

# Clearinghouse REVIEW

September–October 2013  
Volume 47, Numbers 5–6


Journal of  
Poverty Law  
and Policy

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## PURSUING RACIAL JUSTICE

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21ST CENTURY

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## ADVANCING RACIAL EQUITY— a Legal Services Imperative

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**T**he Great Recession has swelled the poverty population in the United States to 46.5 million—more than at any time since official poverty estimates were first published fifty-four years ago.<sup>1</sup> More than half of those in poverty, 57.6 percent or 26.6 million, are “people of color,” who make up only about a third of the population.<sup>2</sup> Although legal services programs have fought poverty valiantly over five decades through strategies such as civil rights frameworks, racial disparities and poverty persist.<sup>3</sup>

Legal aid intervention alone cannot eviscerate racial disparities or poverty or unravel retrogressive legal decisions that undermine racism-conscious strategies, yet the legal services community’s heightened understanding of the intersections of race, racism, and poverty is critical to dismantling racial inequities.<sup>4</sup> Here, relying principally on a May–June 2013 survey to which 330 legal aid advocates responded, we examine

<sup>1</sup> CARMEN DeNAVAS-WALT ET AL., U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, INCOME, POVERTY, AND HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE IN THE UNITED STATES: 2012, at 13 (Sept. 2011), <http://1.usa.gov/1elzrhp>.

<sup>2</sup> See *id.* at 17. We use “people of color” to refer to those who are discriminated against on the basis of race, ethnicity, or color and are not non-Hispanic whites (see, e.g., Jeffrey Passel et al., *Explaining Why Minority Births Now Outnumber White Births*, PEW RESEARCH SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS (May 17, 2012), <http://bit.ly/Kj3zaz> (defining minority as anyone not single race non-Hispanic white)). But when Latino whites are separately categorized, they constitute 26 percent of the poverty population (see DeNavas-Walt, *supra* note 1, at 15). While non-Hispanic whites are 64.5 percent of the U.S. population, they account for 42.4 percent or 19.6 million—the largest racial group—of the poverty population (*id.* at 17). We use the terms African American and black interchangeably, as we do Latino and Hispanic.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Florence Wagman Roisman, *Housing, Poverty, and Racial Justice: How Civil Rights Laws Can Redress the Housing Problems of Poor People*, 36 CLEARINGHOUSE REVIEW 21 (May–June 2002).

<sup>4</sup> John a. Powell, *Race and Poverty: A New Focus for Legal Services*, 27 CLEARINGHOUSE REVIEW 299 (Special Issue 1993); *Pursuing Racial Justice*, 36 *id.* 1–196 (May–June 2002). We use the term “racism-conscious” because, as we explain below, “race” is not the issue; racism—the system of advantages based on race—is what we need to confront.

legal aid programs’ perspectives on racial justice advocacy. Our goal is to stir dialogue, encourage reflection, and advance racial equity as a core antipoverty strategy.

Important: 88 percent of survey respondents believe that legal services programs have a role in addressing systemic racial bias. Indeed, a majority disagreed with the color-blind paradigm, and more than half reported pursuing racial justice advocacy. Nonetheless, gaps appeared in programs’ awareness of the correlation between racism and poverty. Of note, 67 percent strongly agreed, agreed, or had no opinion on the statement “addressing poverty will address racism.” We suggest that a lack of conceptual clarity in the legal services community about the interdependence of race, racism, and poverty may interfere with legal aid programs’ development of coherent strategies to advance racial justice and tackle poverty effectively.

### Getting Our Terminology Right

Racism, a complex and challenging topic, is essential for antipoverty advocates to engage if we are to have a lasting impact on poverty and social justice. We offer definitions of some expansive and complex concepts and invite further study and dialogue as we work together for justice.<sup>5</sup>

**Race** is not a biological reality.<sup>6</sup> It is, rather, a social, ideological, and politi-

cal construction whose meaning differs across contexts and over time.<sup>7</sup> In fact, “the idea of ‘race’ has never existed outside a framework of group interest.”<sup>8</sup> To the contrary, race in the United States has been used to apportion privileges throughout the nation’s history.

