

**APN
Summit
2015**

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Toolkit

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R.A.C.E. 101

Racism, Power & Poverty Related Transformative Justice

R.A.C.E. 101 - Racism, Power and Poverty Related Transformative Justice. This interactive workshop service as an introductory primer to adopting a more race conscious approach to community building and social justice work. We will take the initial steps to broaden our understanding of the causes of the problems of poverty, inequity, and community distress in New Jersey; clarify our understanding of the forces that maintain the racial disparity status quo and constrain the potential success of strategies for change; identify how and why an emphasis on racial equity might enhance the possibility of poverty reduction social change effort success; and highlight new approaches that could complement and reinforce existing strategy.

MINORITY, RACIAL, AND ETHNIC GROUPS

Minority Groups

Race

Ethnicity

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice

Color-Blind Racism

Discriminatory Behavior

The Privileges of the Dominant

Institutional Discrimination

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Labeling Perspective

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SPECTRUM OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Segregation

Amalgamation

Assimilation

Pluralism

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES

African Americans

Native Americans

Asian Americans

Arab Americans

Latinos

Central and South Americans

Jewish Americans

White Ethnics

POVERTY

Studying Poverty

Who Are the Poor?

Feminization of Poverty

The Underclass

Explaining Poverty

SOCIAL POLICY AND RACIAL AND ETHNIC INEQUALITY RELATED TO POVERTY

Learning Objectives

1. Differentiate racial, ethnic, and minority groups.
2. Summarize the social construction of race.
3. Explain the impact of prejudice and discrimination on social relations and wealth building related to poverty.
4. Identify ways in which color-blind racism amounts to covert racism.
5. Analyze racial and ethnic inequality using the functionalist, conflict, labeling, and interactionist perspectives.
6. Describe patterns of intergroup relations.
7. Describe the various racial and ethnic populations in the United States.
8. Analyze the functions and dysfunctions of current United States social welfare policy regarding poverty.
9. Differentiate racial, ethnic, and minority groups.
10. Summarize the social construction of race.
11. Describe the distribution of income and wealth in the United States.
12. Explain poverty in the United States using the conflict and functionalist perspectives.
13. Explain how life chances are linked to stratification and social mobility.
14. Explain the relationship of various social factors on social mobility in the United States.
15. Explain the impact of prejudice and discrimination on social relations and wealth building related to poverty.
16. Identify ways in which color-blind racism amounts to covert racism.
17. Analyze racial and ethnic inequality using the functionalist, conflict, labeling, and interactionist perspectives.
18. Describe various patterns of intergroup relations.
19. Describe the various racial and ethnic populations in the United States.
20. Analyze the functions and dysfunctions of current United States social welfare policy regarding poverty.

R.A.C.E. 101 - Rejecting All Constructed Efficacy: Racism, Power & Poverty Related Transformative Justice.

The term **racial group** is used to describe a group that is set apart from others because of obvious physical differences. A **minority group** is a subordinate group whose members have significantly less control or power over their own lives than members of a dominant group or majority group. The *social construction of race* refers to the process by which people come to define a group as a race based in part on physical characteristics, but also on historical, cultural, and economic factors. **Racial formation** refers to the sociohistorical process in which racial categories are created, changed, and destroyed. As exemplified by Tiger Woods, Mariah Carey, and President Barack Obama, in the U.S. there is a trend toward societal recognition and acceptance of multiple identities. **Ethnic groups** are set apart from others primarily because of their national origin or distinctive cultural patterns; the distinction with racial groups is not always clear-cut.

Prejudice is a negative attitude toward an entire category of people. Sometimes prejudice results from **ethnocentrism**—the tendency to assume that one's own culture and way of life represent the norm or are superior to all others. **Racism** is one important and widespread form of prejudice that fosters a belief that one race is supreme and all others are innately inferior. Prejudice is also rooted in racial and ethnic **stereotypes**—unreliable generalizations about all members of a group that do not recognize individual differences within the group. **Color-blind racism** is the use of the principle of race neutrality to defend a racially unequal status quo. **Discrimination** is the denial of opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups based on some type of arbitrary bias. The **glass ceiling** refers to an invisible barrier that blocks the promotion of qualified people in a work environment based on gender, race, or ethnicity. Dominant groups enjoy privileges at the expense of others. Sociologists are becoming increasingly interested in what it means to be “White,” for **White privilege** is the other side of the coin of racial discrimination. **Institutional discrimination** is the denial of opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups, which results from the normal operations of society. **Affirmative action** refers to positive efforts to recruit minority group members or women for jobs, promotions, and educational opportunities and is overall an attempt to combat institutional discrimination.

In terms of sociological interaction and race and social welfare theory functionalists observe that racial prejudice and discrimination serve positive functions for dominant groups, whereas conflict theorists see the economic structure as a central factor in the exploitation of minorities. The labeling perspective (as well as conflict perspective) draws attention to **racial profiling**—any arbitrary action initiated by an authority based on race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than on a person's behavior. Interactionists stress the way everyday contact between people from different backgrounds contributes to tolerance or leads to hostility. According to the **contact hypothesis**, in cooperative circumstances, interracial contact between people of equal status will cause them to become less prejudiced and to abandon old stereotypes. There are four identifiable patterns that are used to describe typical intergroup relations: **Segregation** refers to the physical separation of two groups of people in terms of residence, workplace, and social functions. **Amalgamation** describes the end result of intermarriage over several generations when a majority and a minority group combine to form a new group. **Assimilation** is the process by which a person forsakes his or her own cultural tradition to become part of a different culture, as is practiced by minorities when conforming to the standards of the dominant group. **Pluralism** is based on mutual respect among various cultural groups within a society.

The **African American** minority has experienced contemporary institutional discrimination and individual prejudice rooted in the history of slavery in the United States. Despite the civil rights movement, African Americans still struggle; more than one out of every four Blacks in the United States is poor, compared to one out of every 11 White non-Hispanics. **Native Americans** represent a diverse array of cultures. There are approximately 2.2 million Native Americans in the United States. **Asian Americans** have ironically been considered an unqualified success because they have succeeded economically, socially, and educationally without resorting to confrontations with Whites, though this detailed characterization does not necessarily reflect actual experience. By some estimates, there are nearly 4 million **Arab Americans** in the United States with overall, most are not Muslim identified. Latinos represent the largest minority in the United States and hail from an extremely diverse set of countries and cultures. **Jewish Americans** constitute 2 percent of the population of the United States. Like some Asian Americans, many came to this country and became white-collar professionals in spite of prejudice and discrimination. There are many **White ethnics** in the U.S. that exhibit only a “symbolic ethnicity” instead of deeper ties with their cultures. The term **social inequality** describes a condition in which members of a society have different amounts of wealth, prestige, or power. When a system of social inequality is based on a hierarchy of groups, sociologists refer to it as **stratification**. This is a structured ranking of entire groups of people. To help understand stratification systems, one must discern between ascribed and achieved statuses. An **ascribed status** is a social position assigned to a person without regard for that person's unique characteristics or

talents. Race, gender, and ethnicity are examples of ascribed statuses. An **achieved status** is a social position attained by a person largely through his or her own efforts, such as becoming a corporate executive or graduating from college.

The most extreme form of legalized social inequality is **slavery**. **Castes** are hereditary systems of social inequality. They are usually religiously dictated. Social mobility (or movement between economic levels) is severely restricted in a caste system. The **estate system**, also known as feudalism, was a stratification system in which peasants were required to work the land of a noble in exchange for military protection and other services. A **class system** is a social ranking based primarily on economic position. Some sociologists have suggested that only 1 to 2 percent of the people in the United States are in the upper class, whereas the lower class consists of approximately 20 to 25 percent of the population. The lower class is disproportionately composed of Blacks, Hispanics, single mothers, and people who cannot find work. Karl Marx viewed class differentiation as the crucial determinant of social, economic, and political inequality. Marx focused on the two classes that emerged as the estate system declined: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The **bourgeoisie** is the capitalist class that owns and controls the means of production, and the **proletariat** comprises working-class people who are exploited by the capitalist class. Unlike Marx, Max Weber insisted that no single characteristic totally defines a person's social position. Weber identified three components of stratification: **class**, **status**, and **power**.

Interactionists are interested in how class shapes a person's lifestyle at the micro level. Thorstein Veblen introduced the concept of **conspicuous consumption** to describe how the well-off convert some of their income into extravagant consumer goods. The functionalist view of stratification suggests that society must distribute its members among a variety of social positions or jobs. Social stratification is deemed necessary so that qualified people will be motivated to fill functionally important positions. Contemporary conflict theorists believe that human beings are prone to conflict over scarce resources such as wealth, status, and power. Conflict theorists argue the powerful work to maintain their status through control of resources and even culture; the term **dominant ideology** describes a set of cultural beliefs and practices that helps to maintain powerful social, economic, and political interests. Conflict theorists argue that that stratification will inevitably lead to instability and social change. Sociologist Gerhard Lenski proposed a view of society in which technological increases cause greater stratification as a society ages, and that those with wealth, status, and power primarily control the allocation of resources.

In the **objective method** of measuring social class, class is viewed largely as a statistical category. A researcher decides the individual's position by using indicators or causal factors like **prestige** or **esteem**. Studies of social class have for years ignored the occupations or income of women as a measure of social rank; feminist sociologists have worked to change that imbalance. When researchers use multiple measures, they typically speak of socioeconomic status (SES), a measure of social class that is based on income, education, and occupation.

By all measures, income in the United States is unevenly distributed, and the income gap between the richest and poorest groups in the United States is widening. During one recent 25-year period, the top 1 percent of income earners after taxes saw their incomes rise 228 percent, compared to only 21 percent for households in the middle quintile. Approximately 15 percent of people in the United States live below the poverty line. Women and other minority groups are overrepresented in the lower income groups and underrepresented at the top. **Absolute poverty** refers to a minimum level of subsistence that no family should be expected to live below. **Relative poverty** is a floating standard of deprivation by which people at the bottom of a society are judged to be disadvantaged in comparison with the nation as a whole. Some sociologists have used the term **underclass** to describe long-term poor people who lack training and skills. Max Weber saw class as being closely related to people's life chances—with the lower classes having considerably fewer life chances than those of the upper classes.

Social mobility is the movement of individuals or groups from one position in a society's stratification system to another. Theoretically, in an **open system**, the position of each person is influenced by his or her achieved status. In a **closed system** (such as a caste system), there is little or no possibility of individual social mobility. The belief in upward **social mobility** is an important aspect of U.S. society. **Vertical mobility** can be both upwards and downwards. Occupational mobility such as **intergenerational** or **intragenerational** mobility has been common among White males. Education, gender, and race are important factors in shaping one's chances for upward mobility. Occupational mobility has been common among males in the United States. There has been a great deal of mobility in the United States, though it remains very minor when it happens. Education is a major enabler of mobility; race and gender also have a major influence on mobility.

