understanding, of the global poor. It also overlooks how these negative externalities undermine the self-determination of the poor who must live under hazardous conditions that they can scarcely improve or avoid.

Not only are the wastes generated by prosperous consumer societies sent abroad while the benefits remain at home, but even the manufacture of some of the more dangerous products is outsourced to developing nations. Globalization thus provides the affluent with new opportunities to make their own problems the problems of others. What is at issue in extractive industries, dumping, and outsourcing are global practices in which the benefits of technological progress are concentrated among the global affluent while the risks are borne increasingly by the poor, both at home and abroad.

7.3. Segregated Cities: “Two Societies, ... Separate and Unequal”

We now turn from examples of sacrifice zones located largely in rural areas to examples of structural injustice in cities and settlements. In the present section, we focus on the origins and current realities of segregated cities in the United States and, in section 7.4, on the structural features of urban settlements or slums in low- and middle-income countries.

Racial injustice in the US has a long history. Its permutations run through slavery, the Jim Crow era, and the period of the Great Migration, when 4 million blacks left the South for northern industrial cities between 1910 and 1970. The current story cannot be fully told without reference to this historical context, but we begin our narrative with a discussion of what came next. Our starting point is the 1968 release of the Kerner Commission Report.\textsuperscript{55} President Johnson appointed the commission in the aftermath of nearly three years of intermittent outbreaks of violence in major urban areas.\textsuperscript{56} The report became an immediate national bestseller, and its central message and stark language are familiar to those who have studied the development of urban America.\textsuperscript{57} Its executive summary concluded:

\textsuperscript{55} The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is widely known as the Kerner Commission Report, named for its chair, Illinois governor Otto Kerner, Jr.

\textsuperscript{56} The commission was charged with answering three questions about the riots: “What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again and again?” (Lyndon B. Johnson, July 29, 1967). See John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., “Remarks upon Signing Order Establishing the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,” The American Presidency Project, University of California, Santa Barbara.

\textsuperscript{57} See, e.g., Richard Rothstein, The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America (New York: W. W. Norton, 2017); Julian E. Zelizer, “Fifty Years Ago, the
Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal... Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

Though the language is from an earlier era, the core findings of the Kerner Report retain their relevance today. Combined with the details of subsequent research, they reveal how so many were locked into place, both geographically and in their relative social position. The continuing normative importance of place—how African Americans got there and why they stayed—is underscored by Patrick Sharkey. The heart of his argument is that “[i]nequality stems from place itself and is located in the urban neighborhoods that generations of African-Americans have called home... [O]ver 70 percent of the African-American residents of America’s poorest and most segregated neighborhoods are the children and grandchildren of those who lived in similar neighborhoods forty years ago.”

We focus on the evolution of US racial divisions that are the product of social control, social exclusion, and economic exploitation, leading to the production and perpetuation of deleterious effects on human well-being. More specifically, we look at residential housing patterns, economic conditions, and policing.

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38 Members of the commission were African American. “Negro” is anachronistic, and the term “ghetto” is normatively loaded in ways it was not then. However, the definition of “ghetto” was intended to demonstrate the origins of the affected communities: “an area within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization, and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation.”


60 Chapter 2 of the Kerner Report presents the results of a survey of residents of twenty-three cities where riots occurred, in which the residents were asked to rank their grievances. Twelve of the most recurrent grievances were categorized according to level of intensity. Grievances within the first level of intensity were (1) police practices; (2) unemployment and underemployment; and (3) inadequate housing. Our focus on police practices also includes the administration of justice, which appears as a separate item in the survey. Our focus on economic conditions includes
7.3.1. The Modern Origins of Segregated Residential Housing Patterns

We begin with housing. Four factors were crucial in shaping not only the segregated character of cities but the economic conditions of its black residents: redlining, restrictive covenants, installment sales contracts, and the siting of public housing.

"Redlining" refers to racially discriminatory banking and insurance practices, including the denial of mortgage loans, homeowner insurance, and access to credit more generally in neighborhoods having a significant presence of African Americans. However, redlining from its inception was not simply a practice created and implemented by private financial institutions seeking to limit their exposure to the risks of transactions in lower-income communities. The practice acquired its name from the red ink on the "residential security maps" used by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to designate neighborhoods as poor credit risks because of the presence of African Americans. The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) adopted these maps when it was created in 1934, not simply as the basis for offering financial advice to private lenders but to designate areas where it would not make loans or ensure private bank mortgages.