**Racism** “must be understood as ideology, structure, and process in which inequalities inherent in the wider social system are related in a deterministic way to [phenotypic] differences and cultural factors attributed to those who are seen as a different ‘race’ or ‘ethnic’ group.”<sup>9</sup> At multiple levels, racism creates and entrenches patterns of privilege and oppression between whites and nonwhites at all income and wealth strata.<sup>10</sup> We internalize concepts of inferiority or superiority of self or others. Interpersonally our conscious and unconscious beliefs influence the way we treat those who are different from us.<sup>11</sup> Institutional policies and practices reinforce the privileges and disadvantages of “in” and “out” groups. Seemingly independent institutional policies and procedures structurally intersect with media and cultural messages about, for example, who deserves privilege or what an oppressed person looks like, to maintain the current system of inequities and disparities. Racism is so deeply embedded in the American social fabric that it recreates patterns of inequality through interpersonal, institutional, and structural interactions with-

<sup>5</sup>See, e.g., Peter Edelman, *Poverty in America: Why Can’t We End It?*, *NEW YORK TIMES* (July 28, 2012), <http://nyti.ms/MU7SHH>. For in-depth coverage on race, racism, and racial equity, see, e.g., Keith Lawrence et al., Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, *Structural Racism and Community Building* (June 2004), <http://bit.ly/12MslJg>. Understanding sexism, classism, bias (on the basis of ethnicity, language, sexual orientation, disability, and immigration status), and intersectionality is also essential to effective work for social and economic justice.

<sup>6</sup>DOROTHY ROBERTS, *FATAL INVENTION: HOW SCIENCE, POLITICS, AND BIG BUSINESS RE-CREATE RACE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY* 4–7 (2011). Neither is race synonymous with ethnicity or nationality (see David Rogers & Moira Bowman, *A History: The Construction of Race and Racism*, in *WESTERN STATES CENTER, DISMANTLING RACISM: A RESOURCE BOOK FOR SOCIAL CHANGE GROUPS* 12 (2003), <http://bit.ly/14Hkf4w>).

<sup>7</sup>See Rogers & Bowman, *supra* note 6, at 13. See also *Racial Equality Tools, Racism* (2009), <http://bit.ly/1aJA1Bi>.

<sup>8</sup>Minnijean Brown Trickey, *Confronting Racism, Past and Present to Heal Ourselves and Heal the World*, in *CENTER ON COMMUNITY PHILANTHROPY, CLINTON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC SERVICE, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, PATHWAYS TO RACIAL HEALING AND EQUITY IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH: A COMMUNITY PHILANTHROPY STRATEGY* 44–47 (Paula J. Kelly ed., 2013), <http://bit.ly/1cSJUAi> (quoting PHILOMENA ESSED, *UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY RACISM: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY THEORY* (1991)).

<sup>9</sup>See Trickey, *supra* note 8.

<sup>10</sup>VALERIE BATTS, *MODERN RACISM: NEW MELODY FOR THE SAME OLD TUNES* 4–6 (1998). See generally Rogers & Bowman, *supra* note 6, at 2, and *Racial Equality Tools, supra* note 7. See Camara Phillis Jones, *Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardener’s Tale*, 90 *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH* 1212 (2000).

<sup>11</sup>See Kimberly Papillon, *The Neuroscience of the Intent Doctrine: How the Doctrine Facilitates the Brain’s Bias*, in this issue.

out the trigger of individual “racists.” Each of us can take responsibility for changing this system if we can transform guilt, blame, and anger into action.<sup>12</sup>

**Color blindness** is the conscious disregard of race in the belief that because race is not a biological category it has no social, ideological, or political meaning or impact and that acknowledging race leads to or is equivalent to discrimination.<sup>13</sup> Ostensibly invoking the spirit of Martin Luther King Jr.’s vision that people be judged by the “content of their character,” color-blindness advocates urge us to see “people as people” by not seeing race. This approach is deeply flawed.<sup>14</sup>

First, *seeing race* and color is not the problem—*not seeing racism* is.<sup>15</sup> Color blindness encourages us to close our eyes to the reality of deep-seated structures of oppression and their effects. Second, seeing “people as people” really means seeing all people as “normal” (i.e., “white”), thus devaluing the social and cultural resonance that people of color derive from racial identity and ignoring the impact of racism on their lived experience.<sup>16</sup> Color blindness deflects the race conversation from impact to guilt and blame. Because racism continues to produce racially determined outcomes—positively and negatively—color blindness is at best naïve and at worst a form of racism perpetuating current levels of inequality.