OUTLINE

I. Minority, Racial, and Ethnic Groups

- A racial group is a group that is set apart from others because of physical differences that have taken on social significance. **Examples:** Whites, African Americans, and Asian Americans
- Ethnic groups are set apart primarily because of national origin or distinctive cultural patterns. **Examples:** Jewish Americans, Polish Americans

A. Minority Groups

- A numerical minority is a group that makes up less than half of some larger population.
- A minority group in the sociological sense is a subordinate group whose members have significantly less control or power over their own lives than members of the dominant or majority group have over theirs.
- Sociologists have identified five basic properties of minorities groups: (1) members of a minority group experience unequal treatment; (2) minority group members share physical or cultural characteristics different from the dominant group; (3) minority group membership is ascribed (not voluntary); (4) minority members have a strong sense of group solidarity; and (5) minority members generally marry from within the same group.

B. Race

- Race is a social differentiation based on physical traits. **Example:** Black, White, Asian

1. Social Construction of Race

- The social construction of race typically benefits those who have more power and privilege than others.
- The largest racial minorities in the United States are African Americans (or Blacks), Native Americans (or American Indians), and Asian Americans (Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, and other Asian peoples).
- *Racial formation* refers to the sociohistorical process in which racial categories are created, changed, and destroyed.

2. Recognition of Multiple Identities

- Race continues to be a major issue in the U.S., but the “color line” has blurred significantly since 1900.
- There appears to be a trend in the U.S. toward recognition of multiple identities. **Examples:** Tiger Woods, Mariah Carey, President Barack Obama
- About 2.9 percent of people in the United States report they are of two or more races. Half of those classified as multiracial are under 18 years.
- Many multiracial individuals, especially young adults, struggle against social pressure to choose a single identity.

C. Ethnicity

- Ethnic groups are set apart from others based on national origin or distinctive cultural patterns. The distinction between racial and ethnic minorities is not always clear-cut.
- Stratification along racial lines is more resistant to change than stratification along ethnic lines.

II. Prejudice and Discrimination

A. Prejudice

- Prejudice is a negative attitude toward an entire category of people.
- Prejudice tends to perpetuate false definitions of individuals and groups.
- Ethnocentrism is the tendency to assume one’s own culture and way of life are superior to all others.
- Racism is a form of widespread prejudice that fosters a belief that one race is supreme over all others. **Example:** hate crimes
- Stereotypes are unreliable generalizations about all members of a group that do not recognize individual differences within the group.
- William I. Thomas suggested that personality could be molded by the “definition of a situation.”

B. Color-Blind Racism

- Color-blind racism is the use of the principle of race neutrality to defend a racially unequal status quo.
- Proponents of race neutrality oppose affirmative action but not policies such as “legacy” status in college admissions. The net result is continued inequality.
- Researchers studying White attitudes toward African Americans have shown that people’s attitudes do change, but that less racial progress was made in the late 20th and early 21st centuries than in the 1950s and 1960s.

C. Discriminatory Behavior

- Discrimination is the denial of opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups because of prejudice or other arbitrary reasons. **Example:** hiring practices based on race
- Prejudiced attitudes should not be equated with discriminatory behavior; either condition can be present without the other.
- The *glass ceiling* refers to an invisible barrier that blocks the promotion of a qualified individual because of gender, race, or ethnicity.

D. The Privileges of the Dominant

- The benefits of being in a dominant group are often overlooked. *White privilege* refers to rights or immunities granted to people as a particular benefit or favor simply because they are White.
- The advantages of being White include not having to feel different from everyone else; being considered financially reliable; having a race that isn’t a negative factor in obtaining a job or buying a home; being able to be seated without difficulty in a restaurant; being able to express opinion without others assuming its opinion of all.

E. Institutional Discrimination

- *Institutional discrimination* refers to the denial of opportunities and equal rights for individuals and groups that results from the normal operations of society.
- It affects certain racial and ethnic groups more than others.
- It includes rules requiring that only English be spoken at a place of work; admission practices commonly used by law and medical schools; and restrictive employment-leave policies.
- Passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations and publicly owned facilities on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin, and gender) was an attempt to eradicate institutional discrimination.
- Affirmative action programs are aimed at recruiting minority members for jobs, promotions, and educational opportunities. Some argue that advancing one's group over another merely shifts the discrimination to another group. Discriminatory practices continue to pervade nearly all areas of life in the United States today.

III. Sociological Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity

A. Functionalist Perspective

- Manning Nash identified three functions of racially prejudiced beliefs: (1) provides a moral justification for maintaining inequality; (2) discourages subordinate minorities from questioning their lowly status; and (3) an end to discrimination would bring greater poverty to minorities and would lower the majority's standard of living.
- Racial prejudice may also be seen as dysfunctional for a society.

B. Conflict Perspective

- Exploitation theory suggests racial subordination keeps minorities in low-paying jobs, thereby supplying the capitalist ruling class with a pool of cheap labor. By forcing minorities to accept low wages, capitalists can restrict wages of all members of the proletariat. **Example:** clash over keeping Chinese immigrant labor out of the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century

C. Labeling Perspective

- Racial profiling is any arbitrary action initiated by an authority based on race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than on a person's behavior. It fits both the conflict perspective and labeling theory.
- Authorities continue to rely on racial profiling, even though research has proved it ineffective. There are growing demands to end the practice.

D. Interactionist Perspective

- The contact hypothesis states that in cooperative circumstances, interracial contact between people of equal status will cause them to become less prejudiced and to abandon previous stereotypes. The trend in U.S. society is toward increasing contact between those from dominant and subordinate groups.
- Another possible way to eliminate or reduce stereotyping and prejudice is the establishment of interracial coalitions that would be built on equal roles for all members.

IV. Spectrum of Intergroup Relations

- Genocide is the deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation.
- Expulsion is the driving of people from their homes for the purpose of ethnic cleansing. **Example:** France expelling over 10,000 ethnic Roma who had immigrated from their home countries of Bulgaria and Romania
- Secession, a variant of expulsion, happens when the failure to resolve an ethnic or racial conflict results in the drawing of formal boundaries between the groups.

A. Segregation

- Segregation is the physical separation of two or more groups in terms of residence, workplace, and social events. **Example:** apartheid, in which the Republic of South Africa severely restricted the movement of Blacks and other non-Whites by means of a wide-ranging system of segregation
- Residential segregation is still the norm in the United States. Over the last 40 years, Black-White segregation has declined only modestly. The rates of Hispanic-White and Asian-White segregation, although they are lower, have also not changed significantly in the last 30 years.

B. Amalgamation

- With amalgamation, majority and minority groups combine to form a new group. **Example:** $A+B+C=D$
- The term *melting pot* is not an adequate description of the United States.

C. Assimilation

- Assimilation is the process by which a person forsakes his or her own cultural tradition to become part of a different culture. **Examples:** $A+B+C=A$; and name-changing to hide a religious or ethnic heritage

D. Pluralism

- Pluralism is based on mutual respect among various groups.
Example: $A+B+C=A+B+C$.
- Pluralism is more of an ideal than a reality in the U.S.
- Switzerland exemplifies the modern pluralistic state.

V. Race and Ethnicity in the United States

A. African Americans

- Institutional discrimination and individual prejudice against Blacks is rooted in the history of slavery.
- Enslaved Blacks could not own property or pass on the benefits of their labor to children.
- The end of the Civil War did not bring real freedom and equality. Southern states passed "Jim Crow" laws to enforce official segregation; and these were upheld by the Supreme Court as constitutional in 1896.
- Informal control forced segregation through vigilante terror. **Example:** Ku Klux Klan

- The landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) outlawed segregation of public school students: “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”
- During the 1960s, a vast civil rights movement emerged. **Examples:** Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), founded by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- The Black power movement rejected the goal of assimilation into White middle-class society and defended the beauty of Black and African cultures.
- Blacks represent 7 percent or less of all physicians, engineers, scientists, lawyers, judges, and marketing managers.

B. Native Americans

- Today, 2.2 million Native Americans represent a diverse array of cultures, distinguishable by language, family organization, religion, and livelihood.
- Life remains difficult for the 554 tribal groups in the United States.
- Since 1960, the count of Native Americans has tripled, suggesting Native Americans are no longer concealing their identity.
- The introduction of gambling on Indian reservations has transformed the lives of many Native Americans, but it provokes controversy because the gains are so unevenly distributed.

C. Asian Americans

- Asian Americans, a diverse group, are one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population (up 43 percent between 2000 and 2010).
- Asian Americans are often held up as a model or ideal minority group, though this does not necessarily reflect their experience.
- Southeast Asians living in the U.S. have the highest rate of welfare dependency of any racial or ethnic group.
- Asian Americans work in the same occupations as Whites but still experience the “glass ceiling.”

1. Chinese Americans

- Chinese were encouraged to immigrate to the U.S. from about 1850 to 1880. Thousands were lured by job opportunities created by the discovery of gold; but as competition for jobs grew, they became targets of bitter efforts to limit their numbers and restrict their rights. **Example:** Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)
- Currently, over 3 million live in the U.S. Some have entered lucrative occupations, yet many immigrants struggle to survive under living and working conditions that belie the model-minority stereotype.

2. Asian Indians

- The second largest Asian-American group, numbering over 2.8 million, is Asian Indians.
- Religious orthodoxy is often stronger among first-generation immigrants to the United States than it is in India, perhaps due to a sense of being threatened.
- Maintaining family traditions is a major challenge.

3. Filipino Americans

- Filipino Americans are the third-largest Asian American group in the United States, with nearly 2.6 million people.
- Immigration began with U.S. possession of the Philippine Islands in 1899.
- A significant percentage of Filipino immigrants are well-educated health care professionals, which causes a professional drain on their homeland. Filipino Americans send a significant amount of money, called remittances, back to their extended families.
- They have not coalesced into a single formal social organization but are strongly loyal to Catholic church.

4. Vietnamese Americans

- Vietnamese came to U.S. largely after the Vietnam War and U.S. withdrawal in 1975.
- Many have gravitated toward larger urban areas.

5. Korean Americans

- Over 1.4 million live in the U.S., exceeding Japanese Americans.
- The initial wave of immigration occurred between 1903 and 1910 with laborers going to Hawaii. The second wave occurred following the Korean War. Most were wives of U.S. servicemen and war orphans. The third wave reflects the 1965 Immigration Act and is ongoing, with immigrants bringing high levels of education and professional skills.

6. Japanese Americans

- About 763,000 Japanese Americans live in the U.S. The first generation *Issei* were largely males seeking employment opportunities.
- The attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 had severe repercussions. Detention of Japanese Americans in “evacuation” camps caused them severe financial and emotional hardship.
- In 1988, the Civil Liberties Act required reparations and apologies from the federal government for interned Japanese Americans.