The exclusionary policies were not adopted solely on the assumption that race was a suitable proxy for lending risk. A 1938 manual for the FHA encouraged officials to avoid mixing "inharmonious racial or nationality groups" and "the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended."61 Similar discriminatory intention was reflected in other policies. The FHA would not lend to or insure private mortgages for a black person seeking to buy property in a white neighborhood. It even went so far as to bar African Americans from obtaining bank mortgages in suburban subdivisions that were privately financed without FHA construction loan guarantees.

The exclusionary effects of official government policies were compounded by the pervasive use of restrictive racial covenants that forbade property sales to blacks and other minorities, most typically Jews. Here too, these were not merely cumulative effects of private market decisions. The FHA refused federally subsidized construction loans to suburban subdivision developers unless they excluded African Americans.62 The

61 Hannah Jones, "Living Apart."
62 For example, the FHA insisted that Levittown, a famous subdivision built in 1947, not sell homes to blacks. Each deed also included the prohibition in future resales. Kenneth T. Jackson, 
FHA’s official policy, as well as the policy of the Veterans Administration, supported racial covenants until 1950 by “refusing to underwrite loans that would bring ‘incompatible’ racial groups into newly created white areas.”63 Change came only when the US Supreme Court struck down laws permitting restrictive covenants, but the Court did so on the grounds that they interfered with white sellers’ rights, not the rights of black buyers.64

The combination of federal policy and the exercise of anti-competitive market power in the private sector left African Americans with few options. They could rent, but generally at above-market prices because of the lack of housing stock in neighborhoods where landlords would rent to them. Or they could purchase homes through installment contracts. The buyers built up no equity as they would have with mortgages, and they acquired legal title only when the lease-purchase amount was paid in full. With high rates and fees, buyers ended up paying exorbitant prices.65 The further consequence was that moving elsewhere meant losing everything they had invested.

The other residential option was public housing projects. Here too, African Americans were bound to place. Public housing projects were located in the same segregated, depressed neighborhoods as the few other housing alternatives open to them.

In a review of this history and its durable impact on the intersection of race and poverty, Paul Jargowsky summarizes the result: “Given that the housing stock lasts for decades, these policies build a durable architecture of segregation that ensures that racial segregation and the concentration of poverty is entrenched for years to come.”66 In city after city, the pattern was repeated—from Ferguson to Baltimore to Cleveland and elsewhere.67

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63 See, e.g., Hannah-Jones, “Living Apart.” By one estimate, 98 percent of the loans the FHA insured between 1934 and 1962 went to white borrowers.

64 However, some real estate agent organizations adopted “codes of ethics” that banned sales to African Americans outside of black areas. Hannah-Jones, “Living Apart.”


7.3.2. Geographic Dispersion and Reconcentration of Poverty: 2000 to the Present

The intersection of race and socioeconomic position in the United States today is complex and often misunderstood. One mistake is the equation of the conditions of all black Americans with the extreme poverty of the inner cities. The majority of African Americans do not reside in the inner cities, and they are not below the official poverty level. The opposite mistake is the assumption that the socioeconomic position of African Americans has improved greatly and that the problems associated with high concentrations of poverty in the inner cities are receding. The major economic indicators, including wealth and income, show otherwise. Poverty among blacks is more geographically dispersed, for example, moving rapidly into the inner suburban rings of metropolitan areas and reconcentrating with the same predictable adverse effects that are manifested in the inner cities.

Consider first the economic indicators of racial disparities in poverty rates, income, and wealth. The proportion of African Americans who are living in poverty is 27 percent, compared with an overall 11 percent, and 38 percent of black children live in poverty, compared with 22 percent of all children in the US. In 1984, the white-to-black wealth ratio was 12 to 1. By 2009, the wealth gap grew to more than 19 to 1.

The wealth gap is a particularly important indicator of differential well-being. Individual wealth—as well as family wealth—is a source of resilience and opportunity. For example, it reduces financial impediments for individuals seeking preventive and acute medical care for themselves and their families. It lessens the risk of eviction or mortgage foreclosure, and it enables parents and grandparents to contribute financially to the education or home purchase of young adults.