**Equity**—i.e., fairness of outcomes—requires sometimes treating people differently.<sup>17</sup> In a racially just and equitable society, one’s race or color, regardless of socioeconomic status, would not determine one’s chances in life—positively or negatively. Achieving racial equity requires proactive dismantling of the unfair advantages and disadvantages that are built into our institutions and laws and that perpetuate racial inequities.

**Poverty**, a well-studied concept that is all too familiar to the legal services community, is ultimately the state of having insufficient resources to meet life needs.<sup>18</sup> Poverty, however, has been racialized such that we often unconsciously conflate being poor with being a person of color. Addressing white poverty therefore requires active awareness of and strategies to combat the portrayal of poor people as dark others.<sup>19</sup> Addressing poverty for poor people of color also requires awareness and targeted strategies.<sup>20</sup>

### Understanding Our Terrain: Demographic, Economic, and Social Landscape

One year after Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson launched the metaphorical “war on poverty” in 1964, in a commencement address at Howard University he spoke of “seek[ing] not just legal equity [or] equality as a right or theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.”<sup>21</sup> At the time, the poverty rate for African Americans

<sup>12</sup>See generally Racial Equity Tools, *Doing the Personal Work* (2009), <http://bit.ly/17ErD4l>. See also Trickey, *supra* note 8.

<sup>13</sup>JOHN A. POWELL, *RACING TO JUSTICE: TRANSFORMING OUR CONCEPTIONS OF SELF AND OTHER TO BUILD AN INCLUSIVE SOCIETY* 30–34, 41 (2012).

<sup>14</sup>See generally EDUARDO BONILLA-SILVA, *RACISM WITHOUT RACISTS: COLOR-BLIND RACISM AND THE PERSISTENCE OF RACIAL INEQUALITY IN AMERICA* (3d ed. 2009); see also POWELL, *supra* note 13.

<sup>15</sup>See POWELL, *supra* note 13, at 33.

<sup>16</sup>See Joan Olsson, *Detour-Spotting for White Anti-Racists* (1997), <http://bit.ly/16aYgFr>.

<sup>17</sup>See POWELL, *supra* note 13, at 24–28. Equity is also a well-studied concept (see, e.g., John T. Jost & Aaron C. Kay, *Social Justice: History, Theory, and Research*, in 2 *HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY* 1130–31 (Susan T. Fiske et al. eds., 5th ed. 2010)).

<sup>18</sup>For information on how poverty is defined and measured, see U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty, Definitions* (n.d.), <http://1.usa.gov/mSpfbc>.

<sup>19</sup>*Id.*

<sup>20</sup>*Id.* See also POWELL, *supra* note 13, at 24–28.

<sup>21</sup>Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson, *Commencement Address at Howard University: To Fulfill These Rights* (June 4, 1965), <http://bit.ly/iMo8P>.

was 55 percent and for whites, 18 percent.<sup>22</sup> In 2013, nearly half a century later, people of color remain mired in unequal outcomes and opportunities. Admittedly, much progress has been made, most notably the election for two terms of President Obama. Yet racial disparities persist. While the African American poverty rate has sharply fallen from 55 percent in the 1960s to 27.2 percent in 2012, it is still nearly three times higher than the 9.7 percent for non-Hispanic whites.<sup>23</sup> The Latino poverty rate stands at 25.6 percent, and the Asian rate is 11.7 percent.<sup>24</sup>

A quarter of children live in poverty, although children of color are disproportionately poor: 37.4 percent of African American and 34.1 percent of Latino children versus 12.5 percent of white children.<sup>25</sup> An analysis of the relationship between poverty status at birth and subsequent adult outcomes found that 69 percent of black children who were born poor were persistently poor as adults, compared to 31 percent of white children.<sup>26</sup>

