with instruction on academic research in her undergraduate lecture and seminar classes on immigration. Bloemraad partnered with nonprofit community groups such as Centro Legal de la Raza and the East Oakland Youth Development Center, both of which serve largely minority communities in Oakland.
- Bloemraad’s article, “Is There a Trade-off Between Multiculturalism and Socio-Political Integration?”, co-authored with Matthew Wright, won the “Best Article” award from the Migration and Citizenship section of the American Political Science Association. Her article “Funding Immigrant Organizations: Suburban Free-riding and Local Civic Presence,” co-authored with Els de Graauw and Shannon Gleeson, was published in the American Journal of Sociology.

Cybelle Fox:
- Fox published a chapter in a volume on Immigration and Poverty entitled “Immigration, Political Participation and Redistributive Social Policy” (co-authored with Irene Bloemraad and Christel Kesler).
- Fox published a policy brief entitled “If Immigration Reform is Enacted, Will Newly Legalized Migrants Have Access to Federal Social Benefits?” for the Scholars Strategy Network, examining the effects of the senate immigration reform proposals.
- Fox presented her work on race, immigration and the American welfare state at Ohio State University, the CUNY Graduate Center, the University of Miami, Rutgers University, Stanford University, Yale University, Princeton University, the University of Illinois, the University of California, Davis, and the Russell Sage Foundation. She also made conference presentations for the Social Science History Association, the Organization of American Historians, the American Political Science Association, and the Welfare and Migration Research Network and the Nordic Center of Excellence in Denmark.

Rodney Hero
- Hero presented at Texas A&M University to Political Science faculty and graduate students, supported by the Project for Equity, Representation & Governance at Texas A&M.
- Hero was an invited panelist at the Southern Political Science Association conference in January, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists in March, the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting in April, and the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Seattle.
- Hero was elected to serve as President of the American Political Science Association (APSA).

Cristina Mora:
- Mora’s article, “Cross Field Effects and Ethnic Classification: The Institutionalization of Hispanic Panethnicity,” was the feature article in the American Sociological Review.
- Mora’s article entitled “Religion and the Organizational Context of Immigrant Civic Participation: Mexican Catholicism in the USA” was published as a lead article in the sociological study of race and ethnicity.

Diversity and Health Disparities
The Diversity and Health Disparities cluster addresses health inequities among ethnic and racial minorities and other vulnerable populations through research, teaching and policy activity on deeply rooted social inequities within our society that result in disproportionate rates of illness and death in marginalized groups.

Cluster Leader
Denise Herd
School of Public Health

Cluster Members
Charles Briggs
Anthropology
Julian Chow
Social Welfare
Jason Corburn
City and Regional Planning
Cori Hayden
Anthropology
Malo Hutson
City and Regional Planning
Mahasin Mujahid
School of Public Health
Amani M. Nuru-Jeter
School of Public Health
Rucker Johnson
Public Policy
Rachel Morello-Frosch
College of Natural Resources
Lonnie Snowden
Public Health
Kurt Organista
Social Welfare

Spring 2014 Activities
- The Health Disparities Cluster sponsored the following Spring Lecture series:
  - On Feb. 24, Professor Lisa Park gave a lecture on her interdisciplinary research that focuses on immigrants and how their experiences coincide and conflict with larger national ideologies and histories. Park’s work explores how immigration politics functions within the
context of neoliberalism to endorse the retrenchment of public goods, services, and space. Park is a Professor of Sociology and the director of the Asian American Studies program at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities.

• On March 3, Professor Angela Garcia from Stanford University delivered her lecture on the historical and institutional processes through which violence and suffering is produced and lived. Professor Garcia’s ongoing work in the U.S. explores processes of legal “re-entry” that incarcerated and paroled drug users undertake, particularly within kin networks.

• On March 10, Professor Clara Han, Assistant Professor at Johns Hopkins University, gave a talk on her long-term research interests centered on the themes of poverty, health and violence.

• On March 17, Professor Joan Fujimura of the University of Wisconsin-Madison gave a talk entitled “What is ‘Race’ in the Age of Genomics?” Fujimura is the Founding Director of the Robert E. and Jean E. Holtz Center for Science and Technology Studies.

• On March 31, Professor Osagie Obasogie from the UC Hastings Law School gave a talk entitled “Race as a Risk Factor.” Professor Obasogie’s research attempts to bridge the conceptual and methodological gaps between empirical and doctrinal scholarship on race. This effort can be seen in his recent work that asks: how do blind people understand race? By engaging in qualitative research with individuals who have been totally blind since birth, this project provides an empirical basis from which to rethink core assumptions embedded in social and legal understandings of race.

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

Economic Disparities focuses on the evolution of economic consequences on populations that have been historically disadvantaged by society by virtue of their identity outside of the cultural majority or perceived normal, as well as the economic consequences of intersecting issues of socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity and other factors.

CLUSTER LEADER

Hilary Hoynes
Distinguished Cluster Chair of Economic Disparities, and Professor of Public Policy and Economics

CLUSTER MEMBERS

Henry Brady
Dean, Graduate School of Public Policy

David Card
Economics

Karen Chapple
City and Regional Planning

Paul Groth
Geography

Percy Hintzen
African-American Studies

Michael Johns
Geography

Rucker Johnson
Goldman School of Public Policy

NEW POLICY BRIEF ON ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

The Haas Institute will release a new policy brief this summer on rising inequality that draws upon recent research from the Economic Disparities Research Cluster, including faculty members David Card, Hilary Hoynes, Paul Pierson, Michael Reich, Robert Reich and Emmanuel Saez. The policy brief offers specific policy recommendations that could have a meaningful impact to reduce inequality.

The report addresses the issue of dramatic increases in income inequality in household income and wealth since the 1970s and how this increasing income inequality has contributed to rising levels of residential segregation by income. The brief offers public policy recommendations to address these critical issues.

In 1970, the income of a household at the 95th percentile of earners in 2012 was six times that of a household at the 20th percentile; today, the high-income household earns more than nine times the income of the lower-income household. The share of households with incomes between $40,000 and $100,000 (in 2012 constant dollars) has been declining for decades, while the share of households making less than $40,000 has been growing. In short, the middle class is shrinking and the percentage of Americans living in poverty is growing at the same time that incomes of top earners continue to rise.

This growing divide presents fundamental obstacles to individuals’ efforts to realize their full potential and, in turn, the nation’s ability to make the most of the potential human capital of its residents. As high-income families share fewer neighborhoods with middle- and low-income families, the nation is characterized by increasingly unequal social contexts. At the same time, differences in student achievement by income have widened. The gap in college completion rates between youth born to low- and high-income households increased from 39 to 51 percentage points for youth born in the early 1960s compared to those born in the early 1980s.

Policy recommendations include raising the minimum wage, which could lift nearly one million people out of poverty; enhancements to the Earned Income Tax Credit, which could raise the incomes of working poor families; and, improvements to education and reductions in economic and racial segregation that could improve intergenerational mobility.

Look for the policy brief this summer at diversity.berkeley.edu/haas-institute.
Spring 2014 Activities

New cluster member Conrad Miller (currently MIT), an economist studying affirmative action, will be joining the Haas School of Business as a new Assistant Professor.

The cluster contributed to a policy brief based on the research of cluster members (p.11).

Robert Reich was the subject of a documentary Inequality for All.

Rucker Johnson wrote a blog post, “In Search of Integration: Beyond Black & White” for The Furman Center at New York University. Rucker’s piece is part of the Furman Center’s series on “The Dream Revisited”, honoring Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Hilary Hoynes began participation in a Hamilton Project event presenting policy options for a “Poverty Summit.” Additionally, Hoynes was quoted in the Dec. 17 issue of the New York Times in an article titled “In the War on Poverty, a Dogged Adversary.”

LGBTQ Citizenship

The LGBTQ Citizenship cluster focuses on the discriminatory and disparate treatment of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people (LGBTQ) in our society, paying particular attention to how issues of sexual orientation and gender identity intersect with class, race, nationality, gender, age and disability.

Cluster Leader

Russell Robinson

Distinguished Cluster Chair of LGBTQ Citizenship and Professor, School of Law

Cluster Members

Kathryn Abrams

Berkeley School of Law

Mel Y. Chen

Gender and Women’s Studies

Lawrence Cohen

Anthropology

Michael Lucey

French and Comparative Literature

Alice Miller

Berkeley School of Law

Melissa Murray

Berkeley School of Law

Beth Piatote

Native American Studies

Juana Maria Rodriguez

Gender and Women’s Studies

Darieck Scott

African American Studies

Leti Volpp

Berkeley School of Law

Spring 2014 Activities

The LGBTQ Citizenship Research Cluster’s full-day Transgender Studies Matters was held in April at UC Berkeley to packed crowds. Transgender Studies Matters integrated cutting-edge research from a range of emerging scholars ranging from political work on art and activism to ongoing discussions about policy implications.

Among the many themes discussed were: the ways racialized transgender subjects appear and disappear in political discourse; the proprietary nature of surgical techniques of sex reassignment surgery and its impact on medical access; the ways contemporary transgender studies is imbricated within an African American intellectual tradition; and the politics of authorial control in narratives of transgendered subjects. Attendees came from a diverse cross-section of disciplines and interests and cluster member Juana Maria Rodriguez was an invited panelist.

Religious Diversity

The goal of the Religious Diversity Cluster is to understand the ways that religious diversity affects inclusiveness, fairness, tolerance, conflict and other aspects of social cohesive-ness, health and well-being.