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70 These disproportionate losses are due primarily to decreased real estate value, the principal asset of most black households. Patrick Sharkey, “Neighborhoods and the Black–White Mobility Gap” (2009), http://www.pewtrusts.org/-/media/legacy/uploadedfiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/reports/economic_mobility/pewsharkey12pdf.pdf. A separate study by researchers at the Institute on Assets and Social Policy at Brandeis University found that from 1984 to 2009, the median net worth of white households grew to $265,000 over the twenty-five-year period compared with just $28,500 for black households. In addition, the study found that whites were five times more likely to inherit money than blacks, and their typical inheritances were ten times as big. Thomas Shapiro, Tatjana Meschede, and Sam Osoro, “The Roots of the Widening Racial Wealth Gap: Explaining the Black–White Economic Divide,” Research and Policy Brief (February 2013), http://iasp.brandeis.edu/pdfs/Author/shapiro-thomas-m/racialwealthgapbrief.pdf.

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Another important, but often neglected indicator of well-being and overall life prospects is the concentrated poverty rate—the share of poor residents living in poor neighborhoods. Extreme-poverty neighborhoods are ones where 40 percent or more of the population lives below the federal poverty line. The number of people living in these areas has nearly doubled since 2000, rising from 7.2 million to 13.8 million.\textsuperscript{71} In addition, the number of high-poverty neighborhoods, defined as ones with poverty rates in the range of 20 to 40 percent, have also increased since 2000, and the overall result is that 55 percent of poor people in the United States now live in a high-poverty or extreme-poverty area.\textsuperscript{72}

The reconcentration of poverty has had a disproportionate effect on non-whites. For example, among the residents of extreme-poverty neighborhoods, 70 percent are predominantly minority members. More than one-fourth of the black poor and nearly one-sixth of the Hispanic poor live in a neighborhood of extreme poverty, compared with one in thirteen of the white poor.\textsuperscript{73} Moreover, concentrated poverty, along with new predominantly minority communities, spreads beyond the urban core. Today, more African Americans live in the suburbs than in the cities, but suburban areas, especially the inner rings, are now among the fastest-growing extreme-poverty neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{74} By 2014, there were almost three times as many extreme-poverty suburban neighborhoods as there were in 2000, and poor black residents were more than three and a half times more likely than whites to live there.\textsuperscript{75}

The increase in extreme- and high-poverty neighborhoods is significant in ways that may not be apparent to those who do not study the effects of concentrated poverty. It has durable adverse effects on well-being that go beyond the effects produced simply by being poor or growing up in a poor household. Multiple adverse impacts on every aspect of well-being—due simply to living in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty rates—kick

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\textsuperscript{72} Kneebone and Holmes, "U.S. Concentrated Poverty."

\textsuperscript{73} Paul Jargowsky, "Race & Inequality."

\textsuperscript{74} Elizabeth Kneebone and Alan Berube, Confronting Suburban Poverty in America (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2013).

\textsuperscript{75} Kneebone and Holmes, "U.S. Concentrated Poverty."
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in when the neighborhood poverty rate exceeds about 20 percent and tapers off when the rate reaches approximately 40 percent poverty.\textsuperscript{76}

The multiple adverse effects—neighborhood effects, as they are known—are well documented.\textsuperscript{77} For example, as many studies demonstrate in great detail, concentrated poverty and poor neighborhood schools go hand in hand, resulting in educational disadvantages and substantial achievement gaps for children. Areas of concentrated poverty affect learning and cognitive development in other ways as well. Such communities separate their residents from the civic life of the broader community, increasing social isolation and reducing opportunities for learning about the world and for social networking opportunities. Exposure to art, music, and a wider range of people, professions, and cultures does far more to advance preparedness for classroom learning than being able to sound out the alphabet.\textsuperscript{78}

In addition, there is a high prevalence of physical and mental illness and high death rates in areas of concentrated poverty.\textsuperscript{79} The reasons are various. These areas are associated with concentrated environmental hazards in old and poorly constructed housing stock, as well as harmful emissions produced by surrounding industries. Racially isolated neighborhoods, in particular, typically lack local primary care providers and ready access to routine and preventive health care even when residents have health care coverage through programs like Medicaid.\textsuperscript{80} Residents are exposed to a higher level of violence, not only undermining short-term personal security but having lifelong effects on their capacity for trust and the development of other social skills necessary for establishing durable, rewarding personal relationships.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{76} George C. Galster, "The Mechanism(s) of Neighborhood Effects: Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications," presentation at the ESRC Seminar, St. Andrews University, Scotland, February 4–5, 2010.