D. Arab Americans

- Arab Americans include immigrants and their descendents from 22 countries in North Africa and the Middle East. The Arabic language is the most unifying force among this population.
- There is an estimated population of nearly 4 million Arab Americans.
- The Arab American population is concentrated in certain areas of the U.S., particularly a few major metropolitan areas.
- For years, especially after 9/11, Arab Americans have been subject to profiling and surveillance by law

- enforcement.
- Most Arab Americans are not Muslims.

E. Latinos

- Latinos represent the largest minority in the U.S., with a population of more than 50 million.
- The rise in the Latino population is due to high birthrates and immigration levels.
- Language barriers contribute to educational problems and the low economic status of Hispanics.

1. Mexican Americans

- Mexican Americans are the largest of Latino populations in the U.S.—approx. 30 million.
- They are often viewed as primarily an immigrant group, but the number of Mexican Americans who were born in the United States has far exceeded those who immigrated here.

2. Puerto Ricans

- Puerto Ricans are the second-largest segment of Latinos in the U.S. They have held American citizen status since 1917.
- Those living in the continental U.S. earn barely half the family income of Whites. Reverse migration began in the 1970s, when more Puerto Ricans left for the island than were coming to the mainland.
- Statehood discussions have resulted in continuing commonwealth status.

3. Cuban Americans

- Immigration began to flourish after Castro's assumption of power in 1959. The first wave included many professionals; immigrants of more recent waves have been less likely to be skilled professionals.
- Florida has been the largest center of Cuban immigrant populations.

4. Central and South Americans

- This is a diverse population that has not been closely studied. Not all speak Spanish. Many of the source nations follow a complex classification system that recognizes a multitude of color gradients.
- They are often differentiated by social class distinctions, religious differences, urban or rural upbringings, and dialects.

F. Jewish Americans

- About 2 percent of U.S. population is Jewish—the world's largest concentration of Jews. Many are white-collar professionals.
- *Anti-Semitism* refers to a prejudice directed toward Jews.
- Today, American Jews are almost as likely to marry a Gentile as a Jew.

G. White Ethnics

- 49 million claim at least partial German ancestry, 36 million of Irish ancestry, 17 million of Italian ancestry, and 10 million of Polish ancestry.
- Many identify only sporadically with their heritage; *symbolic ethnicity* refers to an emphasis on concerns such as ethnic food or political issues rather than on deeper ties to one's ethnic heritage.
- In times of high unemployment or inflation, white ethnics often experience competition that can easily generate intense intergroup conflict and conflict with other ethnic groups.

VI. Social Policy and Racial and Ethnic Inequality: Global Immigration

A. Looking at the Issue

- Worldwide immigration is at an all-time high, raising questions for the countries to which people immigrate and is poverty related.
- People migrate into countries where there is perceived economic opportunity. There is an increased public perception that the U.S. has lost control of its borders has led to increased pressure for immigration control.
- The legal consequences of hiring illegal aliens have increased, leading to protests by illegal immigrants, legal immigrants, and other citizens on both sides of the issue.
- A 2010 Arizona law empowered police to detain without authorization people whom they reasonably suspect of being illegal immigrants and to verify their immigration status. Opponents charged that the new law would lead to racial profiling, but the Supreme Court has upheld it.
- The European Union is struggling with immigration policy.
- The terrorist attacks of 2001 caused increased government scrutiny of immigrants as they attempt to travel to many nations.
- Seven countries, including Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, shelter one-third of the world's migrant population. Many of these people are transnationals—immigrants who sustain multiple social relationships that link their societies of origin with the society of settlement.
- Entrance policies in the U.S. favor family members and skilled workers. For the past 50 years, immigrants have come primarily from Latin America and Asia.
- Immigration is functional. Immigrants adapt to U.S. society and become assets to the economy, alleviate labor shortages, and produce remittances that help the country of origin.
- Dysfunctions include short-term stress on social services in communities with high concentrations of immigrants; and the loss of family members and a skilled workforce in the sending country.
- Conflict theorists note that racial and ethnic hostilities can be hidden in economic arguments.
- Feminists note that immigrant women face economic hardship as well as the stress of negotiating the new system on behalf of their children. Below you will find poetry related to the reduction of impoverished children.

VII. Social Policy and Racial and Ethnic Inequality: Structural Barriers

Social stratification refers to the hierarchical arrangement of large social groups based on their control over basic resources. Stratification in the United States—which is based on the class system—is linked with global systems of stratification that affect people's life chances. A person's position in a class system is determined by the wealth, power, and prestige that the person has. Stratification also exists on a global basis; countries around the world can be categorized as high-, middle-, or low-income nations. The high-income nations (including the United States) account for 86 percent of the world's gross domestic product (the goods or services produced). Among the aspects of the U.S. class system that sociologists study are the classes themselves and the class-based distribution of people by age, race/ethnicity, sex, and household composition. Sociologists also study the consequences of living in poverty and wealth, including differences in health and nutrition, housing, and education. Explanations for poverty and wealth include cultural and structural aspects and differ depending on the sociological perspective (functionalist, conflict, or symbolic interactionist) used to examine the social problem around the structural barriers as they relate to poverty and racism. The theoretical concept of intersectionality, which emphasizes the intersecting nature of race, class, gender, and sexuality as systems of oppression should be considered.

Racial and ethnic discrimination are among the most divisive social problems facing the United States. A racial group is a category of people who have been singled out, by others or themselves, as inferior or superior, on the basis of selected physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, or eye shape. By contrast, an ethnic group is a category of people distinguished, by others or themselves, as inferior or superior, primarily on the basis of culture or nationality. Race and ethnicity often form the basis of ranking between majority (or dominant) group members, who are advantaged and have superior resources and rights, and minority (or subordinate) group members, who are subjected to unequal treatment by the dominant group. Prejudice is a set of negative attitudes toward members of another group simply because they are members of that group; it is rooted in ethnocentrism—the assumption that one's own group and way of life are superior to all others. Symbolic interactionist perspectives assert that racial socialization is a process of social interaction that contains specific messages and practices concerning one's racial or ethnic status. Functionalist perspectives (assimilation and ethnic pluralism) focus on how members of subordinate groups become a part of the mainstream. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, analyze racial and ethnic inequality from class and gendered racism perspectives or in terms of internal colonialism or racial formation theory. The unique experiences of Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos/Latinas, and Asian and Pacific Americans should be examined.

Attempting to reduce or solve a social problem is a complex undertaking, which typically involves many obstacles, delays, and high costs. If the functionalist approach is applied to reducing social problems, then preventing too rapid social changes, maintaining the status quo, and restoring order are central factors. By contrast, the conflict perspective states that the root causes of social problems—such as patriarchy, capitalism, and massive spending on the U.S. military-industrial complex at the expense of human services—would have to be radically altered or eliminated altogether. At the microlevel, the interactionist perspective focuses on how individuals operate within primary groups to try to remedy a problem that affects them, their family, or friends. At the macrolevel, collective behavior, social movements, and special-interest groups are a few of the ways in which groups attempt to identify and reduce social problems.

VIII. Is There a Solution to Racial and Ethnic Inequality?

- A. For some functionalists, lack of assimilation by recent immigrant groups is a major problem that can be reduced only by heightening legal requirements for entry into the country as well as for employment and housing, controlling the borders more effectively, and demanding that people become part of the mainstream culture by making English the "official language."
 1. Functionalists often view families, schools, and churches as being key institutions that should foster achievement in minority youths by helping them to accept dominant U.S. culture patterns.
 2. Conservatives typically view programs such as affirmative action or others that are designed to specifically benefit minority-group members as being divisive and harmful. By contrast, functionalist analysts and conservative political observers believe that individual achievement should be encouraged and highly rewarded.
- B. From a conflict perspective, racial and ethnic inequality can be reduced only through struggle and political action; political intervention is necessary to bring about economic and social change.
 1. Discrimination in the workplace must be reduced before racial and ethnic inequality can be eliminated.
 2. Solutions to the problem of inequality will be found only through government programs that specifically attack racial inequality and actively reduce patterns of discrimination. Furthermore, functionalists believe that we have reduced or eliminated affirmative action programs before they have been fully effective in bringing about social change.
- C. According to symbolic interactionists, prejudice and discrimination are learned and that which is learned can be unlearned.
 1. Only individuals and groups at the grass-roots level, not government and political leaders or academic elites, can bring about greater racial equality.
 2. Children and young adults should be taught about cultural diversity and American history, and they should also be encouraged to think of positive ways in which individuals of all races can acquire a positive self-concept and interact positively with each other.

3. To reduce racial and ethnic inequality will require a better understanding of people across racial and ethnic categories.
- D. We must recognize the challenges posed by increasing racial-ethnic and cultural diversity and develop a visionary and inclusive perspective so that our nation can meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world in which conflict, terrorism, natural disasters, and geopolitical turmoil are constant sources of news.

VIII. Poverty Specifics

- E. The United States has the highest poverty rate of any advanced industrial nation; the U.S. poverty rate declined over the four decades from the mid-1960s to the mid 2000s, but both the rate and the number of people living in poverty rose between 2006 and 2010.
- F. The official poverty line is based on money income and cash government assistance programs such as Social Security payments.
1. Established in 1965, the poverty line was based upon the assumption that the average family must spend about one-third of its total income on food and was thus determined by a minimum family market basket—a low-cost food budget that contains a minimum level of nutrition for a family (multiplied by three to allow for nonfood costs such as rent and utilities).
 2. The federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) updates the poverty line annually; it is also adjusted for the number of people in the household.
 3. Many social analysts argue that the official poverty line is too low, and poverty thresholds should be increased by at least 50 percent.
- G. Poverty is not distributed equally: people in some categories are at a greater risk for poverty than are people in other categories.
1. The feminization of poverty is the trend whereby women experience poverty at far higher rates than men.
 - a. About two-thirds of all adults living in poverty are women; households headed by women are the fastest growing segment of the overall population. In 2009, about one-third of all families headed by women were poor, and nearly 15 percent lived in deep poverty.
 - b. High rates of female poverty are related to women's unique vulnerability to event-driven poverty—poverty resulting from the loss of a job, disability, desertion by a spouse, separation, divorce, or widowhood. Other factors include shifts in the nation's economy and demographic shifts such as childbearing outside marriage and higher divorce rates.
 - c. The term racial feminization of poverty describes the intersections of gender and racial inequalities in problems associated with poverty. Women of color, particularly African American women and Latinas, are especially disadvantaged by both the feminization of poverty and issues of racial inequality.
 2. The high rate of poverty among children is directly linked to poverty among women.
 - a. Children under age 18 (24.3 percent of the U.S. population) account for more than 35 percent of the poor.
 - b. In 2009, about one in four children under six years of age was considered poor. When children under six live in households headed by women with no adult male present, 54 percent are poor.
 3. African Americans, Latinos/as, and Native Americans consistently remain overrepresented among people living in poverty. In 2009, 25.8 percent of African Americans, 25.3 percent of Hispanics, and between 24 and 33 percent of Native Americans were among the officially poor. Sociological research examining the relationship between race, ethnicity, and poverty has consistently shown that past discrimination has a long-term, detrimental effect on the life chances and opportunities of person of color in the U.S.
- H. Individuals and families in poverty do not have the chance to contribute to society, and in turn, they do not have access to the same privileges and opportunities as those who are more affluent.
1. Poverty is related to health disparities.
 - a. Lower-income individuals average fewer healthy days per year and have higher rates of infant mortality; greater prevalence of hypertension, diabetes, and other chronic diseases; and shorter life expectancy rates.
 - b. Although the U.S. has some of the best high-tech health care facilities in the world, many people do not have access to them.
 - i. Medicaid is the major source of health care coverage for people living in poverty; however, coverage is limited because many doctors do not accept this form of payment, and some patients cannot afford to pay the initial deductible or copayment.
 - ii. More than 26 percent of all people earning below \$25,000 per year are uninsured.
 - c. Good nutrition depends on the food purchased, and when people are poor, they are more likely to go without food or to purchase cheap but filling foods such as beans, rice, and potatoes that typically do not meet all daily nutritional requirements.