Cluster Leader

Henry Brady

Dean of Graduate School of Public Policy

Cluster Members

Jerome Baggett

Jesuit School of Theology

George W. Breslauer

Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost

Terry Deacon

Anthropology

Claude Fischer

Sociology

M. Steven Fish

Political Science

Ron Hassner

Political Science

Heather Haveman

Sociology and Business

Victoria Plaut

Berkeley School of Law

Dacher Keitner

Psychology

Saba Mahmood

Anthropology

Ann Swidler

Sociology

Jason Wittenberg

Political Science

Spring 2014 Activities

The Religious Disparities Cluster hosted a Spring Lecture Series. Five senior scholars gave lectures:

- On April 9, Anver Emon, Law Professor at the University of Toronto, gave a lecture entitled “Shari’a and the Rule of Law.” Professor Emon is an internationally recognized scholar of Islamic law who works across multiple legal traditions. He consults for governments, NGOs and legal advocacy groups around the world. Dr. Emon’s research
focuses on premodern and modern Islamic legal history and theory; premodern modes of governance and adjudication; and the role of Shari’a both inside and outside the Muslim world. Emon is the founding editor of Middle East Law and Governance: An Interdisciplinary Journal, and series editor of the Oxford Islamic Legal Studies Series.

• On April 21, Roxanne L. Euben, Ralph Emerson and Alice Freeman Palmer Professor of Political Science at Wellesley College, gave a lecture entitled “Islam and Religious Pluralism?” Professor Euben explored why questions about the relationship between Islam and religious pluralism often descend into claims and counter-claims about the intolerance or ecumenicalism of Islam. Euben outlined an Islamic ethos of talab al-‘ilm (travel in search of knowledge) and argued that it constitutes an exhortation to Muslims to regard openness to and appreciation of religious pluralism. Euben has previously been awarded fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, and American Council of Learned Societies.

• On April 24, Melissa Wilde, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, gave a talk entitled “Birth of the Culture Wars: How Race Divided American Religion.” Professor Wilde examined why contemporary American religious groups are often classified as progressive or conservative by their views on sex and gender and how it’s taken as a given that progressives are pro-choice, feminist and pro-gay marriage, and conservatives the opposite. Starting with the question—How did we get here?—Wilde delved into the history of the first religious debates about birth control to demonstrate that the politics of sex and gender that today divide American religion are rooted in inequalities of race and class. Professor Wilde has been awarded a Distinguished Book Award from the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.

• On April 29, Karen Barkey, Professor of Sociology from Columbia University, lectured on “Choreographies of Sharing: Sacred Sites in Ottoman and Contemporary Turkey.” Her presentation focused on how different religious groups come to share one distinct space. Professor Barkey spoke of her ethnographic research examining how these practices continue, and how the narratives of diversity and identity have been changing under national political circumstances.

• On April 30, Christian Davenport, Professor of Political Science from the University of Michigan gave a lecture entitled “Ending Untouchability: Hinduism, Exclusion and Indian State Building.” Professor Davenport’s talk focused on his ongoing research project to conceptualize and measure untouchability across 1,589 villages and individuals in Gujarat, India. He also put forth an argument regarding the importance of Indian state building and offered preliminary evidence suggesting that untouchability is strongest where the Indian government is weakest.

RACE, DIVERSITY & EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The Race, Diversity and Educational Policy cluster focuses on two closely related areas: policy and school reform related to educational inequality; and student context, community collaboration and policy impacts.

CLUSTER CO-LEADERS

Na’ilah Nasir
Distinguished Cluster Chair of Race, Diversity and Educational Policy and Associate Professor, African American Studies

Janelle Scott
Graduate School of Education

CLUSTER MEMBERS

Mark Brilliant
Department of History

Christopher F. Edley, Jr
Berkeley School of Law

Lisa Garcia-Bedolla
Graduate School of Education

Norton Grubb
Graduate School of Education

Charles Henry
African American Studies

Rucker Johnson
Goldman School of Public Policy

Zeus Leonardo
Graduate School of Education

Jabari Mahiri
Graduate School of Education

Michael Omi
Ethnic Studies

SPRING 2014 ACTIVITIES

The Haas Institute’s Race, Diversity, & Educational Policy Cluster hosted a Spring 2014 Faculty Speaker Series with the following four lectures:

• On Feb. 6, Distinguished Cluster Chair and Associate Professor of African American Studies Na’ilah Nasir gave a lecture entitled, “Racialized Identities: Race, Schooling, and Learning for African American Youth.”

• On Feb. 20, Christopher Edley, the Honorable William H. Orrick Jr. Distinguished Chair and Dean, and Director of the Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy, delivered a lecture entitled, “Today’s Nascent Education Equity Movement.”

• On March 6, Rucker Johnson, Associate Professor at the UC Berkeley Goldman School of Public Policy, gave a lecture entitled ”The Effect of School Finance Reforms on the Distribution of Spending, Academic Achievement, and Adult Outcomes.”

• On April 17, Tina Trujillo, Assistant Professor at UC Berkeley’s Graduate School of Education, gave a lecture titled, “The Making of an Educational Policy Entrepreneur: The Roles of Race, Class, and Ideology in Teach for America.”

• On April 24, Zeus Leonardo, Associate Professor at UC Berkeley’s Graduate School of Education, gave a lecture titled,”Sub-contracting Race: Education, Philosophy, and Racism.”

Cluster member Jabari Mahiri was named the inaugural chairholder for
A recent research project in the Race, Diversity and Educational Policy cluster undertook a study of a district-wide initiative that aims to better support the learning and engagement of Black male students in the Oakland Unified School District (OUSD).

The study was one component of a broader set of research partnerships between the Haas Institute and OUSD. In this study, Na’ilah Nasir and the research team of graduate students Kihana Ross, Jarvis Givens, and postdoctoral scholar Maxine McKinney de Royston, studied the Manhood Development Program that was implemented throughout OUSD as a part of the African American Male Initiative, whose goal is ameliorating problematic trends with respect to educational performance of African American male students in Oakland.

Consistent with national trends, OUSD has faced major challenges with successfully educating African American males. Black males make up 17.3 percent of the district’s student population, with 30% of these students (1,959 students) enrolled in grades 9 – 12. The rate of chronic absenteeism for African American males is much higher than the district average.

By studying the Manhood Development Program, the research team aimed to understand how these initiatives could be more effectively implemented to support Black male students. The study involved interviews with students, teachers, and school administrators, as well as a review of program materials and data on student engagement.

The findings of the study will inform future research and policy recommendations, aiming to improve educational outcomes for African American male students in Oakland.
American male high school students in the district was 20%, with only 15% testing at the proficient level or above in English and 5% in Math. At the same time, the suspension rate for Black male high school students jumped from 15% to 23% from 2005 to 2010.

In part to address these troubling outcomes, the OUSD created the African American Male (AAMA) Task Force, whose mission is to increase attendance rates, lower suspension and expulsion rates, promote self-awareness and help cultivate healthy identities among Black male students attending Oakland public schools.

In the spring of 2011 AAMA instituted a program at three high schools (later expanded to five schools) in the Oakland School District, targeting African American male students at a range of academic performance levels. School administrators selected cohorts of approximately twenty ninth-grade Black males at each site to engage in a Manhood Development Program class, for which they received elective credits.

Our UC Berkeley study involved observation and video data from the classes, and interviews with twenty-three of the students from three program sites. In a report recently published by the Harvard Educational Review, we wrote about our first set of findings showing that youth viewed discipline in their mainstream classes as unjust, punitive and reflective of teachers’ poor regard for them as Black males; whereas they viewed the disciplinary practices in their Manhood Development as fair, beneficial and reflective of their instructor’s care for them.

Manhood Development Program settings provided a counter-narrative to how Black male students were typically perceived and responded to with respect to school discipline.

Our argument stemming from these studies is that Manhood Development Program leaders functioned as “hero teachers” and engaged in transformative resistance with their students within their classes that 1) Reframed what counted as a disciplinary moment, 2) Re-defined discipline as mutually beneficial and shared, 3) Regularly rehauled and reinterpellated students as learners and engaged participants in the classroom. In other words, the Manhood Development class functions as an example of “transformative resistance” that ‘re-hailed’ Black male students as students and as learners. In doing so, these classes reframed African American male youth as students and created new opportunities for these students to form positive academic identities.

We theorize that the MDP instructors, though this work of re-hailing, become agents of transformation in an oppressive system through countering dominant ideology, disrupting existing systems of repression and establishing new systems of discipline. They utilize pedagogical moves, classroom discourse and student-teacher interactions that attempted to resist the negative racial messages of the school and redefine students’ relationship to discipline.

This study helps us understand the ways that discipline was reframed within an alternative school space, the MDP classes, and how Black male students contrast this alternative disciplinary experience with their more mainstream schooling experiences. In doing so, it provides insight into how discipline functions within schools to the detriment of Black male students and highlights the depths of the institutionalization of discriminatory discipline practices in schools that serve to reinforce the dominant negative views of Black males within the larger society.

In examining the disciplinary practices of the MDP teachers, we consider how alternative approaches to discipline can serve the purpose of countering the way Black males are hailed within schools and construct new possibilities for creating positive identity opportunities for Black males in public schools.

A full write-up on the project entitled “Dirt on My Record: Rethinking Disciplinary Practices in an All-Black, All-Male Alternative Class” is in the Fall 2013 edition of the Harvard Educational Review.