\textsuperscript{77} For an in-depth review of the literature on the effects of concentrated poverty, see the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Reserve System and Brookings Institution, \textit{The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America: Case Studies from Communities Across the U.S.} (Richmond, VA: Federal Reserve System and Brookings Institution, 2008).


\textsuperscript{80} Wilder, Allgood, and Rothstein, "Narrowing the Achievement Gap," table 10.

\textsuperscript{81} Sharkey, \textit{Stuck in Place}. 
There are, then, three distinct implications to bear in mind when thinking about the recenteration of poverty. First, it is worse for the 55 percent of poor Americans who live in these neighborhoods than it is for the poor in less disadvantaged social circumstances. This means that a significant percentage of poor Americans are being left behind in ways beyond what income and household wealth differentials alone reveal. The adverse effects of individual or household poverty are thus compounded by social structural arrangements that thwart access to social programs and public resources that can counteract the long-term deprivation and disadvantage that accompany poverty.

Second, blacks of all ages and income levels are far more likely to live in areas of concentrated poverty than whites.62 This means that many more affluent African Americans experience much of the adverse structural impact of an impoverished environment than whites of comparable socioeconomic status.

Third, poor children are much more likely than poor adults to live in poor neighborhoods, and black children are far more likely than white children to live in neighborhoods with poverty rates of 20 percent or more.63 This means that the durable adverse effects of living in areas marked by severe deprivation and deep disadvantage take hold early and often last a lifetime.

Poverty is bad for human well-being, but concentrated poverty is far worse. Concentrated poverty is worse still for the African American community, even for those who do not bear the added burdens of personal poverty. This is the case because a higher proportion of non-poor blacks suffer from the lingering effects of urban and suburban communities created along racially exclusionary lines. And concentrated poverty tends to be especially bad for children in comparison with adults. Patterns of racial segregation leave more black children caught in the grip of circumstances beyond their making.64

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63 For example, “Over the course of childhood, two out of three black children (66 percent) born from 1985 through 2000 were raised in neighborhoods with at least a 20 percent poverty rate, compared to just 6 percent of white children.” Sharkey, “The Black-White Mobility Gap.”

7.3.3. The Poor (Neighborhoods) Pay More (and Get Less)

The adverse effects of concentrated poverty extend beyond obvious factors like failing, underfunded schools, crumbling infrastructure, dangerously polluted water systems, and geographic isolation from primary transportation hubs. Community residents, neighborhood activists, and legal aid lawyers also have firsthand experience with a web of laws that benefit others at the expense of disadvantaged communities. David Caplovitz’s classic book, *The Poor Pay More*, provides a comprehensive account of the predatory institutions dedicated to the extraction of wealth from the poor and vulnerable with little legal accountability for their commercial practices. The predatory lending practices prior to the Great Recession are among the most well-known schemes deliberately designed to exploit the residents of low-income communities, especially ones predominantly made up of African Americans.

While most know that the housing stock in poor neighborhoods of color is dilapidated and unsafe, it is also true that this is not a matter of mere neglect or the simple inability of the poor to pay higher rents for better housing. In fact, rents in poor neighborhoods typically approximate those in other neighborhoods where the housing stock is in far better shape. As a result, along with reduced maintenance costs, housing in poor neighborhoods yields higher returns to landlords.