- i. Because of increases in poverty and unemployment rates, food insecurity—the lack of consistent access to adequate food for active, healthy living—has increased
 - ii. Adults who lack adequate nutrition are less able to work and are at greater risk of illness and disease.
 - iii. Children who lack adequate nutrition may be affected developmentally due to conditions like iron deficiency anemia, poor socioemotional development, rickets, scurvy, parasitic worms, and mental retardation.
 2. Many regions of the U.S. lack affordable low-income housing. The problem is even greater for individuals and families living in poverty because the number of low-cost housing units is decreasing.
 - a. Some low-income housing is located in racially segregated areas plagued by high crime rates and overcrowded conditions, inadequate heating/plumbing facilities, cockroach and rodent infestation, and dangerous structural problems due to faulty construction or lack of adequate maintenance.
 - b. Shared housing situations are referred to as being “doubled-up,” and economic hardship means that some people are staying with relatives for extended periods of time because they do not have the financial resources to go elsewhere.
 - c. Standard estimates place the homeless population at between 1 and 1.3 million. The number of homeless families increased by about 30 percent between 2007 and 2010. Most researchers argue that homelessness is most often caused by poverty and job loss.
 3. Poverty and education are deeply intertwined.
 - a. Children from low-income families tend to have inadequate educational opportunities that perpetuate their position at the bottom of the class system. They acquire fewer years of schooling and are less likely to graduate from high school or college than children from more affluent families.
 - b. Schools located in high-poverty rural areas or central cities often are dilapidated, have underpaid and overworked teachers, and use outdated equipment and teaching materials.
- I. Functionalist/conservative solutions to poverty include strengthening our major social institutions: by motivating low-income and poverty-level people to change their attitudes, beliefs, and work habits, they will have a better chance of escaping poverty.
- J. Conflict/liberal solutions to poverty suggest reducing racial and ethnic inequality, as well as economic inequality, in our nation.
- K. Symbolic interactionist solutions to poverty suggest finding more constructive ways to think about poor people individually and better ways to envision what might reduce poverty at a societal level.

I. Systems of Stratification

- Ascribed status is a social position assigned to a person by society without regard for that person’s unique talents or characteristics. Achieved status is a social position attained by a person largely through his or her own efforts.
- A. Slavery**
 - Slavery is a system of enforced servitude in which enslaved individuals are owned by other people.
 - Slaves in ancient Greece were captives of war or piracy, but their status was not necessarily permanent or passed on to the next generation. In the U.S., slavery was an ascribed status, and racial and legal barriers prevented slaves from being freed.
 - More people are enslaved today in the world than at any point in human history.
 - B. Castes**
 - A caste system is a hereditary system of rank usually religiously dictated.

Example: There are four major castes, or *varnas*, in India.

 - Urbanization and technological advancement have brought more change to India’s caste system in the past two decades than the government was able to effect since formally outlawing the practice in 1950.
 - C. Estates**
 - An estate system is also known as feudalism and is associated with feudal societies in the Middle Ages.
 - In the estate system, peasants worked land leased to them by nobles in exchange for military protection or other services.
 - D. Social Classes**
 - A class system is a social ranking, based primarily on economic position, in which achieved status can affect or influence social mobility.
 - One can move from one stratum to another.
 - Unequal distribution of wealth and power is a basic characteristic of a class system.
 - Daniel Rossides’s five-class model of the class system in the U.S.: the upper class, the upper-middle class, the lower-middle class, the working class, and the lower class.
 - 1. Upper and Lower Classes**
 - Upper: about 1 or 2 percent of the population of the U.S.

- Lower: about 20 to 25 percent; disproportionately consists of Blacks, Hispanics, single mothers with dependent children, and people who cannot find regular work or must make do with low-paying work
 - Both reflect importance of ascribed status and achieved status.
 - Galbraith: The rich are the most noticed and the least studied.
- 2. Middle Class**
- *Upper-middle class*: 10 to 15 percent of population; *lower-middle class*: about 30 to 35 percent of population
 - The middle class is under great pressure and shrinking. Causal factors include disappearing opportunities for those with little education, global competition and technological advance, growing dependence on the temporary workforce, and the rise of new growth industries and nonunion workplaces.
- 3. Working Class**
- About 40 to 45 percent of population; people who hold regular manual or blue-collar jobs
 - Most noticeably declining in size
- 4. Class Warfare**
- The Occupy Wall Street movement sparked greater talk of class conflict. Conflicts over tax rates of the wealthy in the United States have grown sharper.
 - The gulf between the rich and everyone else has grown for the last 50 years.

II. Sociological Perspectives on Stratification

- Karl Marx viewed class differentiation as the crucial determinant of social, economic, and political inequality. Max Weber was critical of Marx's emphasis on economic factors and argued that stratification had many dimensions.

A. Karl Marx's View of Class Differentiation

- Differential access to scarce resources shapes the relationship between groups. Controlling the primary mode of economic production is key.
- Capitalism is an economic system in which the means of production are largely privately held; profit is the major incentive for economic activity.
- The bourgeoisie—the capitalist class—owns the factories and machinery and controls most production.
- The proletariat—the working class—are exploited by the capitalist bourgeoisie.
- Marx predicted the exploited proletariat would eventually revolt and destroy the capitalist system. First, they would need to develop *class consciousness* (a subjective awareness of their plight and of the need for collective action to effect change). Often, this meant overcoming *false consciousness* (an attitude held by members of a class that does not accurately reflect its objective position; often *false consciousness* involves an individualistic viewpoint).
- Marx failed to anticipate the emergence of labor unions and did not foresee individual workers striving for improvement within free societies offering substantial mobility.

B. Max Weber's View of Stratification

- Weber was a critic of Marx's class model. He identified three distinct components of stratification: class, status, and power.
- Weber argued that the actions of individuals and groups could not be understood solely in economic terms.
- The level of income or wealth is not the only dimension along which persons may be stratified.
- Weber used the term *class* to refer to a group of people who have a similar level of wealth and income.
- Status may accompany occupation or position, not necessarily income or wealth. **Example:** A successful thief might achieve the same income level as a college professor, but the college professor has a much higher status.
- Power is the ability to exercise one's will over others. Individuals gain power through membership in a desirable group.

C. Interactionist Perspective

- Marx and Weber examined primarily from a macrosociological perspective; interactionists are interested in microsociology as well.
- Interactionists want to understand how social class influences a person's lifestyle.
- Thorsten Veblen's concepts of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure can still be applied to the behavior of wealthy people today.

III. Is Stratification Universal?

- Stratification is universal, in that all societies maintain some form of social inequality among members.

A. Functionalist Perspective

- A differential system of rewards and punishments is needed for society to operate efficiently.
- Society must distribute its members among a variety of social positions (Davis and Moore). Positions are filled with people with the appropriate talents and abilities. The most important positions must be filled by the most capable persons.
- Money and rewards are based on the scarcity of qualified personnel.
- Stratification motivates people to fill critical positions.
- Functionalists fail to explain the wide disparity between rich and poor or to account for stratification systems that are largely inherited.

B. Conflict Perspective

- Competition for scarce resources results in significant political, economic, and social inequality. The writings of Marx are at the heart of this perspective.
- Contemporary conflict views include conflict as also based on gender, race, age, and other dimensions. **Example:** See Ralf Dahrendorf's work on authority.
- *Dominant ideology* refers to a set of cultural beliefs and practices that helps to maintain powerful social, economic, and political interests.
- Stratification is a major source of societal tension and conflict, and will inevitably lead to instability and social change.

C. Lenski's Viewpoint

- Economic systems change as the level of technology becomes more complex.
- The emergence of surplus resources, and their allocation by those with wealth and power, expands the inequality in status, influence, and power. This allows for a well-defined rigid social class system.

IV. Stratification by Social Class

A. Objective Method of Measuring Social Class

- Class is viewed largely as a statistical category. Researchers assign individuals to social classes on the basis of criteria such as occupation, education, income, and residence.
- Prestige rankings of occupations are commonly used for class position.
- *Esteem* refers to the reputation a person has earned within an occupation.
- A person may have esteem but lack high levels of prestige.

B. Gender and Occupational Prestige

- There has been a debate over how to judge or assess class or status for women in dual-career families. New methods include a focus on the individual (rather than the family or household) as the basis for categorizing a woman's class position.
- There is a tradition of undercounting the unpaid labor performed mostly by women (largely in child care, housework, and agriculture) and its contribution to a family and the economy. Therefore, feminists argue that that virtually all measures of stratification need to be reformed.

C. Multiple Measures

- Sociologists use the term *socioeconomic status*, or SES, when describing class based on income, education, and occupation.
- Criteria such as value of homes, sources of income, assets, years in present occupation, neighborhoods, and dual careers have been added to income and education as objective determinants of class.

V. Income and Wealth

- Income in the United States is distributed unequally.
- Between 1980 and 2010, the real net worth of middle income earners rose only 2 percent, while that of low-income families dropped 7 percent; for upper-income families, net worth climbed 87 percent.
- There is a dramatic disparity in the wealth of African Americans and Hispanics compared to that of Whites.
- Wealth in the U.S. is much more unevenly divided between rich and poor than income; the wealth of the top 1 percent exceeds the collective wealth of the bottom 90 percent. See Figure 8-3.

VI. Poverty Summary

- About 15 percent of people in the U.S. live below the poverty line.
- **Example:** In 2012, no fewer than 46.5 million people were living in poverty.
- A contributing factor is the large number employed at minimum wage. In terms of real value, adjusted for inflation, the minimum wage has often failed to keep pace with the cost of living.