DETROIT: BANKRUPTCY & BEYOND

By Wendy Ake

Researchers, community organizers, scholars and practitioners gathered in Detroit in April to address the pressing issue of municipal distress. Beyond Bankruptcy was inspired by the following vision: Reframing the narrative of municipal distress is urgent. The mainstream discussion should reflect the connections between the status of distressed cities and the housing crisis and the culpability of investment actors. The consequences of these components on municipal budgets, metropolitan regions’ concentrated poverty, and racial dynamics has been severe. As municipalities deal with financial distress, concrete practicable strategies must be created that address the host of relevant issues. Implementing these strategies must increase community power and resilience.

Detroit was chosen as the site of the convening, as Detroit’s municipal financial struggles have become a touchstone drawing national attention. Detroit was the twenty-sixth city to declare a municipal bankruptcy or receivership between the period of 2008 and 2013. While Detroit is the largest city to declare bankruptcy, it is not alone. This first Beyond Bankruptcy gathering would glean insight into municipal distress by looking at cities as a group in order to analyze trends in urban finance structures. The planning partners envisioned that the Detroit event would be a forum to find alternative solutions while also focusing on situating strategies based on the city’s historical past—strategies such as responding to the legacy of deindustrialization, discrimination, white flight, and regional isolation. In this way, participants would emerge with greater equity and resilience to take back to and empower their own communities.

On April 7, “Detroit Bankruptcy & Beyond” kicked off at Wayne State University’s Damon J. Keith Center for Civil Rights by welcoming over 200 people. On the first evening, speakers emphasized Detroit’s history and its relationship to current state and local governance and the situation of disenfranchisement of the state’s African American population. Under-scored was that strategies should be assessed and evaluated by the thought: Who decides, who pays and who benefits? The following day’s schedule included a detailed discussion of Detroit’s finances from a historical perspective; a national view of municipal distress and the view from other cities; and a strategy session. A recurrent theme was that challenges faced by municipal budgets must be understood as a reflection of an unsustainable federal government budget.

Wallace Turbeville, author of the DEMOS report “The Detroit Bankruptcy,” laid out a series of options that were available to the city in addition to bankruptcy. He stressed that the Detroit bankruptcy was not inevitable in the service of its debts, particularly if one considers the question of rescinding credit swaps. The role of labor organizations were also discussed. Another topic of discussion was the role of state leadership that has assisted the state’s distressed cities, thereby averting bankruptcy. Talks emphasized that bankruptcy is neither an inevitable or necessarily productive outcome of municipal financial distress. Many speakers also stressed the importance of reframing the national conversation on municipal distress, in particular Detroit’s, beyond that of local government decisions and mismanagement.

Another theme of conversation focused on raising the bar for long-term outcomes and expectations from a responsible governance system. PolicyLink CEO Angela Glover Blackwell spoke about an equity and economic argument for quality education of youth of color. Due to demographic
EXPANSIVE TRANSFORMATION
MINDFULNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

By Veronica Hash

On March 5, the Haas Institute and the East Bay Meditation Center (EBMC) co-sponsored a day-long retreat entitled Expansive Transformation: Mindfulness And Social Justice, led by Larry Yang, core dharma teacher at EBMC, and Haas Institute Director and longtime meditative practitioner John A. Powell. The day of meditative practice and discussions was centered around the role of mindfulness and how it intersects with social justice advocacy. The packed event included social justice activists, numerous UC Berkeley staff, faculty, and students, EBMC staff and many community members.

With a gentle and soothing demeanor, Larry Yang opened the retreat with a sitting mindfulness practice, allowing participants to center and quiet themselves for the day ahead. Yang’s opening meditation was one of three that were incorporated into the day’s agenda, including a silent lunch meditation. Upon the ringing of the singing bowl, the meditation concluded and Larry gave a talk about how “the Idealist” succumbs to activism and becomes overworked by committing to too many projects. He explained how the frenzy of activism destroys fruitfulness and kills the root of inner wisdom. He urged participants to think about the long-term goals of justice in our work by paraphrasing the words of Dr. Reverend Martin Luther King, stating, “that justice is worthy and will always take longer than we would like.”

After a vegan Pilipino lunch catered by Oakland-based No Worries Catering, Professor John A. Powell turned the day’s focus to the disheartening effects of the seventeenth century’s Enlightenment period. With the period’s emphasis on highlighting the “self,” Powell argued that the Enlightenment period actually left man disconnected from humankind and the universe. Powell provided insight into how that knowledge has lead to a hyper-individualist, fearful and anxious self. That self lives in fear of the other (including the disabled, black, Latino and LGBTQ persons), fear of government and fear of becoming dependent. Yet, social scientists have proved that all humans seek a sense of belonging. Powell offered that the practice of true and spiritual mindfulness would help return mankind to a public and shared life where we all experience a place in the circle of human concern.

Participants later gathered in small groups to share their own personal memoirs of suffering and redemptive moments of joy. One retreat-goer’s takeaway, shared during the breakout session, resonated with both the staff of EBMC and the Haas Institute, “I struggle with believing there’s enough time, money and space. Organizations can instill the belief that there is enough, instead of constricting. They can instill a sense of greatness that we have enough time in the day. To stop worrying if there’s enough time, just to be there, is what mindfulness is all about.”

The full conference report can be found at www.beyondbankruptcy.info.

The expectation of governance working on the behalf of its people is both novel and routine. However, providing examples from his time with King County, Sims demonstrated the unique character of such governance. His talk was a call to envision and expect governance systems operating in the interest of an inclusive urban agenda.

trends, people of color will represent a national majority population—however, this factor alone does not ensure more equitable outcomes for the group. Building and planning for inclusivity is not only fair, but also strategic.

Ronald Sims, former Deputy Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and former King County Executive, provided grounded experiences of governance systems operating in the interest of an inclusive urban agenda.
By 2050, the world population will have surpassed 9 billion people. If the current state of the global food system persists, this surge in the world’s population will present serious challenges to our planet’s ability to cope with global hunger, food insecurity and climate change. Many have suggested that meeting these mounting challenges will require a significant increase in food production. However, this suggestion only serves to simplify and mask the more complex, underlying causes of these issues. To imagine sustainable solutions to global hunger, we need to grapple with how hunger interrelates to the financialization of agriculture, particularly food production, and its impact on climate change. The challenge is tremendous and it requires a deep structural shift in the ways in which we understand the depth and scale of global hunger, and the imperative steps of envisioning and enacting possible solutions.

In 2013, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) celebrated the seventeen percent decline in the number of hungry people worldwide, from 1.2 billion in 1990 to 842 million today. However, this statistic only provides a partial understanding of global hunger. Most of the international agencies such as the FAO and WFP (the U.N. World Food Programme) focus on total calorie intake, which does not include other dietary factors that have life-long impacts on individuals. Inadequate diets can result in insufficient intake of proteins, vitamins and minerals, and even when food intake is sufficient, diets can still be inadequate, causing deficiencies in iodine, vitamin A, and iron—all contributing factors to malnutrition, one of the most common health problems in the Global South.

As we constantly see the interchangeable usage of inadequate calorie intake (chronic food deprivation) and malnutrition (hidden hunger) to describe hunger by many intergovernmental, nongovernmental and other corporate stakeholders, whether intentionally or not, it masks the reality of global hunger. Incorrectly defining the terminology of global hunger not only confuses the issue, but also hinders genuine national and global policies that perhaps could end it.

Conservative estimates suggest there are over two billion people worldwide who lack essential vitamins and minerals to supplement their food intake; however, the actual number of people who suffer from hidden hunger might increase this number even higher. For example, the prevalence of obesity has doubled between 1980 and 2008, which amounts to 500 million people today. Obesity has enormous health consequences and has been proven to increase the risks of...
type 2 diabetes, heart disease, and gastrointestinal cancers. Additionally, there are over 165 million children with stunted growth who cannot reach their full physical and cognitive potential due to hidden hunger, and most of these children live in the Global South. As a result, if we add up these numbers, then the actual number of people who are suffering from chronic food deprivation and hidden hunger related-diseases exceeds two billion.

In the Global South, the structure of the food crisis correlates directly to the historical development of extractive industries. The practice of extracting resources for export was established during the colonial era when irrational exploitation of raw materials and natural resources was a common practice of colonial powers to build their own economies. These practices encouraged the establishment of import-based economies that undermined self-reliance in the Global South, particularly in the agricultural sector, and provided a foothold for the growing power and influence of transnational corporations. Furthermore, these structural arrangements led most countries in the Global South to become a cheap market for biomass, dependent on food aid, and a “dumping space” for Global North agricultural commodities.

Such an imbalanced structure in global trade regulations has hindered Global South countries from building their capacity toward a reliable and sovereign food system. For example, according to the World Bank report, between 2004 and 2009, 56 million hectares of arable land were sold or long-term leased (form 45-100 years) around the globe. The report found that over 70 percent of these land deals took place on the African continent. The proponents of large-scale land deals have argued that these deals will yield greater food production. Today, the size of these large-scale land deals exceeds 88 million hectares, and the majority of these lands have been held as financial assets for cash crops and biofuels production rather than staple food commodities. Thus, shifting land from food production to cash crops and biofuels led to increased food price and deepened dependency on imports for basic food necessities in most African countries.