Other routinely exploitative businesses concentrated in lower-income areas include a phalanx of financial institutions targeting low-income communities. They include rent-to-own companies, usurious pawnshops, consumer finance companies, and payday lenders. These financial institutions all benefit from laws that make default judgments (uncontested court orders) more likely, inflate recovered damages far in excess of actual loss, and permit wage garnishments that can often take up to 65 percent of a debtor’s wages with no recourse. They also take advantage of a system

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88 See, e.g., community activist organizations such as the umbrella organization Action Center on Race and the Economy (ACRE) that target the “financial elite responsible for pillaging communities of color, devastating working class communities and harming our environment,” https://www.acrecampaigns.org/about.

of legal notification of pending lawsuits that lawyers refer to as “sewer service,” so named because the formal notice process of pending legal action routinely fails to reach the defendants.

Some financial institutions also extract high profits by a practice of loan “flipping.” Loans are refinanced multiple times and the accrued interest is folded into the principal, resulting in annual percentage rates of up to 250 percent in some jurisdictions. Added into the mix are insurers that sell “monthly-debit ordinary” life insurance only in low-income neighborhoods, often door to door, at higher rates and with lesser benefits than risk-based underwriting warrants. The list goes on, but the combined effect is a massive wealth transfer from the poor to the middle class and the affluent.

These processes of wealth extraction layer on top of the structural constraints on household revenue. Employment discrimination based on race is very much a part of the fabric of US economic life, along with high levels of underemployment. Moreover, the increasing reliance on informal labor has replaced many regular employment arrangements for unskilled workers, especially African Americans and non-white Hispanics. Added to this pattern of depressed household revenue from discrimination and the transformation of labor markets are the effects of the 1990s promise to “end welfare as we know it.” This policy shift has deprived many people of the kinds of safety nets that are necessary to meet the most basic needs for food, shelter, medical care, and the transportation and material goods necessary to send children to school. Here, the adverse effects are often especially felt by women and children. It is sometimes

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93 Semuels, “No, Most Black People.”
said that “black men get locked up while black women get locked out [evicted].”

7.3.4. Policing

The *Washington Post* maintains a database cataloging every fatal shooting nationwide by a police officer in the line of duty, based “on news reports, public records, social media and other sources.” The database includes whatever information is available about the circumstances of the shooting, as well as demographic data. It illustrates what is already widely known: fatal interactions between police and the public disproportionately impact poor men and women in communities of color. The protest banner reading “Hands Up, Don’t Shoot” vividly captures activists’ understanding of the context of these shootings. The message of the movement Black Lives Matter is that all too often black lives don’t matter within US society, at least not nearly as much as white lives do.

It is now commonly said that the problem is structural. One feature of this claim is that even though the disproportionate racial impact is stark, the individual motive behind these fatalities is not necessarily explicit racial animus. Even non-white officers may harbor beliefs that lead them to view black men with suspicion in ways that provoke more aggressive, preemptive police actions. This phenomenon affects black men in neighborhoods marked by high crime rates. But it also affects black men in expensive cars driving through affluent, predominantly white suburbs, when nothing other than skin color signals a threat to public safety or the security of police officers.

An array of other institutionalized race-based policing policies disproportionately affect poor neighborhoods of color. They are often described by law enforcement officials and politicians as war zones. The assumption is that the situation in urban America, in both inner cities and inner suburban neighborhoods like Ferguson, is so dire that ordinary approaches to policing have to give way to more aggressive tactics. The “broken-windows approach,” for example, was widely adopted and defended on

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94 Desmond, *Evicted*.
96 This explicitly military approach was the brainchild of Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates, who modeled the now ubiquitous SWAT team approach on tactics used by American soldiers in Vietnam. See Barry Friedman, *Unwarranted: Policing Without Permission* (NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2017), 54–58.
grounds that aggressive enforcement of minor offenses deters more serious crimes.97

The wartime mentality escalates beyond the intrusiveness of large-scale monitoring and surveillance in these neighborhoods. Today, in many midsize to large cities, serving criminal warrants and other routine police activities are often performed in highly militarized fashion, complete with techniques adapted from recent overseas wars, the deployment of military-grade equipment, and the use of profiling strategies designed to identify the “bad guys” in advance of any overt hostility.98 Echoing the central message of James Baldwin’s “Report from Occupied Territory,” the police presence in communities of color is often referred to as “The Occupation.”99