Poor children and their families are often clustered in neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty, and this compounds the burdens they face. Communities where poverty is 20 percent or

higher typically have underperforming public schools, high unemployment, poor housing stock, and disparate health outcomes.<sup>27</sup> Nearly two-thirds of African Americans and American Indian and Alaska Natives, regardless of income, live in such neighborhoods.<sup>28</sup> Given the segregation of people of color in low-opportunity communities and the current foreclosure crisis, minority wealth accumulation is dismal.<sup>29</sup> For every \$6.00 in wealth possessed by a white person, each black or Hispanic individual has \$1.00.<sup>30</sup> Similarly the black homeownership rate trails the white rate by 28 percentage points, while the Latino rate lags behind by 25 points.<sup>31</sup>

While varying rationales are proffered for these disparities, government actions have been central in perpetuating them. The Social Security Act, the centerpiece of the New Deal, for example, excluded domestic and agricultural workers—jobs occupied by 85 percent of black women in the South—until 1957.<sup>32</sup> Between 1930 and 1960, of mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration, which spurred homeownership and massive transfer of wealth, 99 percent went to whites.<sup>33</sup> Of the nearly 400 years that African Americans have lived in the United

<sup>22</sup>The first official poverty rates were published in 1959. No poverty data were recorded for Latinos until 1972 and for Asians until 1987. None is reported for Native Americans (see U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Poverty Tables—People, tbl.2 (Sept. 12, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/aHuUhp>).

<sup>23</sup>See DeNavas-Walt et al., *supra* note 1, at 17.

<sup>24</sup>*Id.* Asian poverty varies significantly with nationality (e.g., 6 percent of Filipinos and 24 percent of Hmong live in poverty) (Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends, Demographics of Asian Americans (April 4, 2013), <http://bit.ly/17eRpgk>).

<sup>25</sup>See Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, ASPE Issue Brief: Information on Poverty and Income Statistics: A Summary of 2012 Current Population Survey Data (Sept. 12, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/YoL9Nb>. The report does not include data for Asians or Native Americans.

<sup>26</sup>Caroline Ratcliffe & Signe-Mary McKernan, Urban Institute, Childhood Poverty Persistence: Facts and Consequences 5 (June 30, 2010), <http://urbn.is/9QXe5i>.

<sup>27</sup>Alemayehu Bishaw, U.S. Census Bureau, Areas with Concentrated Poverty: 2006–2010, at 5 (2011), <http://1.usa.gov/uOVNt>.

<sup>28</sup>*Id.* at 7. Among other racial groups, 58.3 percent of Latinos, 33 percent of whites, and 28.6 percent of Asians live in census tracts where the poverty rate is 20 percent or higher (*id.*).

<sup>29</sup>For an exposition on opportunity communities, see John A. Powell, *Understanding Structural Racialization*, in this issue.

<sup>30</sup>Signe-Mary McKernan et al., Urban Institute, Less Than Equal: Racial Disparities in Wealth Accumulation 1 (April 26, 2013), <http://urbn.is/ZdG0Y9>.

<sup>31</sup>Rolf Pendall et al., Bipartisan Policy Center, Demographic Challenges and Opportunities for U.S. Housing Markets 19–20 (March 6, 2012), <http://bit.ly/Ms2umQ>.

<sup>32</sup>MEIZHU LUI ET AL., THE COLOR OF WEALTH: THE STORY BEHIND THE U.S. RACIAL WEALTH DIVIDE 92 (2006).

<sup>33</sup>*Id.* at 98.

States, 345 have been spent under state-sanctioned oppression justified through virulent racist ideology that, arguably, became less publicly acceptable only with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.<sup>34</sup> Although not causally connected to poverty, U.S. Supreme Court decisions that are hostile to racism-conscious remedies have also contributed to the maintenance of racial disparities. Social attitudes, some of which are reflected in legal services programs, also impede redressing of differential racial outcomes.

### Probing Legal Aid Racial Justice Perspectives: Survey Findings

Space limitations preclude a full report on the findings of our May–June survey, which we undertook to gauge legal aid practices, competencies, and attitudes on racial justice advocacy. Our methodology and detailed survey results will be posted on the website of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association ([www.nlada.org](http://www.nlada.org)). The 330 respondents who completed the survey are predominantly from legal services organizations but also from pro bono programs, the judiciary, and law school faculty and clinics.<sup>35</sup>

Of the survey's forty-two queries we report here on six that illustrate legal aid perspectives on racial justice advocacy. The first five are statements with which respondents were asked about the degree of their agreement or disagreement; the sixth is a question.