In addition, the course of neoliberal reforms that have been applied throughout the Global South for the last four decades, including Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that were engineered to “develop” the Global South countries, forced many of these countries to desert their social welfare policies and government-sponsored public projects. The result was that the agricultural sectors in many Global South countries have been the most negatively impacted and these countries’ capabilities to sustain themselves in terms of food have been challenged. Today, most African countries are completely dependent on food aid to feed their people, although they have tremendous natural resources and an abundant labor force.

Moreover, as neoliberal reforms injected into the African economies, the financialization of food commodities soon began, therefore introducing food as a “fair game” commodity. Consequently, food commodities became subject to deregulation, speculation, and price volatility at the hands of powerful market players and thus intensified the food system crisis. Meanwhile, the monopolistic control of giant agrichemical and food corporations deepened and exerted its influence on various aspects of food production, including a solution for food shortages by pushing for the large-scale mechanization of agriculture.

The popular argument that only large-scale mechanization of agriculture can solve the world’s food conundrum contradicts the reality that rural peasants and small family farmers are actually the ones feeding the majority of the world’s population. According to data collected by the ETC Group, only thirty percent of our food comes from the corporate food system, while the remaining seventy percent comes from rural peasants, small family farmers, hunter-gatherers, and urban gardeners. Despite this reality, most of the initiatives put forward for implementation to combat food insecurity have relied on the corporate food regime that advocate for monoculture crop economies, which require a high level of inputs and inevitably drive small farmers from their lands. Moreover, it is these small farmers who already facing increased challenges in accessing larger markets due to lack of governmental support and challenging environmental conditions that result from monoculture farming (i.e. degraded soils, drought, floods, rise of sea level, unreliable water supplies, etc.).

While the goal of such initiatives is to produce more food, there is hardly any evidence that we actually need more food. On the contrary, there is ample data suggesting otherwise. For instance, during the global food crisis’ peak in 2008, the world had one and a half times the amount of food needed to feed the world’s population, yet the number of hungry people exceeded 1.2 billion. Hence, this reality reinforces the principle that the problem of food insecurity cannot be found in the supply and demand equilibrium but rather in the distribution, accessibility, and affordability of food. Furthermore, if we continue to follow the logic of the financialization of food that treats food as a market commodity subject to the volatility of stock markets, speculation and risk, all of which greatly impact prices, then inevitably, the world’s poor will not be able to eat because food will be beyond their purchasing power.

The Need For Structural Change

**There are several ways to deal** with the challenges of global food insecurity. First and foremost we must reconsider and better understand the root causes of food insecurity. Second, to combat the effects of global hunger, we need to understand the multitudes of hunger-related issues in order to design our public policies more holistically. Finally, our solutions have to be grounded in policies that tackle global hunger and food
As food insecurity has gotten worse since the 2008 financial crisis, Americans who live below the poverty line have experienced mounting challenges to adequately secure food for their households. The U.S. government has responded by cutting $8.6 billion from the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP) in the most recent 2014 Farm Bill, which provides federal assistance to over 850,000 families.

Food insecurity in the U.S. has reached a record high, affecting many low-income people, particularly people of color. A 2012 report by the U.S. Department of Agriculture revealed that “[in] 2011...14.9 percent (17.9 million households) were food insecure.” The report also found that “[f]or households with incomes near or below the poverty line, households with children headed by single women or single men, and Black and Hispanic households, rates of food insecurity were substantially higher than the national average.”

Meanwhile, the number of those dependent on SNAP increased from 27 million in 2007 to 47 million in 2012. SNAP helped keep nearly 4.9 million Americans out of poverty in 2012, including 2.2 million children. Communities of color make up the majority, with Native Americans holding the highest poverty rate at 29.5%. In California, food insecurity in 2012 affected over 6 million people, and was significantly higher for children, at almost 2.5 million children.

Access to adequate food is a broader concept that includes the right of a person or community to purchase or produce his or her own food. In order to do that, they need access to land, seeds, water and other resources; and to purchase healthy food, one needs both financial resources and accessibility, such as transportation or close proximity to where healthy food is produced or sold.

Given rising inequality and extreme concentration of wealth in the US, the disproportionate impact that food insecurity has on the overall health of the nation, and especially communities of color, are urgent as many of these communities continue to face other racialized policies that negatively impact their basic rights to housing, education, transportation and health.

Please note: The Haas Institute does not advocate the term “Hispanic” and is used here only within a direct quote.
insecurity while preserving the environment.

For example, in 1996, La Via Campesina, the world’s largest organization of family farmers, peasants, landless rural workers, indigenous people and rural women, advocated for a new path to fight poverty and hunger by instituting a more equitable food system. This framework affirms the right of all countries and communities to define their own agricultural and food systems through ecologically sound and sustainable methods that constitute sovereignty over local food systems. In order to achieve this, La Via Campesina argues that access to land and resources should be provided to small farmers and rural peasants so they can produce enough food for their communities and preserve the environment by using agroecological-farming methods.

In addition, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter, in his April 2014 report to the UN General Assembly, argued that industrial agriculture has, and will continue to have, a devastating impact on the environment; significantly, as of today, industrial agriculture represents fifteen percent of the world’s total greenhouse gas emissions. De Schutter echoed La Via Campesina’s call for agroecology as a way to tackle global hunger, food insecurity and climate change. Agroecology, which includes a wide range of techniques that work in harmony with nature, does not require the high level of costly inputs that are needed in industrial agriculture.

One such technique is intercropping, which is the practice of growing two or more crops in close proximity to each other. The most common goal of intercropping is to produce greater yield on any given piece of land by making use of resources that would otherwise not be utilized by growing a single crop, or monoculture, which is often the norm in industrial agriculture. Agroecology can reduce the use of external inputs and maximize resource efficiency. For example, manure and food scraps can be recycled and used as fertilizer, and agroforestry, while being consistent with and complementary to genetic improvement, is a method that has been practiced by many generations of farmers. In addition, agroecology provides many other social and health benefits. Local food systems produce diverse and culturally appropriate food and effectively mix crop production with livestock husbandry, thus providing healthier, more nutritious diets for those peasant and small farmer communities who can become self-sufficient. As a result, the overall health of the community and ecosystem evolves sustainably. Also, as agroecology reduces the cost of farming by minimizing the use of expensive inputs, the livelihoods of farming households, particularly the poorest ones, improve. Additionally, it supports rural development since it is both knowledge-intensive and generally more labor-intensive, which then leads to more employment opportunities in rural areas. Though easier to implement on smaller farms, agroecological techniques can be disseminated on a larger scale.

Furthermore, there is a great need to act locally and nationally on a number of issues, some of which require simple policy measures, while others require much deeper structural changes of global trade. First, local and national food systems should be created and supported to serve local, national and regional markets rather than transporting food thousands of miles across borders. This would allow greater accessibility and affordability while still maintaining food quality and culture appropriateness of regional diets for the ones that are now food insecure. This would also reduce carbon footprint as the amount of fossil fuels needed to transport food would be significantly reduced. Second, policies should be implemented globally to discourage the large-scale production of meat, dairy, biofuels (except for local consumption) and should instead encourage and provide subsides for small-scale, agroecological farmers. Similarly, large-scale land deals should be discouraged. If the former type of production is discouraged, then more land could be used for healthier foods, thereby encouraging and supporting diets high in healthy grains, vegetables and fruits. This shift could liberate the forty percent of the world’s grain production that is used today for animal feed, reduce energy consumption by curbing transportation of food commodities and also reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It would also mean improving human nutrition, lowering health costs and providing development and employment opportunities for rural communities.

4. For example, in sustainability terms, the exploitation of the colonies by European colonial powers failed to take into consideration the magnitude of ecosystem destruction that later would impact and hinder future independent and sustainable agriculture sectors in the former colonies. For more detail, see Walter Rodney (1972): How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.
5. Dumping refers to policies objected to by Global South ‘developing’ countries, where Global North ‘developed’ countries are able to subsidize agricultural commodities for their farmers and multinational agribusiness companies, while Global South countries have been advised and conditioned not to pursue similar policies. For example, according to a study by the UN Conference on Trade and Development (2003), “Developing country shares of agricultural commodity exports have slumped, from 31.7 per cent in 1970-1972 to 26.4 per cent in 1998-1999, and the Least Developed Countries’ share dropped from 3.5 per cent to 1.0 per cent during the same period. Moreover, due to extensive trade liberalization by developing countries, producers are experiencing increasing imports penetration in their own markets.”
7. Since the late 1970s major international financial institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization) and major governments in the Global North have been the principal force on imposing structural adjustment programs (SAPs) on governments of the Global South. SAPs attempt to restructure the economic policies of Global South nations through its aid programs and trade negotiations, and have been formulated under the pretext of loan conditionality that require recipient countries to change their economic policies, generally to encourage greater economic liberalization and deregulation of trade, investment, and finances a.k.a. neoliberal policies. Also the reduction or elimination of government power in a particular industry usually enacted, as these institutions argued, to create more competition within the industry.
10. Agroforestry is a unifying approach that combines the use of trees and woody plants with crops. These techniques create more diverse, productive, healthy, and sustainable land-use system. Furthermore, agroforestry practice, as a system, is also capable of producing crops that are able for climate adaptation and reserve biodiversity by creating a complex ecosystem that supports other species and animals.
THE DIGITAL DIVIDE REDUX: BROADBAND AS A CRITICAL CONDUIT FOR OPPORTUNITY

by Stephen Menendian

Posted May 21, 2014

A FEW MONTHS AGO, Comcast announced a $45 billion deal to purchase Time Warner. Although much of the initial commentary focused on the potential effect this proposed merger would have in the cable television market (since Comcast and Time Warner are the first- and second- largest cable providers in the US), the effects in the broadband market are far more important. Research at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society suggests that broadband is an increasingly critical element of social, economic and civic life.