A. Studying Poverty

- *Absolute poverty* refers to a minimum level of subsistence that no family should be expected to live below.
- The poverty line serves as an official indicator of which people are poor.
- In 2012, a family of four with a combined income of \$23,283 or less fell below the poverty line.
- Relative poverty is a floating standard of deprivation by which people are judged to be disadvantaged when compared to the nation as a whole.
- There is debate over the federal definition of poverty, which has remained unchanged since 1963. In 2010 the federal government launched a statistic called the Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM), used to estimate economic hardship.

B. Who Are the Poor?

- Many believe the poor can work but choose not to, a stereotype that leads to the criminalization of the poor.
- Many of the poor live in urban slums, but the majority live outside these poverty areas.

C. **Feminization of Poverty**

- Since World War II, an increasing number of poor people have been women.
- In 1959, female householders accounted for 26 percent of the nation's poor; by 2012, that figure had risen to 50 percent. See Table 8-4.
- Households headed by single mothers are more likely to be living in poverty, as compared to married couples. About half of all women in poverty are dealing with an economic crisis resulting from the departure or loss of a husband.
- The *feminization of poverty* is not just a U.S. phenomenon, but a worldwide one.

D. **The Underclass**

- William Julius Wilson describes the long-term poor as the underclass who lack training and skills.
- In 2012, 43 percent of poor people in the United States were living in central cities.
- Blacks and Latinos are more likely than Whites to be persistently poor. Both Latinos and Blacks are less likely than Whites to leave the welfare rolls as a result of welfare reform.
- The overall composition of the poor changes continuously, as some move above the poverty line and others slip below it. African Americans and Latinos are more likely than Whites to be persistently poor.

E. **Explaining Poverty**

- Using the functionalist analysis, Herbert Gans suggests that poverty serves a number of social, economic, and political functions. In his view, the poor actually satisfy positive functions for many non-poor groups in the United States.**VII. Life Chances**
- Max Weber saw class as related to *life chances*—the opportunities to provide themselves with material goods, positive living conditions, and favorable life experiences. Poor people spend more limited resources on the necessities of life.
- In times of danger, the affluent and powerful have a better chance of surviving.
- Class position affects people's vulnerability to natural disasters. **Example:** Hurricane Katrina's impact on the poor of New Orleans

VIII. **Social Mobility**

- Refers to the movement of individuals or groups from one position of a society's stratification system to another

A. **Open versus Closed Stratification Systems**

- Open systems encourage competition and imply that a person's position is influenced by achieved status.
- Closed systems, such as slavery or caste systems, allow little or no possibility of moving up. Social placement is based on ascribed status.

B. **Types of Social Mobility**

- *Horizontal mobility* refers to a person moving from one social position to another of the same rank.
 - *Vertical mobility* is the movement from one social position to another of different rank. This may be upward or downward.
 - Intergenerational mobility involves changes in social position relative to one's parents. **Example:** college professor whose parents were farmers
 - Intragenerational mobility involves social changes within one's adult life.
- Example:** teacher's aide becoming a superintendent

C. **Social Mobility in the United States**

1. **Occupational Mobility**

- More common among males than females. Sixty to 70 percent of sons are employed in higher-ranked occupations than their fathers.
- Although mobility in the United States is high, much of it is minor, with individuals only moving one or two levels away from that of their parents.

2. **The Impact of Education**

- Education has a greater impact than family background (although, family background influences the likelihood that one will receive a higher education).
- Education is a very important means of intergenerational mobility.
- B.A./B.S. degrees serve less as a guarantee of upward mobility than in the past, because more people have them.

3. **The Impact of Race and Ethnicity**

- Black men with good jobs are less likely than White men to see their children attain the same status.
- Black children are less likely to receive financial support from parents.
- Downward mobility is significantly higher for Blacks than for Whites.
- The median wealth of White non-Hispanic households is 18 times that of Hispanic households. Continuing immigration accounts for part of the disparity, as most new arrivals are very poor.

4. **The Impact of Gender**

- Women are more likely to withdraw from the labor force if their job skills exceed the jobs offered them.
- The large range of clerical occupations open to women offer modest salaries and little chance to advance.
- Women find it harder to secure financing to start self-employment ventures than men do.

- Women are unlikely to move into their father's positions.
- Women's earnings have increased faster than their mothers' did at a comparable age, so that their incomes are substantially higher.

IX. Social Policy and Stratification: Minimum Wage Laws

A. Looking at the Issue

- By itself, the minimum wage is not high enough to support workers. The shortfall causes a large number of minimum wage workers to contribute to high poverty rates in the U.S. and the presence of an underclass.
- The minimum wage shrinks in value over time, losing spending power.
- There are many jobs for which the federal minimum wage does not apply.

B. Applying Sociology

- Conflict theorists point out that minimum wage laws are often not enforced and workers may fear to protest if they are not paid minimum wage.
- Low-wage workers are vulnerable to wage theft—deliberate withholding of their wages.
- Interactionists note the personal rewards of workplaces, such as social contact. This applies especially for young minimum wage workers, but some minimum wage workers exhibit high levels of alienation.

C. Initiating Policy

- The effects of changes to the minimum wage are very complex; studies into past effects have not been conclusive.
- There is disagreement among economists over impact; some argue that minimum wage rises correspond with economic slowdowns; others disagree.
- President Obama in 2013 proposed a minimum wage hike to \$9. Critics have charged it would cause higher labor costs, but public opinion seems to favor a raise. Some argue for a living wage for low-wage workers instead of a minimum wage; this would maintain a certain standard of living and take into account regional differences. Critics again charge that it would result in higher labor costs and a net loss of jobs.

Supplemental Overview of Social Welfare & Transformative Justice Advocacy

What is Social Welfare? It is maintenance of the well-being of society
 Social welfare policies are the collective responses to social problems
 Social welfare programs are the products of social welfare policies

Why Study Social Welfare and Underlying Values?

To understand the social welfare system is to gain power, and ability to advocate for change, and part of our professional code of ethics

Premises for Studying Social Welfare

Each Person is a part of our Social Welfare System

All of us are both providers and recipients of social welfare

There are different approaches to the provision of social welfare

How are we involved? Public and Private Efforts

Public are on local, state and federal levels

Private can be both non-profit and for profit

Values and beliefs greatly influence social welfare policies and programs

Value – the worth, desirability or usefulness placed on something

Belief – an opinion or conviction

Residual versus Institutional approaches

Residual – response to break down

Institutional – part of social structure of society

Universal versus Selective provision

Universal – services provided to all members of society

Selective – services restricted by eligibility criteria

Why do we have a Social Welfare System? To provide for those outside market system and to keep social system working

Values and Beliefs as the cornerstone of Social Welfare in America

Religious Values – challenge of “separation of church and state”

Personal Values – our own beliefs shaped by our experiences

Social Values – democracy, citizenship and social justice

Social justice – integral to social work profession

Conflicting Values and Beliefs in Social Welfare Policy

Values and beliefs shape social welfare policy, and help to explain the differences in people's approaches to social problems

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Undeserving vs. Deserving – who is worthy of social resources and care?
Personal failure vs. System failure – who is responsible for social problems?
Individual responsibility vs. Social responsibility – who should provide solutions and support for social problems?
Individual change vs. Social Change – where do we focus our change efforts?
Self-sufficiency vs. Social support – is the individual responsible for well-being or does society have a major role?
Entitlement vs. “hand-out” – are services a right or a gift?
Aid to those we know vs. Aid to Strangers – do we only help our own or those who we do not know?
Religious and faith-based practice vs. Separation of church and state – does religion have a role in public policy?
Crisis Response vs. Prevention – do we wait to fix things after there is a problem, or do we try and prevent problems from happening?
Sympathy vs. Empathy – do we feel pity or try and experience someone else’s situation?
Trust vs. Suspicion – do we give with trust, or do we need to know what recipients are doing?
Rationality vs. Emotions – is policy made through logic or through feelings?

Values and Beliefs Guide our Policy-making – the challenge is in coming to agreements over the differing values and beliefs among policy makers and the general public

Public policy reflects the needs and concerns of the entire nation

With changing demographics, such as the aging of the population, changes in racial composition and family structure, social welfare policies and programs need to be responsive.

Social welfare policy is the way that society provides for the well-being of all, particularly the poor, oppressed and disenfranchised.

Fulfills the social work mission of social justice.

Historical Foundations of Social Welfare in America

Colonial Period

Elizabethan Poor Laws dominated – concerned with eligibility, covered the deserving poor (widows and their children, orphans, those in poor health, and elderly)

Mistreatment of native cultures and enslavement of Africans

Set the foundation for today’s social welfare, and emphasized the deserving over the undeserving as a principle

Pre-Civil War Period

Increase in population, use of residential or indoor relief

Dominant religious values and beliefs led to moralistic perspective on social welfare

Established care outside of families through institutions

Religious organizations became providers of social welfare services

Civil War and Post-War Period

Civil unrest, regional nationalism and economic disparity led to disagreements and ultimately to civil war

Racial differences were central, and officially slavery was ended

Federal government was firmly established, and became involved in legislating social well-being

Although the war ended, the economic disparities and racial conflicts were not resolved, and have lingered throughout American history

Progressive Era

The social work profession was born as an outgrowth of the Charity Organization

Societies and the Settlement Movement...friendly visitors, focused on individual poverty

Settlements – lived within poor neighborhoods, looked at structural change

The Great Depression and the New Deal

Greatest economic upheaval in American history

Gave birth to the most significant social welfare policies through the New Deal

The Social Security Act – designed to help in short and long term

Social insurance – for long term

Public assistance – for short term

World War II and the Development of the Post-War Economy

The war brought the economy out of the Depression, and it also pushed the country into the international arena

Yet post war focused on national concerns, and families and communities became central

Individual concerns dominated

Social Reform

This period witnessed significant social and structural attention, with social welfare advocacy at a peak
Dominated by the War on Poverty and expansion of public social welfare services

Retrenchment: Social welfare pull-back of the 1970s through the 1990s

With the efforts of social reform exhausted, the nation returned to a more individual level focus; efforts at reducing the size of government meant a retrenchment of social welfare services

Economic fluctuations dominated the 1990s

Welfare reform resulted in creation of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Program, which was focused on individual change

The New Century

Early in the century international concerns such as terrorism and war dominated

Led to greater attention on immigration

Economic conditions worsened

Focus on presidential and congressional politics

Economic intervention by government - Troubled Asset Relief Program, bailouts

Nation faced with costs of war

Conceptual Foundations of Social Welfare Policy

Ideologies – ideas or bodies of thought that offer guidance

Theories – systems of ideas that explain a phenomenon

Paradigms – patterns or models that provide a conceptual framework

Together, these help us understand the social welfare system

Ideologies of the Social Welfare System

Cause and Function – struggle between delivering social services as a mission

As opposed to a task – both are important, but which is stronger greatly influences policy

Blaming the Victim – taking an individualistic perspective of social problems, those who suffer from the problem are responsible for their condition

The Culture of Poverty and the Underclass – the belief that a person is born into the “lifestyle” of poverty and learns it through growing up

Conservative and Liberal Political Perspectives – different perspectives that compete in the political arena

Biological Determinism – belief that we are all born a certain way, and that dictates all our behaviors and abilities

Social Welfare Services as a Right – all people should be provided basic services

Theories of the Evolution of the Social Welfare System

Industrialization and the Social Welfare System – the development of industry created both the need and resources for social welfare services

Cycles of History – cycle between individual focus and social responsibility

Social Control – social welfare in response to social unrest, as a way to quiet

Elite Power – a handful of powerful people dictate policy

Economics as a Determinant of Social Welfare Policy – the driving force behind social welfare policy is economic conditions and changes

Critical Theory – policy is influenced by those with power, and impacts in ways that dominate those who are marginalized

Postindustrialization and Globalization – new era of social welfare that demonstrates the interconnectedness with other nations and the evolution of the information age

Paradigms of the Social Welfare System

Social Construction – roles, and hence social welfare policies, are created by dominant groups

Critical Analysis – viewing social welfare from critical theory perspective

Distributive Justice – social obligation to provide social benefits to all

Strengths Based – preventive policy perspective

Social Empathy – understanding the needs and situations of others and using that understanding to inform policy

Social Work Professional Paradigm – promotion of social justice and respecting diversity as professional ethic

Conflicting Values and Beliefs – all these ideologies, theories, and paradigms

reflect values and beliefs and are shaped by our own experiences, and once we are aware of our own biases and preferences, we can better analyze policy

Analyzing and Researching Social Welfare Policies

What is Policy Analysis?