Fatal shootings and other aggressive, preemptive policing policies are components of a larger structural phenomenon that the Black Lives Matter movement identifies. The movement’s founders characterize its purposes in their manifesto, proclaiming that the movement should be seen as “an intervention specifically created to address anti-blackness in all its historic and contemporary manifestations.”100 It points to their belief that the larger society endorses, at least passively, attaching diminished importance to black lives in numerous ways. Christopher Lebron describes the general phenomenon animating Black Lives Matter as “one of America’s greatest failures—the dis-valuation of black lives, the prevalent sense that black lives were inconsequential and disposable.”101

The argument for enhanced efforts to contain urban violence through aggressive policing has its historic roots in the Jim Crow era portrait of blackness as animalistic, lacking impulse control, and subhuman.102 The contemporary version of this fear-driven white sentiment is captured by sociologist John DiLulio’s characterization of the superpredator archetype, reiterated and popularized by a generation of politicians eager to establish their credentials as tough on crime. The implication of the containment strategy is that all that white America has to do to protect itself is

98 Friedman, Unwarranted.
101 Ibid., 44.
to stay clear of the bad neighborhoods and let the police do whatever needs to be done to control the problems and the responsible populations.\textsuperscript{103}

The shift toward mass incarceration is the most obvious end result of the containment model, but there is more to it than that. Underneath the phenomenon of affluent black motorists being stopped by police for “driving while black,” particularly in whiter, more affluent neighborhoods, is an extension of the broad-brush suspicion of blackness. It is rooted in white fear that bad things will happen if containment policies fail, leading to hypervigilance against the threat that black people will go where they do not belong.\textsuperscript{104}

Municipalities also extract disproportionate revenue from the poor through a system of fines and court cost levies, often for petty offenses that are not enforced in other communities.\textsuperscript{105} Stop-and-frisk techniques and arrests for obstructing doorways and sidewalks—practices almost exclusively confined to poor communities of color—not only serve their intended purpose of intimidation but pay the salaries of numerous clerks, court officers, and ancillary police department personnel. These widespread practices often generate a high proportion of the municipal revenues in small jurisdictions. One of the most widely publicized examples is contained in the US Justice Department report in the wake of the Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri.\textsuperscript{106} However, it is simply a high-profile example of a widespread technique for generating municipal revenues without having to raise taxes on politically more influential citizens who will hold them accountable at the ballot box.\textsuperscript{107}

In sum, the origin and perpetuation of the conditions of black Americans living predominantly in segregated metropolitan areas have multiple causes, with a diversity of agents exhibiting a range of moral postures toward the disadvantaged. Taken together, the conditions of black America, in particular those of poor communities of color, is a function of multiple, overlapping factors that reinforce disadvantage, exploitation, social control, and social exclusion in a systematic manner. No black person can


fully escape the insidious effects. Some of these factors are fear-driven and rooted in racial animus, however far from the surface of consciousness these motives might be in some instances. This is straightforward subordination of a racially defined community, with some individuals exhibiting a clear desire to exclude a subject population from the mainstream of social life.

For others, there is a level of moral indifference that valorizes a social ideal in which people are expected to attend to their families and immediate circle of friends and expect the same from others. An especially callous variant of this libertarian ideal of “live and let live” involves a self-serving falsification of the true relationship of the privileged to the disadvantaged. Particularly problematic are individuals who benefit from this pattern of social insularity and exclusion, for example, by avoiding the taxes that would be required to bring public infrastructure and schools up to a standard commensurate with what is available in advantaged communities.

For others still, there is money to be made. Exploitation is the central form of unfairness manifested. Real estate practices—from redlining to installment sales to subprime predatory lending—is but one illustration. Many business owners benefit from having at the ready a large pool of day laborers who work outside of the formal economy that underwrites the expectation of middle-class whites for legally enforceable minimum wages, worker safety protections, a measure of job security, and at least some employee benefits.

No one can deny that there have been important changes for the better with regard to racial justice in the US since the 1960s. However, too many things of consequence remain the same. A 2016 report from New York University’s Furman Center surveys the conditions in urban America, where race, place, and concentrated poverty intersect, and its conclusion echoes the stark language of the Kerner Report: “Segregation in the 21st century, in other words, continues to result not only in separate but also in decidedly unequal communities.”

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108 Young, Responsibility for Justice, 81–84.
109 Furman Center, “Research Brief”