In its 2010 “National Broadband Plan” report, the FCC describes Broadband as “the great infrastructure challenge of the early 21st century.” Just as the interstate highway system transformed residential life, facilitated the growth of the suburbs, and connected families to the broader economy of a region, broadband is a structural conduit for opportunity and upward mobility in America today. Unfortunately, like the interstate highway system and the residential patterns it engendered, broadband access and affordability may yet become a new form of segregation in America. A research paper co-authored by Haas Institute researcher Samir Gambhir notes the inequality of broadband access, affordability and quality experienced by low-income neighborhoods, rural households and communities of color in particular.

The mission of the Haas Institute is to identify and eliminate the barriers to an inclusive, just, and sustainable society. We seek to understand the structure of opportunity in order to promote interventions that improve individual and group life chances, especially for marginalized populations. One of our leading initiatives is refining a methodology co-developed by Haas Institute Director John Powell for measuring opportunity known as Opportunity Scoring. Compiling a series of indicators that correlate to projected life chances, we are able to map geographic areas (such as census tracts) by index quintile – defined as very low, low, medium, high, and high opportunity – based upon each census area’s value in the index. This methodology enjoys a range of applications, from siting low-income housing to targeting private investment.

While most of the indicators used by Opportunity Scoring can be organized into prescribed opportunity domains, such as education, employment, health and safety, some important channels of opportunity are not adequately captured by any general category. Broadband access may be one such indicator. The recently launched Rural Opportunity Index (ROI), a new interactive mapping platform developed by the Center for Regional Change at UC Davis in partnership with Rabobank, illustrates this challenge. In the ROI, high-speed internet access is subsumed under the “transportation/mobility” category. Broadband touches almost every facet of modern life from education to employment to entertainment. Broadband can affect one’s ability to learn and apply for jobs, research homework assignments, access medical records, pay bills, participate in local government, and much more. It is a platform for innovation and expression. It is difficult to imagine opening a business or getting an education without it.

Consider the ways in which broadband is becoming a new platform for learning. Millions of people worldwide take courses online or using free or low-cost instructional videos (the most famous being the Khan Academy), while Universities are also adapting to this technology with platforms such as Coursera. Online education, supplemented by instructor feedback, video-conference, and technologies such as Google hangout or Skype, are making these platforms increasingly attractive and viable, even for people in remote areas. Libraries are increasingly permitting e-reader borrowing, where you can download books to your tablet or computer over the internet without having to drive to the local library.

Similar developments have emerged in work life. Teams of employees can work remotely—in different time zones even—and yet code, plan, organize and communicate through the same technologies. Nearly 38 percent of employers allow some of their workers to telecommute on a regular basis (up from 23 percent in 2008). According to some studies, telecommuting increased productivity gains and improves work/life balance while also unclogging roads during rush hour. As housing costs drive some employees out of thriving economic centers, and as employers struggle to find housing for their employees, telecommuting is likely to be one solution, at least in the short-term.

“Telemedicine” is another development reliant on broadband access. Instead of driving to your local doctor, you can take a house call from home, as your doctor can check in on you via Skype or Facetime. For remote patients or follow-up check-ups, telemedicine can save time and money. While many experts and patients remain skeptical,
the limited use of telemedicine may be a partial solution to the growing shortage of physicians in rural areas.

Beyond the ways in which broadband access may expand educational and economic opportunities, broadband access is also a conduit of cultural content. Critical online content-delivery platforms like YouTube (with its bountiful supply of amusing videos and TED talks), Netflix, the movie-streaming powerhouse, and cable television shows are all accessible from remote areas largely through broadband.

Broadband access is more than just a conduit of opportunity, it is a channel that structures all of the other opportunity domains, from education to employment. Access to this channel will only grow in importance as new and innovative services emerge based upon a recognition of broadband’s potential for increasing quality of life while saving time, money and reducing greenhouse gases. Broadband access is well on its way to becoming as essential to modern life as basic services such as electricity and clean water. As such, it should be treated as a public utility, as one of the proposals by the FCC in the so-called “net neutrality” debate would do.

Unfortunately, both access to broadband and broadband affordability remains a barrier to opportunity for many American families. Compared to our international peers, Americans pay more for broadband and receive inferior service. The FCC attributes this fact to the lack of competition in local broadband markets.

It’s difficult to imagine how the Comcast-Time Warner merger could improve this situation. The merger would give Comcast control over 40 percent of the country’s internet service in 19 of the country’s top 20 cable markets. Imagine if one corporation privately controlled 40% of the most important roads, streets, highways and bridges in those same markets.

The issue isn’t just access—it’s affordability and quality, such as internet speed, for low-income families and many marginalized communities. If the Comcast-Time Warner merger reduces competition and increases the price of broadband access, the harms to upward mobility, economic opportunity and our nation would be far-reaching.

INEQUALITY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

by John A. Powell

Posted May 2, 2014

As part of his nationwide book tour, French economist Thomas Piketty stopped on campus and in San Francisco last week to speak to overflowing lecture halls. The lecture I attended in San Francisco quickly filled to capacity, and the enthusiasm in the audience was palpable. Piketty’s new book, Capital in the Twenty-First Century, has catapulted him and his work to rock star status, and his nearly 700-page best-selling book has sold out on Amazon.

Piketty is a serious scholar who has produced a tremendous work, but he is not alone. One of his long-time collaborators is UC Berkeley economist Emmanuel Saez, who is also a member of the Haas Institute’s Economic Disparities research cluster. For over a decade now, Saez and Piketty have been studying income inequality and the accumulation of wealth in the upper percentiles of the income distribution. Berkeley scholar and fellow Economic Disparities cluster member Robert Reich was the subject of a wonderful recent documentary, Inequality For All, that uses the research of Piketty and Saez to illustrate the dynamics of income inequality and its impacts on democracy. Dr. Saez is also part of an important team that has issued some fascinating insights into the geography of upward mobility with a team at Harvard.

Although I read Piketty’s book enthusiastically, I will not attempt to summarize his argument here, but I will offer a few observations about his work and the issue he is addressing. First, Piketty is part of a growing chorus of pundits and opinion leaders examining the growth of income inequality in the United States and beyond. In the past few years, a range of scholars have approached inequality from a number of angles — Joseph Stiglitz’s The Price of Inequality, Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson’s The Spirit Level, Tyler Cowen’s Average Is Over, and many more — to examine the issue from perspectives across the spectrum. The range of people drawing attention to growing inequality includes the IMF, the World Bank, President Obama and Pope Francis.

Although Piketty essentially argues that the growth in inequality is a feature of capitalism wherever the return to capital exceeds the rate of economic growth (his now famous r > g relationship), the United States is apparently better and faster at creating income inequality than virtually any other wealthy democracy in the world. The issue is not just inequality of income, but rather inequality and concentration of wealth. Many conservative thinkers and politicians have long-argued that wealth accumulation is simply the fair result of hard work and entrepreneurialism, and that income distributional effects are not structural, but change dramatically through the life cycle. Piketty’s work challenges, if not rejects, this basic premise. He shows that wealth is increasingly a function of inheritance. While some folks may be smarter at selecting their parents, Piketty also shows how this wealth concentration is neither natural nor inevitable, but a result of political structures and social choices. Justifications advanced by inequality apologists are increasingly less persuasive.

While globalization and technological change may be contributing to inequality, our social structures and systems are far too tolerant of the situation, and either drive or exacerbate concentration of wealth. It makes sense that many billionaires in the United States seek even greater wealth (well, perhaps not). But what is perplexing is why we are collectively opposed to a fair and sensible system that includes raising taxes on wealth inheritance and on income for
Wealth concentration is neither natural nor inevitable, but a result of political structures and social choices.

the top one percent (such as higher capital gains taxes, as Warren Buffett has long suggested). Why do working class and struggling middle class families appear to accept this situation? Unlike members of the Supreme Court, ordinary Americans do not believe that we must treat corporations like natural human beings and imbue them with many of the same constitutional rights.

Let’s go back to Piketty and Saez to see if they can help make sense of this. It turns out that they can. There has been a debate among scholars and progressive activists about political polarization and economic polarization. One position held by many on the right and left is that as the economy becomes more polarized, and more wealth and income share goes to the top, there will be growing social and political polarization and unrest among the bottom of the income distribution.

There is a common sense logic to these concerns. As people worry about their economic security, they become more anxious and less tolerant of the “other.” Not only do they not want their taxes to help the “other,” they do not want to tax the wealthy because they are “creating jobs.” Americans are often told that raising taxes on the wealthy will kill jobs and harm the economy. In fact, it is concentration of wealth that threatens our economy and our democracy. Liberals get this. They argue that political polarization and intolerance of the other is caused by a weak economy. This logic suggests that those advocating for greater social inclusion for marginalized groups should prioritize the economy.

The problem is that this approach is wrong. Piketty, Saez and others, including my colleague Ian Haney-Lopez, in his new book *Dog Whistle Politics*, have shown that it is not the economic polarization that is driving political polarization but the other way around. It is the anxiety, fear, and hostility to the “other” that is driving economic polarization and the concentration of wealth and inequality. It is the southern strategy all grown up with respectable clothes.