Investigation and inquiry into the causes and consequences of public policies (Dye, 1998)

To fully analyze policy, we need to follow the policy process and become familiar with social welfare policy sources

The Dynamics of Social Welfare Policy Development

Rationalism – weighing all alternatives, consequences, costs and benefits

Nearly impossible to achieve, but can contribute detailed information

Incrementalism – small, minor changes to policy that over time add up to major change, this is very typical of policy-making, particularly due to negotiations

Window of Opportunity – a significant event occurs that paves the way for policy

Magnitude – the greater that event, the more likely for change to occur

Implementation – the process of putting into action policies, during which those who are responsible for carrying the policy out have significant influence on the actual outcome

Street-Level Bureaucrats – the providers of services, which also shapes the implementation of social policies

Analysis of Social Welfare Policy – social welfare policy is debated and created in the context of power struggles

How is Social Welfare Policy Created?

Congress is the key policy-making body on the federal level

Legislative branch – Congressional law making

Both House and Senate must agree, and then send on to President

Executive Orders – ways that presidents can influence and set public policy

Judicial process- Supreme Court and federal and district courts

State and local governments – structured similar to federal level, governor at top

Tribal governance – varies by tribe, sovereignty is key

Different levels of government can serve as checks and balances

Models of Social Welfare Policy Analysis

Typical models follow a logical pathway from social problem identification to development of a response that is evident through social welfare policy and social welfare programs

A Critical Theory Model for Analyzing Social Welfare Policy – follows a pathway from social problem identification to development of social welfare policies and programs, but does so with analysis of who controls the power of decision-making, and what forces of discrimination play a role.

The Impact of Values and Beliefs on Social Welfare Policy – policy-making does not follow a rational course, rather it is greatly influenced by numerous variables, foremost among them are values and beliefs, typically of the policy-makers themselves and the dominant groups in society

Social Welfare Policy is developed within the political arena, making knowledge of who are key political actors and the process in creating policy important

The Dynamics of Social Welfare Policy: Application of the Model – example in book

Social Welfare Policy Research – similar to analysis, but more applied, designed to gather information to inform policy-makers

Data and statistics sources – e.g. U.S. Census Bureau; CDC

Government agencies and research offices – e.g. HHS; CBO; GAO; CRS

Legislative information – Thomas; Lexis Nexis; C-SPAN

Advocacy groups – can be found on web

State and local agencies and groups

The Delivery of Social Welfare Services

The Professionalization of Social Welfare Services – professionals delivering social services is relatively new in US history

History of Social Work – 1898 is considered the founding year of the profession

Professional Contributions of the Charity Organization Societies and Settlements

Focused on individuals, stressed casework, coordination and organization of social services, scientific methods to determine needs, and professional training

Settlements – focused on groups and communities, stressed social reform and advocacy, researched community needs, promoted cultural diversity

Together the COS and Settlements set the foundation for profession

Public and Private Providers of Social Welfare Services

Government Roles – regulates, sponsors, financially contributes to social services

Should the Federal Government Provide Social Services?

Yes, provides uniformity and broad coverage, and does so to promote general well-being in society

Private Roles – usually in partnership with public, private organizations provide social services to fill needs, non-profit and for profit

Forms of Social Welfare Assistance

Public Assistance and Social Insurance – as discussed before, two forms, public assistance is eligibility-based and focuses on residual needs; social insurance takes an institutional approach and provides as an entitlement

Cash Assistance Programs – public assistance in the form of cash allotments

In-Kind Benefit Programs – public assistance in the form of specific products

Vouchers – credit to exchange for a service

Entitlement – all who meet the criteria for participation are entitled to receive benefits for as long as they continue to meet the criteria

Social Investment – resources committed to development of people

Economic Development - resources committed to structural development of society

Conflicting Values and Beliefs – value of individual versus social responsibility are key

Social Justice and Civil Rights

Barriers to Social Justice and Civil Rights – prejudice, discrimination, oppression

Prejudice – belief or attitude of dislike for group based on myths and misconceptions

Discrimination – action based in prejudice

Oppression – systematic discriminatory action

Human rights – broader than civil rights, includes political and humanitarian concerns

The Constitution: Cornerstone of Civil Rights

The Constitution, and particularly the Bill of Rights establish basic civil rights

The History of Voting Rights in the United States – the right to vote demonstrates the historical struggle for civil rights

Voting Rights for African American Men – came legally with end of Civil War and passage of Fourteenth Amendment, however in practice took additional 100 years

Voting Rights for Women – women's right to vote came legally with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920

Voting Rights for Indigenous People – slow to come, and differed by regions

Mexican Immigration and Latino Voting Rights – initially granted after war with Mexico, but not enforced and acted upon fully until civil rights era

Protection from Discrimination and Oppression – history is replete with struggles for groups who have been oppressed and marginalized

Protection from Racism – civil rights legislation has made racism illegal

Hate Crimes Legislation – effort to recognize that discrimination occurs in dangerous ways

Affirmative Action – to afford marginalized groups opportunity to fully participate in economic, political and social realms

Women's Rights – effort to end sexism

The Rights of People with Disabilities – effort to protect the rights of people with disabilities

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights – effort to protect people based on sexual orientation and sexual identity

Native Americans and Civil Rights – sovereignty, inconsistent recognition of sovereign rule

Civil Rights and Immigration – groups often subject to prejudice, discrimination and oppression

Conflicting Values and Beliefs – reluctance to help those who are different from ourselves plays a critical role in the fight for social justice and civil rights

Poverty and Economic Inequality

Defining Poverty and Economic Need – is a difficult task, depends on who is defining and what standard is used

Measures of Poverty – 2 measures, absolute and relative

Absolute poverty uses a numerical dollar amount line, below which a person is poor, above which the person is not

Relative poverty uses comparisons to normed standards to define who is poor and what needs are necessities

How Many People are Poor? Officially, absolute measure, in 2010 there were more than 46 million people or 15% of the population in poverty

Who are the Poor? The poor are not one group, rather numerous different people, including the working poor, those who are poor in spite of employment due to very low wages; homeless people, those who lack a permanent dwelling and are extremely poor; disproportionately women and children, called the feminization and juvenilization of poverty, and race plays a factor

What Causes Poverty? There are many variables that contribute to poverty, and not one cause seems to fit all

Some of the contributing factors include insufficient education, lack of human capital, unfortunate circumstances, racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination, dependency, and lack of political power

Anti-Poverty Policies and Programs

Programs to Ensure Economic Stability

TANF – Temporary Assistance for Needy Families – cash assistance, limited to a total of 5 years lifetime, for poor families with dependent children, in reality, primarily single-women headed households

SSI – Supplemental Security Income – cash assistance for poor elderly and disabled persons

- Earned Income Tax Credit – a tax rebate program for low-income workers
- Minimum wage – not typically thought of as an anti-poverty program, but the impact of setting a minimum below which wages cannot fall helps to set a minimum income level for low wage workers
- Programs Providing In-kind Support
 - SNAP –credit to be used for purchase of food for eligible low-income persons (formerly Food Stamp program)
 - WIC – Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children
 - Public Housing – subsidized housing or vouchers for payment of rent

Conflicting Values and Beliefs – poverty evokes numerous conflicting values and beliefs

Undeserving versus deserving is the key belief that influences policy approaches to poverty, and related is the view of whether poverty is a personal failure or a system failure; depending on one's views, self-sufficiency will be seen as the "solution" or social support and change of the economic structure; a life of poverty for those who are not poor and never have been poor can be difficult to understand, so sympathy and empathy become very important values; most policy-makers are not poor, and rely on sympathy rather than empathy to influence their decisions

Limitations of social welfare policy - due to the push and pull of differing values and beliefs, as well as the incremental nature of the policy-making process, social welfare policy can be slow to make an impact

- Policy Practice – voting, advocacy through lobbying, contacting elected officials
- The Influence of Advocacy Groups – people can organize and lobby elected officials and try and influence the policy process
- Clean elections – opening the electoral process
- Power of voting – lack of strong numbers participating in elections means that those who do vote carry the decision; important to include disenfranchised and marginalized groups, their voices can be powerful when added to the voting rolls
- Ballot Initiatives – growing impact of local propositions passed directly by voters
- Social Action – using organized approaches to effect systemic social change

Advocacy tactics

- Lobbying
- Letter Writing
- Email
- Telephone Calls
- Organized letter-writing campaigns
- In-person meetings
- Town Halls or community meetings
- Electronic communication and organizing

Issues of race and white privilege: Excerpted from *White Anti-Racist Activism: A Personal Roadmap* by Jennifer R. Holladay, M.S. (Crandall, Dostie & Douglass Books, Inc., 2000)

Conflicting Values and Beliefs – Where do We Go from Here?

Values and beliefs guide us in our daily lives, and as such are important; however, in order to develop social welfare policies and programs that address shared concerns in our society, we need to identify what are our personal values and beliefs that may be skewing our judgment of social issues; we also need to acknowledge that values and beliefs differ, and try and find common ground to develop positive and productive social welfare policies and programs.

Social Empathy – as social workers we are mandated to practice from a social justice perspective; one way to accomplish that is to promote social empathy, the development of understanding of the situation of others and do so with insight into context and patterns of inequality. Understanding policy is just the beginning, policy practice, the action of advocacy and influencing policy-makers and the policy-making process is the next step.