(1) Legal services organizations have a role to play in addressing systemic racial bias.

Agreement or strong agreement was expressed by 88 percent; 4 percent neither agreed nor disagreed while 8 percent

disagreed or strongly disagreed. This was true across racial and ethnic groups as 89 percent of whites, 85 percent of African Americans and Asians, 83 percent of multiple-race respondents, 80 percent of Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders, and 79 percent of Latinos concurred.

(2) I believe people should be color-blind.

Here 55 percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed. However, higher percentages of black, Asian, multiple-race, and Hispanic respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed compared to white and American Indian/Alaskan Native respondents (62 percent, 60 percent, 75 percent, and 57 percent, respectively, versus 53 percent and 50 percent, respectively).

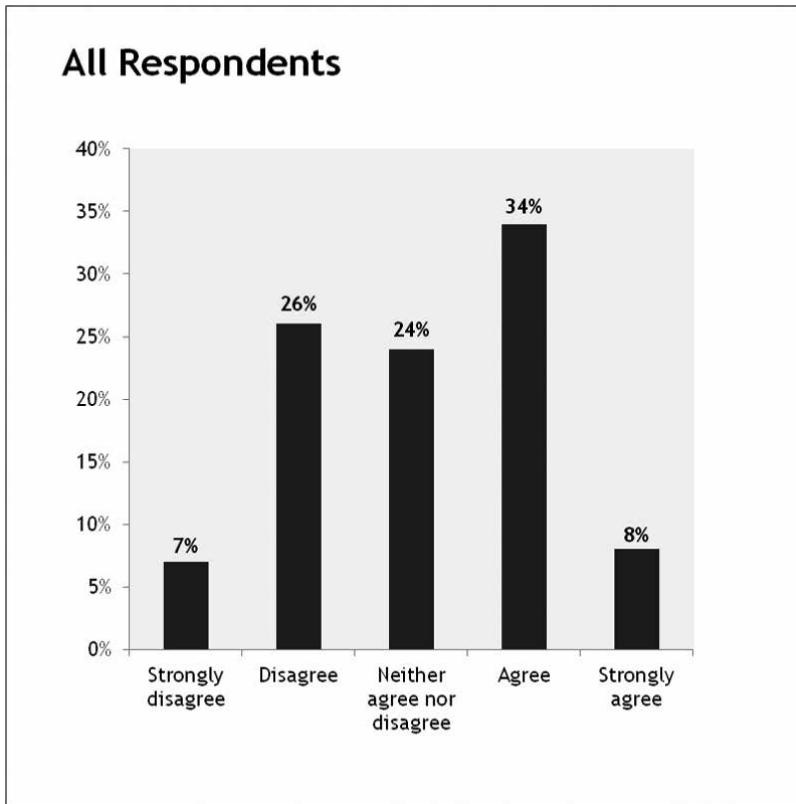
(3) Addressing poverty will address racism.

This item produced responses that perhaps demonstrated most clearly the tension in legal services between explicitly confronting racism and using poverty as a proxy for attacking racial disparities. Nearly half of respondents, 42 percent, agreed or strongly agreed, while 24 percent neither agreed nor disagreed, and 34 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed (see fig. 1). Black and Latino respondents were much more likely than other racial groups to disagree strongly (24 percent and 14 percent, respectively), compared to white, Asian, and multiple-race respondents (5 percent, 5 percent, and 8 percent, respectively) (see fig. 2). Interestingly, people in their 40s were most likely to disagree or strongly disagree (47 percent), while people in their 20s were most likely to have the opposite view—75 percent of them agreed or strongly agreed.

<sup>34</sup>UNDERSTANDING PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION 206–12 (Scott Plous ed., 2002). While the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments ended slavery and granted blacks equal citizenship and the franchise, respectively, the U.S. Supreme Court's interpretation of those Amendments hollowed out their efficacy (see Loren Miller, *Race, Poverty and the Law*, 54 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 386, 391, 393 (1966)). For Latinos, a legacy of conquest, racial and ethnic hostilities, and language and immigration status discrimination all contribute to disparate outcomes (see LUI ET AL., *supra* note 32, at 156, 158–59). Regarding historical exclusion of Native Americans and Asians, see *id.* at 43–46, 178, 180.