It turns out that if you want to address inequality, you would be wise to address the existing and growing racial anxiety that is increasingly evident around the United States and most of Europe. This is something that not only the right refuses to recognize, but that much of the left fails to take into consideration, including many social justice advocates.

Economic stress may indeed be used to foster intolerance of the “other.” But the economic concentration we are now facing in the U.S. was preceded by and driven by political polarization in reaction to the civil rights movement.

This insight is more than a minor oversight. It has important strategic and policy implications if we want to address inequality. It is this dynamic that Douglass Massey, David Roediger, Jill Quadagno in the *The Color of Welfare*, and my colleague Andrew Barlow in his book, *Beyond Fear and Hope: Globalization and Race in the United States*, have argued.

Their voices have not yet broken through. Maybe the rock star’s can.

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**MANDELA’S WORK IS OUR OWN**

**by John A. Powell**

This is an abridged version of Director John Powell’s December 2013 blog after the death of Nelson Mandela. Read the full blog at diversity.berkeley.edu/haas-institute.

**ON DECEMBER 5, the world lost not only a wise and inspiring leader, but a wonderful person in Nelson Mandela. Touching virtually all of our lives, he not only changed the course of world history, but he left us with a vision for change that we must continue to work to make a reality wherever we are. Like so many others, I want to give pause and pay tribute to President Mandela, who inspired me many years ago and continues to do so today.**

To honor his life, I will share how I came to know of President Mandela and the people who stood with him and embraced his vision.

I first went to Africa in 1977 for post-graduate work on what were then called the “front-line states” — countries in Africa fighting for national liberation from western control of southern Africa and white rule within. They included South Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and Namibia. These countries each have a particular history and unique expression of a common structure of domination and explicit white racism and rule, bolstered by western powers, particularly the United States.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) advocated an end to apartheid and racial domination through non-violent means and education. Their chief spokesperson was Bill Sutherland. Bill, an African American activist who embraced non-violence, had moved to Africa in the 1950s, in part, to protest racial segregation and militarization in the United States. Bill educated his audiences about the role that the United States and other western powers played in the suppression of blacks thousands of miles away by steadfastly supporting the apartheid governments.

Bill’s travels took him to Ghana, where he became friends with many African leaders, including Julius Nyerere, Kenneth...
Kuanda and Samora Machel. They shared a vision for a free and just Africa. This was how I came to know of apartheid and U.S. support for that regime. I helped arrange part of Bill’s tour in the U.S. and was immediately drawn to the cause and to Bill himself. He was like a father to me and treated me like a second son.

It was through Bill that I learned of Nelson Mandela and the struggle against apartheid. I was so moved by these efforts that I not only got involved but also decided to move to Africa and work with Bill.

Through this work I met President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Samora Machel of Mozambique, and many others. I would later meet Bishop Desmond Tutu and Justice Albert “Albie” Sachs, before he joined the South African Supreme Court. Most of these meetings took place at Bill’s home in Dar es Salaam. These were intimate gatherings and many of them took place over a meal or a drink in an informal setting. I lived with Bill, my partner Lanny and my daughter Saneta, who was born in Tanzania.

President Nyerere was a giant in Africa and the first African leader to voluntarily step down from the presidency. He was a beacon for all of Africa, and those throughout the world who would learn about the cause of national liberation and democracy. Many have written that there would be no Mandela as we know him without Nyerere.

Others have gone further to claim that Nyerere gave birth to democracy in Africa. He committed his poor country to freedom and justice, standing against the west and the U.S., whose governments firmly backed white rule in these countries. I remember talking to President Nyerere in his modest home, drinking wine out of jelly jars.

Nyerere, Bill and Nelson Mandela soon came to be viewed as a threat by the U.S. government at a time when many western governments permitted the killing of people who dared to demand an end to white rule. I knew many of these people. Albie Sachs, now a Justice on the South African Supreme Court, lost an arm and part of his vision to an assassination attempt.

Others would not be so lucky, including President Samora Machel and Steve Biko, who led the black-consciousness movement in South Africa. As I worked closely with Bill, who was a pacifist, our relationship deepened. This experience changed my life.

It is important to remember what that struggle was and in many ways continues to be. People throughout the continent of Africa, along with the AFSC in the United States and Europe, were inspired by Mandela to oppose apartheid and stand for justice. They called for divestment of U.S. banks, universities and pension funds to buttress a struggle that was a great distance from their home. The government and elites insisted that these protesters were naive and could never win. After all, they were only students, artists, union members and “liberal” college professors—what did they know about South Africa, banking or real politics?

Predictably, the movement was not led by our nation’s leaders, but by Nelson Mandela and his co-activists and supporters worldwide. Many in our country, including several presidents, were on the wrong side of history in the name of national interest. The U.S. government did not even remove Mandela from the official terrorism “watch list” until 2008. Victory, even if partial, does not belong to our former leaders successful in ending apartheid, but understood the work that remained. After stepping down from the presidency, he would even criticize his own party for corruption and for not being inclusive enough.

Mandela’s life, leadership and deep humanity may be singular, but it was shaped and made possible by many fellow freedom workers, including Nyerere, Bill Sutherland and hosts.

I had the opportunity for a private meeting with Nelson Mandela. Of course, I accepted. At our meeting, I was more than impressed. It was not just his greatness that came through, but his empathic humanity and openness.

who refused to support the struggle when it was a struggle. It belongs to President Mandela, his family and those who stood on the right and just side of history.

I was fortunate to meet President Mandela on several occasions. The most poignant experience was sharing a meal in his private quarters.

In 1998, I had the opportunity for a private meeting with Nelson Mandela. Of course, I accepted. At our meeting, I was more than impressed. It was not just his greatness that came through, but his empathic humanity and openness. I knew I was very fortunate, and was reminded of President Nyerere.

Nelson Mandela was part of a larger fabric of activists striving for justice, people who devoted their time and sacrificed much, including – at times – their lives. Mandela’s vision of an inclusive, rainbow society went beyond politics. He was of unnamed men and women. Mandela, in turn, touched and transformed countless additional lives, including my own. In honoring his life, it is appropriate to remember those who not only advanced his struggle, but those who will continue to advance what his life was about and move us ever closer to his vision of a just and inclusive society. The bounty of Mandela’s life was rich and continues to yield fruit, even now.

As the world leaders pay tribute, we must recognize that Nelson Mandela, and what he represents, continues to demand our support. While I wonder who might be the “Mandelas” of today, engaged in similar struggles for justice and inclusivity, I realize that we are all called to be him. Yes, we should all mourn and celebrate. But more importantly, we should carry on the work that Mandela championed with equal strength, dedication and sacrifice.
Haas Institute’s list of activities, presentations and events which took place between November 2013 and April 2014. Sign up for our enews at haasinstitute@gmail.com to receive regular updates.

**NOV 2013**

**NOV 1:** Director John A. Powell presented the work of the Haas Institute to UC Berkeley’s Senate Committee on the Status of Women and Ethnic Minorities (SWEM). Powell gave an update on the Institute’s progress, including faculty cluster development and hiring, network building, and the development of the Inclusiveness Index.

**NOV 2:** The Haas Institute hosted A Conversation with Director John A. Powell and Associate Director Michael Omi, a dialogue on the role of race in American society, whether we are heading into a post-racial moment and the growing levels of racial anxiety and their expressions. The talk was held at UC Berkeley.

**NOV 12:** Associate Director Michael Omi gave a talk entitled The ‘Backstory’ to the Incarceration of Japanese Americans at the Oakland Museum of California.

**NOV 18:** Associate Director Michael Omi gave a talk on Rethinking Racial Formation sponsored by the Department of Asian American Studies and the UC Center for New Racial Studies at UC Santa Barbara.

**NOV 4:** The Haas Institute published Assistant Director Stephen Menendian’s blog titled Marriage Equality in the United States: A Visual Comparison of State Prohibitions on Same-Sex and Inter-Racial Marriage. Menendian observes a stark overlap between states that banned same-sex marriages as of January 2013 and states that banned interracial marriages in 1948.

**NOV 22:** The Haas Institute co-hosted Dr. Patricia Gurin, Nancy Cantor Distinguished University Professor Emerita of Psychology and Women’s Studies from the University of Michigan, to give a lecture titled Engaging Diversity: More Important Than Ever. In her lecture, Professor Gurin presented social science evidence on the educational benefit of diversity that has played a role in legal challenges to affirmative action. A book signing of her work, Dialogue Across Difference: Practice, Theory, and Research on Intergroup Dialogue, followed.

**ALSO IN NOVEMBER**

Director John A. Powell published an article titled Identity Politics and Spiritual Politics: Our Dance of Connection and Separation for Tikun magazine’s Fall 2013 issue on identity and spiritual politics.

The case of Mount Holly Gardens v. Citizens in Action, Inc., et. al. reached the Supreme Court, but was settled before they rendered a decision. The Haas Institute and the Warren Institute at Berkeley Law filed an amicus (friend-of-the-court) brief of 61 housing scholars in the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of the residents. The Haas Institute believes that the parties reached a good settlement addressing the concerns brought by the neighborhood residents and community.

The Haas Institute began work with the Casey Foundation in exploring philanthropic strategies for applying and integrating racial inclusion, defining the concept of strategic philanthropy and advancing research to measure access to opportunity structures. The first seminar in November focused on philanthropic integration of racial inclusion and analysis. The second seminar focused on targeted universalism, contextualizing opportunity mapping and concepts of access to opportunity structures therein represented.