On Racism

Racism is a doctrine or teaching, without scientific support, that does three things. First, it claims to find racial differences in things like character and intelligence. Second, racism asserts the superiority of one race over another or others. Finally, it seeks to maintain that dominance through a complex system of beliefs, behaviors, use of language and policies. Racism ranges from the individual to the institutional level and reflects and enforces a pervasive view, in white dominated U.S. culture that people of color are inferior to whites. Racist beliefs include things like "White people are smarter than people of color," or "White people make better teachers." Racism can manifest itself in terms of individual behavior through hate crimes, or in institutional behavior through employment discrimination. Racism might manifest in individual language through the use of slurs, or in institutional policy through a school's selection of Eurocentric textbooks. Related to these relatively obvious manifestations of racism is a subtle system that also contributes to the maintenance of the racial status quo. That subtle system is white skin privilege.

On White Privilege

White skin privilege is not something that white people necessarily do, create or enjoy on purpose. Unlike the more overt individual and institutional manifestations of racism described above, white skin privilege is a transparent preference for whiteness that saturates our society. White skin privilege serves several functions. First, it provides white people with “perks” that we do not earn and that people of color do not enjoy. Second, it creates real advantages for us. White people are immune to a lot of challenges. Finally, white privilege shapes the world in which we live — the way that we navigate and interact with one another and with the world.

White Privilege: The Perks

White people receive all kinds of perks as a function of their skin privilege. Consider the following:

- When I cut my finger and go to my school or office’s first aid kit, the flesh-colored band-aid generally matches my skin tone.
- When I stay in a hotel, the complimentary shampoo generally works with the texture of my hair.
- When I run to the store to buy pantyhose at the last minute, the ‘nude’ color generally appears nude on my legs.
- When I buy hair care products in a grocery store or drug store, my shampoos and conditioners are in the aisle and section labeled ‘hair care’ and not in a separate section for ‘ethnic products.’
- I can purchase travel size bottles of my hair care products at most grocery or drug stores.

My father, who has worked in economic development for 30 years, would explain away these examples of white privilege as simple functions of supply and demand economics. White people still constitute the numerical majority in this country, so it makes sense, for example, that bandaid companies would manufacture “flesh-tone” bandages for white people. Even if I concede to his argument (and ignore the “buying power” of communities of color), it still does not change the impact of these white privileges. As a white person, I get certain perks that people of color do not; I get the bandages and the pantyhose and the shampoo at the hotel that works with my hair. And in a new grocery store, I will not have to scan the aisles for my hair care products. They will be in the section called “hair care.” This is how I experience the world.

These seemingly benign perks also demonstrate a danger on closer examination. Let’s say that I forgot to pack my shampoo for a business trip. When I get to the hotel, I see that the complimentary shampoo is not the standard Suave product to which I am accustomed but rather Pink Oil Lotion for African American hair. I would be surprised and might even think to myself: “Those black folks and all their lobbying ... This is so unfair!” I expect these perks. As a white person, I think I am *entitled* to them.

White Privilege: The Advantages

Certainly, white privilege is not limited to perks like band aids and hair care products. The second function of white skin privilege is that it creates significant advantages for white people. There are scores of things that I, as a white person, generally do not encounter, have to deal with or even recognize. For example:

- My skin color does not work against me in terms of how people perceive my financial responsibility, style of dress, public speaking skills, or job performance.
- People do not assume that I got where I am professionally because of my race (or because of affirmative action programs).
- Store security personnel or law enforcement officers do not harass me, pull me over or follow me because of my race.

All of these things are things that I never think about. And when the tables are turned and my white skin is used against me, I am greatly offended (and indignant). The police department in my community, like so many other law enforcement agencies throughout this country, uses policing tactics that target people of color. Two years ago, I was driving down Rosa Parks Boulevard, a street that runs through an all-black and impoverished area of town, at night. I was looking for a house that I had never been to before, so I was driving slowly, stopping and moving as I searched for numbers on residences. Out of nowhere, this large police van pulled me over, blue lights flashing and sirens blaring, and a handful of well-armed police officers jumped out of the van and surrounded my car. I did as I was told, and got out of my car. (“Hands above your head; move slowly!”) I then succumbed to a quick physical pat-down, as well as a search of my car. The officers had pulled me over -- not only because of my erratic driving -- but also, because, in the words of one officer, I was “a white woman driving down Rosa Parks after dark.” They thought I was looking to buy drugs. When I went to the office the next day, I relayed my story to several white colleagues. They shared my sense of violation, of anger, of rage. These co-workers encouraged me to call our legal department and report the incident. I later told the story to a colleague who is black and who lives on Rosa Parks. “You just never have to worry about those things, do you, Jennifer?” she asked and then walked off. In twelve words, she succinctly challenged my sense of privilege.

White Privilege: The World View

The third thing that white privilege does is shape the way in which we view the world and the way in which the world views us. The perks and advantages described above are part of this phenomenon, but not all of it. Consider the following:

- When I am told about our national heritage or “civilization,” I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
- Related, the schools that I attend or have attended use standard textbooks, which widely reflect people of my color and their contributions to the world.
- When I look at the national currency or see photographs of monuments on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., I see people of my race widely represented and celebrated.

As a white person, I see myself represented in all of these places. And, until a couple of years ago, I never questioned that representation — or why people of color were excluded. After all, people like me have done a lot for this country and for the world. If people of color had done their part, so the theory goes, they too would see themselves represented.

Well, people of color have done more than their share for this country. There is an old saying that the victors of war get to write the history of the world. White privilege works this way, too. Since white folks have been in control for so long, we have determined what is valuable or interesting or useful in terms of education. Greek and Roman mythology, Chaucer, and other canonized works have been selected and revered through the ages as critical components of any “solid liberal arts education.”

I rarely have to question the validity of these selections — this is, after all, what is valuable and considered “the real stuff.” And I am entitled to a good education, aren’t I? I never question how or why some things are valued and others are not — why some things are important to “us” and other things are not. When people begin talking about diversifying a curriculum, one of the main things that opponents say is: “I am not willing to lower standards for the sake of minority representation.”

The Black Student Coalition at my college, for example, lobbied the faculty to diversify the readings for the Literature 101 class, a required course for first-year students. One professor objected, saying: “You want me to replace Chaucer with the likes of Alice Walker?” Why *do* we value Chaucer more than the literary offerings of Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, or Audre Lorde? Who assigns that value and on what basis?

Things are starting to change slowly. Perhaps your high school hosted programs during Black History Month or during Asian and Hispanic Heritage Months. Maybe your college offered courses in Black, Latino, Caribbean, Native American, Asian or ethnic studies. These are good places to start, but we should not need separate months or classes. Black history is U.S. history; Chicano literature is valuable literature.

White privilege is a hidden and transparent preference that is often difficult to address. Only on closer inspection do we see how it creates a sense of entitlement, generates perks and advantages for white people and elevates our status in the world.

Dot Connectors:

- Despite six years of economic recovery, children remain the poorest group in America. Children are poor if they live in a family of four with an annual income below \$24,418—\$2,035 a month, \$470 a week, \$67 a day.
 - Extreme poverty is income less than half this. New Census Bureau data reveal that nearly one-third of the 46.7 million poor people in the United States in 2014 were children. Of the more than 15.5 million poor children, 70 percent were children of color who already constitute the majority of our nation’s youngest children and will be the majority of all our children by 2020. They continue to be disproportionately poor:
 - 37 percent of Black children and 32 percent of Hispanic children are poor compared to 12 percent of White, non-Hispanic children.
 - This is morally scandalous and economically costly. Every year we let millions of children remain poor costs our nation over \$500 billion as a result of lost productivity and extra health and crime costs stemming from child poverty.
 - The Black child poverty rate increased 10 percent between 2013 and 2014 while rates for children of other races and ethnicities declined slightly. The Black extreme child poverty rate increased 13 percent with nearly 1 in 5 Black children living in extreme poverty. Although the Hispanic child poverty rate fell slightly, Hispanic children remain our largest number of poor children.
 - Shamefully the youngest and most vulnerable children are our poorest during their years of greatest brain development. Nearly 1 in 4 children under five is poor and almost half live in extreme poverty. More than 40 percent of Black children under five are poor and nearly 25 percent of young Black children are extremely poor.
 - [New state data](#) show child poverty rates in 2014 remained at record high levels across 40 states, with only 10 states showing significant declines between 2013 and 2014. In 22 states, 40 percent or more Black children were poor.
 - In 32 states, more than 30 percent of Hispanic children were poor.
 - And in 24 states, more than 30 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native children were poor.
 - Only Hawaii had a Black child poverty rate *below* 20 percent while only two states, Kentucky and West Virginia, had White, non-Hispanic child poverty rates *over* 20 percent.
 - The rates are staggering, especially when we know there are steps Congress could take right now to end child poverty and save taxpayer money now and in the future.
 - In CDF’s recent [Ending Child Poverty Now](#) report based on an analysis by the nonpartisan Urban Institute, nine policy changes were proposed which would immediately reduce child poverty 60 percent and Black child poverty 72 percent and lift the floor of decency for 97 percent of all poor children by ensuring parents the resources to support and nurture their children: jobs with livable wages, affordable high-quality child care, supports for working families like the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and the Child Tax Credit (CTC), and safety nets for basic needs like nutrition, housing assistance and child support
-
- according to the Southern Poverty Law Center, New Jersey has 4th highest number of hate groups in the country
 - income and tax inequality

- impoverished whites/non-colored are stigmatized by society as well-people assume only colored people can be poor. This restricts some whites from gaining different forms of possible assistance, or they face more harassment and ridicule
- isolation is a major factor in relation to social mobility and financial stability
- hunger and impact on school behavior and tracking
- inadequate public benefits and issues around access, exclusion and restrictions
- immigration policy
- predatory banking practices
- traffic and truancy fines
- foster care and cyclical patterns of familial loss
- public resources differ based on geography social norms/conditioning
- corporate monopolies
- identifying race on EOE forms/census data/college applications/etc.
- paying lower wages to immigrants
- reverse racism
- xenophobia
- training barriers
- intergenerational transmission of poverty
- domestic violence
- human trafficking
- lack of consistent and focused advocacy aligned with voices of impoverished
- media
- the news
- law enforcement
- stereotypes
- health care
- job application discrimination
- segregated communities
- lack of transportation access
- racial profiling
- inner cities crime rates
- religious and cultural divides
- drug abuse and drug laws for distribution
- lack of sexual education courses
- higher rates of pre-term births and birth defects regarding women of color
- learning about racism in school
- family background
- industrialized discrimination
- structural racism
- government
- ignorance
- institutionalized racism
- bank fees and foreclosures
- healthcare debt and lack of affordable insurance
- negative stereotypes and personal bias
- ethnocentrism
- colorism
- slavery guilt
- unemployment
- illiteracy
- countries being labeled as third world
- school segregation and lack of educational resources and funding
- gender and racial pay wage inequity
- the new jim crow and mass incarceration of people of color
- housing inadequacy and lack of access
- skewed wealth distribution
- power structures and levels of influence
- wealth distribution
- classism
- making issues that don't necessarily have to deal with race, about race
- white privilege
- quotas
- assumptions
- lack of education
- social stratification
- not the same level of education re: suburban and urban school differences
- minimum wage is not a living wage

Additional detailed resource re: previous research around structural barriers and poverty:
<http://www.asu.edu/mpa/Jordan.pdf>

Racism toolkit: Center for Social Inclusion <http://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/communications/talking-about-race-toolkit/>

Children's Defense Fund poverty and state data:
<http://www.childrendefense.org/library/PovertyReport/EndingChildPovertyNow.html> and
<http://www.childrendefense.org/library/poverty-report/child-poverty-in-america-2014-1.pdf>

Psychologists at Harvard, the University of Virginia and the University of Washington created "Project Implicit" to develop Hidden Bias Tests — called Implicit Association Tests, or IATs, in the academic world — to measure unconscious bias.