<sup>35</sup>The survey instrument and interpretation did not use sophisticated regression analysis; its findings are intended as a springboard for dialogue, reflection, and further inquiry. Note that the sample sizes for American Indian/Alaskan Native and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander respondents were particularly small.

**Figure 1. All respondents on “Addressing poverty will address racism.”**



(4) Legal services organizations are doing racial justice work when they serve people of color.

This statement, too, revealed discernible differences by racial groups and, equally important, underscored the complexity of building shared understanding about racial justice advocacy and identifying viable strategies. Of respondents 42 percent strongly agreed or agreed, while 32 percent did not proffer an opinion, and only 24 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Among people of color, African Americans and Latinos (46 percent and 38 percent, respectively) were more likely to disagree or strongly disagree compared to 30 percent of Asians, 20 percent of Native Hawaiians or other Pacific Islanders, and 18 percent of white respondents. However, 50 percent of American Indian or Alaska Native, 55 percent of Asian, and 80 percent of Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander respondents agreed or strong-

ly agreed, compared to 29 percent of black and 33 percent of Latino respondents.

Perhaps the differences in perceptions among people of color can be explained by one respondent who astutely observed that “whether serving a minority group means engaging in racial justice work is not [easily] answered with a yes or no [response;] it depends on the analysis leading into the work and the goal of doing the work.” Indeed, providing language access, for example, to a particular community may be part of an overall strategy to address systemic disparities in that community or may just be providing access to service. This comment and other responses to this statement show the need for clarity in defining racial equity advocacy.

(5) Legal services organizations do not have the resources to address systemic racial bias.

Agreement or strong agreement was expressed by 47 percent of respondents; 20 percent expressed no opinion; and 33 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

(6) Are you/Is your organization currently pursuing activities that you would classify as racial justice advocacy?

Despite the previous response regarding resources, over 50 percent of respondents answered yes. Among nonmanagement staff, 51 percent replied yes, 32 percent no, and 17 percent not sure. Responses from executive directors and management staff were consistent, with 52 percent answering yes, 30 percent no, and 18 percent not sure. As a whole, these responses raise questions about the nature of racial justice advocacy as currently perceived and what conditions are required for legal services organizations to address systemic racial bias.

### Moving to Racial Justice Advocacy

In the 2002 CLEARINGHOUSE REVIEW special issue on pursuing racial justice Alan W. Houseman wrote: “In effect, the architects of the Office of Legal Services assumed that, by addressing the problems of poverty, the legal services program