The final seminar of the series focused on defining strategic philanthropy in place-based strategies and further developed visualizations and measures of access to opportunity structures in the Atlanta area, the location of the hosting Casey civic site. Each of the seminars culminated with internal working papers for the foundation’s Center for Community and Economic Opportunity.

**DEC 2013**

**DEC 5:** Director John A. Powell co-led a training with Rachel Godsil, Professor of Law at Seton Hall University, on how to recognize implicit bias and racial anxiety in the workplace. The training was for administrative judges at the District of Columbia Office of Administrative Hearings. Director Powell discussed the issues judges must confront with peer perceptions and racial “othering.”

**DEC 7:** The Haas Institute partnered with Oakland Community Organizations and others in the regional summit Work for All; Building an Inclusive Economy. Leading up to the summit, the Haas Institute and partners facilitated a participatory survey design and action research process with leaders across the East Bay. Organizers surveyed more than 1,400 residents about economic opportunity, job quality, and barriers to employment. Leaders analyzed the survey findings and presented their analysis and set of proposals at the summit as a starting point for ongoing work on regional economic opportunity.

**DEC 7:** The Haas Institute’s Global Justice Program attended the 5th Biannual Conference of the US Human Rights Network. This year’s conference was held in Atlanta, GA and was entitled “Advancing Human Rights Agenda 2013: Dignity. Justice. Action.” Global Justice Program Director Elsadig Elsheikh and program fellow Nadia Barhoum presented at a workshop with the Praxis Project titled “Food Fight: From...
local to international, engaging communities and redefining the Right to Food."

**DEC 9:** Director John A. Powell served in a consulting role for a workshop between Wells Fargo and the NAACP in New York City, Powell facilitated a discussion on how structural inequality has been inherently linked to mortgage lending, feeding into contemporary problems with housing and credit.

**DEC 20:** The Haas Institute announced the launch of a major ongoing research initiative, the Haas Institute Inclusiveness Index, which holistically measures the degree of inclusivity or marginality experienced by different groups across societal settings and social cleavages, such as gender, race/ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation. A press release can be found on our website.

**DEC 18:** Director John A. Powell presented as a workshop leader for a presentation focused on the role of social justice advocates, networks, and collaborators can utilize the current energy around inequality to broaden the scope of current discourse to account for race, class, as well as structural and global problems that are the root causes of inequality.

**JAN 2014**


**JAN 27:** Director John A. Powell facilitated a discussion for board members at the Neighborhood Funders Group. The discussion centered on the current discourse around inequality in the United States, particularly as President Obama’s 2014 agenda and other lawmakers are spearheading the discussion across the country. The primary aim of the discussion was to emphasize how social justice advocates, networks, and collaborators can utilize the current energy around inequality to broaden the scope of current discourse to account for race, class, as well as structural and global problems that are the root causes of inequality.

**JAN 27:** The Haas Institute prepared an analysis of the potential impact of the planned Richmond Bay Campus on the surrounding neighborhoods and marginalized communities. This analysis was developed with Richmond community-based organizations Contra Costa Interfaith Supporting Community Organization and Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment, who are supporting the leadership of low-income residents, renters, immigrants, formerly incarcerated residents and other community members to work with the university to ensure that the new campus has an inclusive and broadly beneficial impact.

**JAN 31:** Elsadig Elsheikh, Program Director of the Global Justice Program, participated in *Sudan: Beyond North and South*, a panel discussion organized by the Arab Resource & Organizing Center in San Francisco.

**FEB 2014**

**FEB 3:** Director John A. Powell served as a featured speaker for the teleconference, “Building the Beloved Community,” sponsored by CircleWorks!, the Jean Houston Foundation, and Be The Change Earth Alliance. Director Powell, joined by Michael Nagler, founder of the Metta Center for Nonviolence, discussed the need to lay claim to our shared humanity as a way toward healing ourselves and securing our future. This was the second teleconference series of inspired talks by Beloved Community builders doing world-changing work and building communities empowered to co-create a conscious, ecological, cooperative, and just civilization.

**FEB 12:** Dr. Hatem Bazian, worldwide authority on Islamophobia, and Professor of Islamophobia, gave a lecture talk for Institute staff. Dr. Bazian’s work has been shared worldwide in Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the US. For more information, visit his website on Islamophobia Research & Documentation Project at the Center for Race & Gender at the University of California, Berkeley.


**FEB 19:** Ofurhe Igbinedion and Samir Gambhir, two members of the Haas Institute GIS team, attended the Race for Results webinar. They discussed metrics and methodology for the new Race for Results Index (RRI) for measuring inequity in America’s children.

**FEB 20:** Director John A. Powell spoke at Public Architecture’s third annual Design Access Summit, a convening of national leaders in design, philanthropy, business, government, and the nonprofit sector. The convening, in partnership with the Ford Foundation, focused on the role of “anchor institutions” that have a vested interest and presence in their specific city or region and their impact on local low-income communities.

**FEB 22:** Director John A. Powell and Assistant Director Stephen Menendian presented...

FEB 24: Director john a. powell served as the keynote speaker at Racing to Justice: Ethical and Practical Considerations to Build an Inclusive Society, sponsored by Catalyst Miami, The University of Miami, and Berkeley Law School. Director powell discussed the ways in which Miami addressed segregation among communities and how to identify the threads of opportunities, voting and politics. Director powell was joined by Gihan Perera, Executive Director of Florida New Majority, Marcia Cyen, Executive Director of Legal Services of greater Miami, and George Knox, Florida International University Professor of Law.

FEB 25: In conjunction with the Race: Are We So Different? exhibit at the Patricia and Phillip Frost Museum of Science in Miami, Director john a. powell delivered a presentation where he discussed how society makes race and advances inequality. Sharing work about the role of the unconscious mind and implicit bias, powell introduced the group to targeted universalism as a way to approach certain issues specific to the Miami-Dade County area.

FEB 26: Haas Institute Global Justice Program Director Elsadig Elsheikh participated in a panel discussion on South Sudan with Joshua Craze, a Ph.D. Candidate in UC Berkeley’s Anthropology department. Elsheikh and Craze discussed causes, possible solutions and continuation of long term South Sudanese political, social and economic dynamics, as well as the role of the international community in the conflict.

MAR 2014

MAR 1: Assistant Director Stephen Menendian was an invited panelist at the American Constitution Society for Law and Policy Student Convention at the UCLA Law School, Los Angeles. Menendian discussed the 60th anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education, its historical impact, current efforts to achieve educational equity and what innovative methods are being engaged to secure Brown’s future.

MAR 3: Director john a. powell made the closing remarks at the Annual Symposium for the Berkeley Journal of African-American Law and Policy, at UC Berkeley’s Boalt School of Law. This year’s event was titled 25 Years From Now: The Case for Diversity and Future of Affirmative Action in the Wake of Fisher and Schuette. Haas Institute Assistant Director Stephen Menendian also served as a panelist and gave a response to the keynote at a lunch seminar.

MAR 4: Director john a. powell was a key speaker at Local Government and Racial Equity: Strategies and Opportunities for Sustainable Change, a webinar where he joined other academics as well as elected leaders from Portland, Seattle and Minneapolis to discuss the unique positions that cities are in to lead work on race and equity issues, and the critical need for strategies for institutional change.

MAR 4: Director john a. powell was invited by the Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law to be a featured speaker at the 2014 WA Equal Justice Community Leadership Academy webinar where he presented on structural racialization, systems thinking and implicit bias.

MAR 8: Director john a. powell was invited to The National Equity Project to help develop capacity-building for community leaders in Grand Rapids, Michigan in the areas of targeted universalism and reducing structural racialization.

MAR 10: Director john a. powell was a featured presenter the State of Population Health Report Meeting convened by the Greater Detroit Area Health Council and Detroit Wayne County Health Authority to formally launch The State of Population Health Report. The report was developed by the Population Health Council, a regional collaborative dedicated to creating environments where people have access to resources necessary to lead healthy lives.

MAR 17: Director john a. powell led a panel at 100 Resilient Cities Centennial Challenge, an event organized by the Rockefeller Foundation in San Francisco, where he joined the Mayors of Alameda, Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco in discussing violence, crime and social cohesion for the region. John’s role was to frame the issue from an objective point of view and discuss how violence and crime impacts a variety of functions in the area.

MAR 20: Global Justice Program Director Elsadig Elsheikh was an invited guest lecturer at UC Berkeley’s City and Regional Planning class. His talk was titled “Africa’s Food System: Challenges and Opportunities.”

MAR 20: In Washington DC, Director john a. powell was a speaker and panelist at The Consumer Health Foundation’s 16th Annual Meeting, the focus of which was “Health and Racial Equity in Turbulent Times: Implicit Bias Examined.” John gave an overview of implicit bias and how it operates at the societal and institutional level.

MAR 21: Director john a. powell spoke at the Boston Society of Architects planning event for a central transit equity project in Boston. The event was attended by urban designers, planners, engineers, city and state officials, and non-profit organizers.
MAR 24: Director john a. powell was invited to the Oregon Metro Equity Strategy Program in Portland to share his expertise with senior leadership and staff on developing a new equity strategy for this regional government agency.


MAR 27: Director john a. powell was a keynote speaker in Hallowell, Maine at the Maine Health Access Foundation conference where he addressed the importance of understanding structural racism, inequity and social justice through a lens of targeted universalism.

APR 2014

APR 1: Director john a. powell delivered the 25th Annual Thurgood Marshall Lecture at UCLA, and received a prestigious award for being the 25th Thurgood Marshall Honoree. The Thurgood Marshall yearly lecture series features prominent civil rights scholars, practitioners and advocates.

APR 7-8: The Detroit Bankruptcy & Beyond convening was held at the Damon J. Keith Center at Wayne State University. The conference gathered over 200 policymakers, scholars, advocates and community members to discuss the historical roots and effects of Detroit’s municipal distress and offer a national perspective on distressed cities. Wayne State University provided a livestream of the event, and the Haas Institute launched a live Twitter feed that generated a lot of buzz using the trending topic, #beyondbankruptcy.

APR 11: Director john a. powell presented as a panelist on “Teaching and Learning Law and Social Justice” at Santa Clara University School of Law’s Center for Social Justice and Public Service.

APR 11: Assistant Director Stephen Menendian presented research for UC Berkeley’s Admissions, Enrollment, and Preparatory Education Committee, a committee of the Academic Senate on how the university might improve its undergraduate admissions process to promote and achieve the benefits of diversity.

APR 15: Director john a. powell and Race, Diversity & Educational Policy Cluster Chair Na’ilah Nasir presented at the monthly meeting of the San Francisco Unified School District’s Professional Learning Community, a group of 50 leaders from across the school system. The Haas, Jr. Fund works closely with SFUSD in closing the racial achievement gap and is supporting the National Equity Project to assist the school district with developing an African American student achievement strategy plan.

APR 17-19: The Haas Institute co-sponsored the Fifth Annual International Islamophobia Conference at UC Berkeley. The conference theme was “Latent and Manifest Islamophobia: Multimodal Engagements with the Production of Knowledge,” inspired by Edward Said’s work on Orientalism. The conference highlighted genres of scholarly and artistic production over the period of a week that explore the maintenance and extension of existing power paradigms by bringing together academics, thinkers, practitioners, researchers and artists from around the globe who engage, question and challenge the existing disparities in economic, political, social and cultural relations.

APR 18: The LGBTQ Citizenship Research Cluster of the Haas Institute sponsored “Transgender Studies Matters,” a day-long convening at UC Berkeley. The one-day symposium explored the state of the field, which featured a new generation of transgender studies scholars speaking on such topics as experimental method and the place of surgery, environment and citizenship.

APRIL 24: Sponsored by the Carter G. Woodson Center for Interracial Education at Berea College, Director john a. powell held an intimate conversation with bell hooks, renowned race scholar who has authored over thirty books, many of which have focused on issues of social class, race, and gender. Their “Conversation on Race” generated an audience of over 100+ across the Berea community and the wider Kentucky region.

APR 30: Director john a. powell participated as a workshop presenter for the Edge Funders Alliance at the Just Giving 2014 Global Social Change Philanthropy Conference. For the workshop, “Towards an Ecological and Socially Just Transition to the Next Economy,” john spoke toward the circle of human concern and its relations to space and corporate misalignment. Other presenters included Taj James of the Movement Strategy Center and Saru Jayaraman of ROC-United and Food Labor Research Center.
Welcome: New Staff

RACHELLE GALLOWAY-POPOTAS

Rachelle is the Haas Institute’s new Communications & Media Officer. Rachelle will be identifying and expanding targeted audiences for the Institute’s work and disseminating faculty cluster research findings to the media, community-based organizations and policymakers through the management of the Institute’s publications and online media.

Rachelle has spent the last 15 years working in nonprofit communications in the San Francisco Bay Area. In her last position, she worked for 10 years managing communications at a large international development organization, East Meets West Foundation, where she was responsible for all outreach and communications as the organization grew rapidly from a single country focus in Vietnam to working in seven countries throughout Asia.

Prior to EMW, Rachelle worked as a publications manager at a San Francisco social justice and media advocacy nonprofit, a membership collective of independent publications such as Mother Jones, Harper’s, The Nation, Utne Reader, In These Times, Tikkun and dozens more progressive and activist publications.

Rachelle got her start in communications at California State University, Sacramento, where she studied graphic design as an undergraduate and then was hired as a staff designer for the University’s Public Affairs office. Rachelle also holds a BA in Political Science and International Relations from Arkansas State University.

JULIE NELSON

Julie is a new Senior Fellow at the Haas Institute. Julie will be working with Director John Powell on a national project to support and expand local government’s work on racial equity.

Julie was the Director of the Office for Civil Rights for the City of Seattle from 2007 to early 2014, where under her leadership a vision was crafted for the city where all people enjoy equity, opportunity and freedom from illegal discrimination and institutionalized inequities. Julie led the Office for Civil Rights in its pursuit of racial and social justice for everyone in Seattle through education, policy work, and enforcement of civil rights laws. The Office for Civil Rights led Seattle’s Race and Social Justice Initiative, working within City government and the community to get to the root cause of racial inequity: institutional racism.

To challenge racism, the Initiative looks beyond individual acts of prejudice to the systemic biases that are built into our institutions.

Julie worked for the City of Seattle for over twenty years, beginning as an intern in the Seattle Water Department. Her positions have included work with the Seattle Human Services Department, Administrative Services and the utilities. She also served as a Community Builder Fellow with the federal government at Housing and Urban Development.

Julie has a Masters degree in Economics from the University of Washington and a BA from the University of Arizona with a double major in Economics and Finance.

Julie is a strong advocate for the potential of government to overcome the historical legacy of creating and maintaining inequity.

RACHEL PARSONS

Rachel is the Haas Institute’s new Administrative Assistant. Rachel is a Bay Area native with five years of management experience and a passion for non-profit organizations dedicated to the betterment of communities. At the Institute Rachel will be helping to streamline processes, strengthen communication and build a strong operational infrastructure to maximize the Institute’s potential and influence.

Rachel earned her BS in Business Administration with an emphasis in Management from Sonoma State University where she founded the Lambda Kappa Pi Sorority. Rachel will be seeking an MBA in Environmental Design to expand her positive influence on the future of our communities.
DOG WHISTLE POLITICS: HOW CODED APPEALS HAVE REINVENTED RACISM & WRECKED THE MIDDLE CLASS
IAN HANEY LÓPEZ OFFERS A CRITICAL ACCOUNT of how politicians deploy veiled racial appeals to persuade white voters to support policies that favor the extremely rich yet threaten their own interests. Dog whistle appeals generate middle-class enthusiasm for political candidates who promise to crack down on crime, curb undocumented immigration and protect the heartland against Islamic infiltration, but ultimately vote to slash taxes for the rich, give corporations regulatory control over industry and financial markets and aggressively curtail social services. White voters, convinced by powerful interests that minorities are their true enemies, fail to see the connection between the political agendas they support and the surging wealth inequality that takes an increasing toll on their lives. The tactic continues at full force, with the Republican Party using racial provocations to drum up enthusiasm for weakening unions and public pensions, defunding public schools, and opposing health care reform. Rejecting any simple story of malevolent and obvious racism, Haney López links as never before the two central themes that dominate American politics today—the decline of the middle class and the Republican Party's increasing reliance on white voters. Dog Whistle Politics adds a necessary voice to the debate about how racial politics have destabilized the American middle class.

WHERE CREDIT IS DUE: BRINGING EQUITY TO CREDIT AND HOUSING AFTER THE MARKET MELTDOWN
WHILE MUCH ATTENTION HAS BEEN FOCUSED on the subprime lending and foreclosure crisis, little has been said about its racial impact. Drawing upon history and insight into the current crisis, Where Credit Is Due shows that this crisis is not an anomaly, especially for people of color; nor is it over. People of color have been excluded from wealth-building opportunities via homeownership continuously throughout U.S. history, from the outright denial of credit and residential racial discrimination, to federally-sponsored urban renewal programs. The subprime lending and foreclosure crisis is predicted to strip a quarter of a trillion dollars in wealth from black and Latino homeowners. It has reversed home ownership gains for people of color and has decimated neighborhoods while impacting local, regional, national, and international economies. The consequences are devastating. This collection of essays, edited by Christy Rogers and John a. powell, provides a framework for creating equitable policy and ultimately building more stable communities for all Americans. Christy Rogers is Executive Director of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State University and John a. powell is the Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society.

FROM FORECLOSURE TO FAIR LENDING: ADVOCACY, ORGANIZING, OCCUPY, AND THE PURSUIT OF EQUITABLE CREDIT
WELL-KNOWN FAIR HOUSING AND FAIR LENDING ACTIVISTS and organizers examine the implications of the new wave of fair housing activism generated by Occupy Wall Street protests and successes achieved in fair housing and fair lending. Best directions for future action are brought to light by staff of fair housing organizations, fair housing attorneys, community and labor organizers, and scholars who have researched social justice organizing and advocacy movements. Written for both general interest and academic audiences, contributors address the foreclosure crisis, access to credit in a changing marketplace and the immoral hazards of big banks. They examine opportunities in collective bargaining available to homeowners and how low-income and minority households were denied access to historically low home prices and interest rates. They also look at where immigrants stand, housing as a human right and methods for building a movement. The authors are: Chester Hartman, an urban planner, academic, author of more than twenty books, and director of research for the Poverty & Race Research Action Council; and Gregory Squires, a professor of sociology, public policy, and public administration at George Washington University and advisor to the John Marshall Law School Fair Housing Legal Support Center.