would also address the problem of racial inequality.”<sup>36</sup>

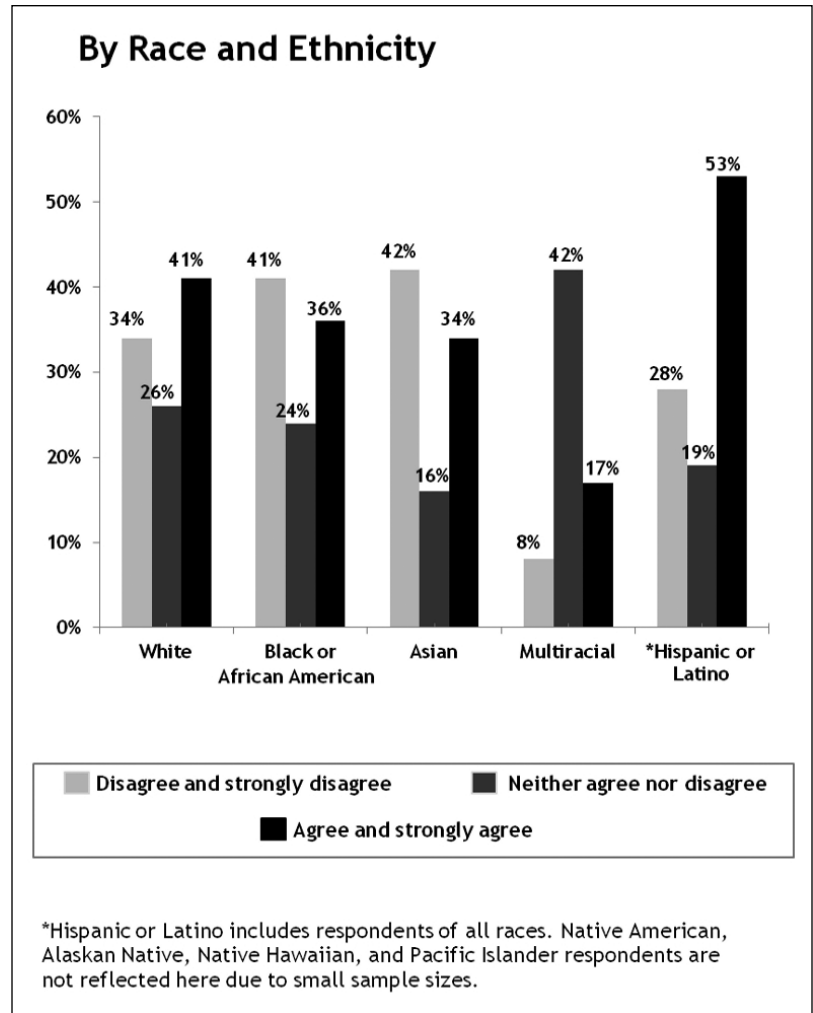
Our survey results show that this assumption is alive and well. We challenge its validity. The notion that addressing poverty will address racism conflicts with recent racial justice scholarship and major foundation initiatives.<sup>37</sup> Recent racial justice scholarship urges advocates to examine racism explicitly in the development of advocacy strategy. Without discerning the complexities that racism brings to antipoverty practice, we risk unintentionally reinforcing racial inequities and neglecting opportunities to build economic opportunity for all.

To further racial equity, we offer four suggestions. First, we urge legal services programs to undertake constructive dialogue and study that deepen our collective understanding of racism, reexamine the belief that addressing poverty will mitigate racism, and unpack the notion that serving people of color, in and of itself, furthers racial equity.<sup>38</sup>

Second, we propose that programs investigate innovative antiracism and antipoverty strategies, such as those discussed in this special issue. Third, given the concentration of people of color in high-poverty and low-opportunity communities, we urge programs to consider place-based strategies to dismantle racially inequitable outcomes.<sup>39</sup>

Fourth, we recommend that, at an individual level, everyone consider taking the implicit association tests offered by Project Implicit and commit to a personal study of racism and racial equity.<sup>40</sup>

**Figure 2. Respondents by race on “Addressing poverty will address racism.”**



With patience, optimism, and hard work, we can move together to build an inclusive society that produces racial and economic justice for all.

<sup>36</sup>Alan W. Houseman, *Racial Justice: The Role of Civil Legal Assistance*, 36 CLEARINGHOUSE REVIEW 5, 8 (May–June 2002).

<sup>37</sup>See, e.g., W.K. Kellogg Foundation, *Racial Equity* (n.d.), <http://bit.ly/ljyKRN>; Annie E. Casey Foundation, *Race Matters* (2013), <http://bit.ly/doTu1z>; Applied Research Center, *Compact for Racial Justice: An Agenda for Fairness and Unity* (n.d.), <http://bit.ly/1cxZlxG> (Preamble).

<sup>38</sup>Of survey respondents, 55 percent reported that their programs provided training on poverty, 52 percent on cultural competence, 44 percent on diversity, 31 percent on community education, but only 20 percent on structural racism or racism, 18 percent on implicit bias, 16 percent on inclusion, and 9 percent on antioppression.

<sup>39</sup>See, e.g., PATRICK SHARKEY, *STUCK IN PLACE: URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS AND THE END OF PROGRESS TOWARD RACIAL EQUITY* (2013) (proposing targeted investments in most distressed neighborhoods and intensive supports for struggling families); Naomi Cytron, *Improving the Outcomes of Place-Based Initiatives*, COMMUNITY INVESTMENT, Spring 2010, <http://bit.ly/18Fv7b7>.

<sup>40</sup>See Project Implicit (2011), <http://hvrd.me/9ebeXR>.





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