To take Project Implicit's Hidden Bias Tests, <http://www.tolerance.org/Hidden-bias>

KEY TERMS

- Absolute poverty** A minimum level of subsistence that no family should be expected to live below.
- Achieved status** A social position that a person attains largely through his or her own efforts.
- Affirmative action** Positive efforts to recruit minority group members or women for jobs, promotions, and educational opportunities.
- Amalgamation** The process through which a majority group and a minority group combine to form a new group.
- Anti-Semitism** Anti-Jewish prejudice.
- Apartheid** A former policy of the South African government, designed to maintain separation of Blacks and non-Whites from the dominant Whites.
- Ascribed status** A social position assigned to a person by society without regard for the person's unique talents or characteristics.
- Assimilation** The process through which a person forsakes his or her cultural tradition to become part of a different culture.
- Black power** A political philosophy, promoted by many younger Blacks in the 1960s, that supported the creation of Black-controlled political and economic institutions.
- Bourgeoisie** Karl Marx's term for the capitalist class, comprising the owners of the means of production.
- Capitalism** An economic system in which the means of production are held largely in private hands and the main incentive for economic activity is the accumulation of profits.
- Caste** A hereditary rank, usually religiously dictated, that tends to be fixed and immobile.
- Class** A group of people who have a similar level of wealth and income.
- Class consciousness** In Karl Marx's view, a subjective awareness held by members of a class regarding their common vested interests and the need for collective political action to bring about social change.
- Class system** A social ranking based primarily on economic position in which achieved characteristics can influence social mobility.
- Closed system** A social system in which there is little or no possibility of individual social mobility.
- Color-blind racism** The use of the principle of race neutrality to defend a racially unequal status quo.
- Conspicuous consumption** Purchasing goods not to survive but to flaunt one's superior wealth and social standing.
- Contact hypothesis** An interactionist perspective stating that in cooperative circumstances, interracial contact between people of equal status will reduce prejudice.
- Discrimination** The denial of opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups because of prejudice or other arbitrary reasons.
- Dominant ideology** A set of cultural beliefs and practices that helps to maintain powerful social, economic, and political interests.
- Estate system** A system of stratification under which peasants were required to work land leased to them by nobles in exchange for military protection and other services. Also known as *feudalism*.
- Esteem** The reputation that a specific person has earned within an occupation.
- Ethnic group** A group that is set apart from others primarily because of its national origin or distinctive cultural patterns.
- Ethnocentrism** The tendency to assume that one's own culture and way of life represent the norm or are superior to all others.
- Exploitation theory** A Marxist theory that views racial subordination in the United States as a manifestation of the class system inherent in capitalism.
- False consciousness** A term used by Karl Marx to describe an attitude held by members of a class that does not accurately reflect their objective position.
- Feminization of poverty** A trend in which women constitute an increasing proportion of the poor people of both the United States and the world.
- Genocide** The deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation.
- Glass ceiling** An invisible barrier that blocks the promotion of a qualified individual in a work environment because of the individual's gender, race, or ethnicity.
- Horizontal mobility** The movement of an individual from one social position to another of the same rank.
- Income** Salaries and wages.
- Institutional discrimination** The denial of opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups that results from the normal operations of a society.
- Intergenerational mobility** Changes in the social position of children relative to their parents.
- Intragenerational mobility** Changes in social position within a person's adult life.
- Life chances** The opportunities people have to provide themselves with material goods, positive living conditions, and favorable life experiences.
- Living wage** A wage that meets workers' basic needs, allowing them to maintain a safe, decent standard of living within their community.
- Minority group** A subordinate group whose members have significantly less control or power over their own lives than the members of a dominant or majority group have over theirs.
- Model, or ideal, minority** A subordinate group who supposedly have succeeded economically, socially, and educationally despite past prejudice and discrimination, and without resorting to political and violent confrontations with Whites.
- Objective method** A technique for measuring social class that assigns individuals to classes on the basis of criteria such as occupation, education, income, and place of residence.
- Open system** A social system in which the position of each individual is influenced by his or her achieved status.
- Pluralism** Mutual respect for one another's cultures among the various groups in a society, which allows minorities to express their cultures without experiencing prejudice.
- Power** The ability to exercise one's will over others.
- Precarious work** Employment that is poorly paid, and from the worker's perspective, insecure and unprotected.
- Prejudice** A negative attitude toward an entire category of people, often an ethnic or racial minority.

Prestige The respect and admiration that an occupation holds in a society.

Proletariat Karl Marx's term for the working class in a capitalist society.

Racial formation A sociohistorical process in which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed.

Racial group A group that is set apart from others because of physical differences that have taken on social significance.

Racial profiling Any arbitrary action initiated by an authority based on race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than on a person's behavior.

Racism The belief that one race is supreme and all others are innately inferior.

Relative poverty A floating standard of deprivation by which people at the bottom of a society, whatever their lifestyles, are judged to be disadvantaged *in comparison with the nation as a whole*.

Remittances The monies that immigrants return to their families of origin. Also called migradollars.

Segregation The physical separation of two groups of people in terms of residence, workplace, and social events; often imposed on a minority group by a dominant group.

Slavery A system of enforced servitude in which some people are owned by other people.

Social inequality A condition in which members of society have differing amounts of wealth, prestige, or power.

Social mobility Movement of individuals or groups from one position in a society's stratification system to another.

Socioeconomic status (SES) A measure of social class that is based on income, education, and occupation.

Status group People who have the same prestige or lifestyle, independent of their class positions.

Stratification A structured ranking of entire groups that perpetuates unequal economic rewards and power in a society.

Underclass The long-term poor who lack training and skills.

Vertical mobility The movement of an individual from one social position to another of a different rank.

Wealth An inclusive term encompassing all a person's material assets, including land, stocks, and other types of property.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS – Small groups similar to a book club; 1 question per week over a year.

1. What are the five basic properties of a minority group?
2. What is the "one-drop rule" and how was it related to the social construction of race?
3. What is meant by the social construction of race?
4. Distinguish between race and ethnicity.
5. Distinguish among prejudice, ethnocentrism, and racism.
6. Define color-blind racism and explain why many believe it is a form of covert racism.
7. What are hate crimes, and to what extent are they a problem in the U.S.?
8. What is the glass ceiling? How prevalent is it in the United States today?
9. What are some of the unspoken privileges of White people, as described by Peggy McIntosh?
10. Distinguish between (individual) discrimination and institutional discrimination and give an example to illustrate each concept.
11. What is affirmative action and what have been the reactions to affirmative action programs in the United States?
12. What is the functionalist perspective on racism and discrimination?
13. How do conflict theorists view racial discrimination?
14. How does racial profiling fit both the conflict perspective and the labeling theory?
15. Explain what is meant by the exploitation theory of racial subordination.
16. Describe the controversies surrounding the practice of racial profiling.
17. What are the principles of the contact hypothesis?
18. Identify and briefly describe the four typical patterns of intergroup relations presented in the textbook.
19. Examine the relationship between African Americans and White Americans from a conflict perspective.
20. Indicate whether "Black power" indicates an assimilationist or a pluralist attitude.
21. Describe the "model minority" stereotype and analyze its accuracy.
22. Describe the special injustice that Japanese Americans experienced during the last century.
23. What are some of the distinctive characteristics of the Korean American population?
24. What are some of the distinctive characteristics of the Arab American population?
25. What are the differences among the various groups that comprise the Latino population in the United States?
26. How are transnationals evidence of changes in immigration to the U.S.?
27. How have U.S. immigration policies changed since the 1960s?

28. Distinguish between wealth and income. Discuss differences in relationships between wealth and income. For example, how might the wealth and income levels of the elderly be different from younger people who only recently entered labor force?
29. Briefly summarize the four systems of stratification presented in the text.
30. To what degree is slavery present in the world in the new century?
31. Slavery was not limited to plantation life in the United States, because it still exists in the world today. Explain.
32. Summarize Daniel Rossides's description of the class system in the United States.
33. Discuss capitalism from a Marxist perspective.
34. Distinguish between *class consciousness* and *false consciousness* and give examples of both.
35. To what extent have Marx's theories been useful in understanding contemporary industrial societies? Are they misleading?
36. Distinguish among Weber's use of the terms *class*, *status group*, and *power*.
37. Contrast Max Weber's/Karl Marx's views of social class. Discuss why Weber's model's more comprehensive and most used.
38. How do functionalists view the issue of the universality of stratification?
39. How do conflict theorists view the issue of the inevitability of stratification?
40. Describe the objective method of measuring social class.
41. What efforts are being made to measure the contribution that women are making to the economy?
42. How are wealth and income distributed in the United States?
43. Explain the utility of the terms *absolute poverty* and *relative poverty*.
44. Who are the poor in the United States today and what is meant by the *feminization of poverty*?
45. Discuss the feminization of poverty and explain its growing significance.
46. How is the underclass different from the poor?
47. Describe the ways in which stratification influences a person's life chances.
48. What does the discussion of the motion picture *Titanic* illustrate about the concept of life chances?
49. Distinguish between an *open system* and a *closed system*.
50. Distinguish between *horizontal mobility* and *vertical mobility*.
51. How does race impact social mobility in the United States?
52. Describe the main arguments for and against President Obama's proposed increase in the minimum wage to nine dollars per hour, others to \$10 and fast food to \$15.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS – Workshop Session Day 2

1. The common description of the United States as a pluralistic society is not accurate as it relates to racial inclusion. Describe what is meant by the social construction of race. How can this concept be applied to Americans from multiple racial backgrounds?
2. Discuss the various ethnocentric practices historically used by the dominant majority in the United States that may have contributed to the development of prejudicial attitudes toward other cultures or groups of people.
3. Discuss how racism can be viewed as both functional and dysfunctional for a society. Be sure to include the three major sociological views in your discussion.
4. Define the term *model minority* and discuss which minority group is perceived as living up to that image. Why do you think other minorities have not been as fortunate in obtaining a "model" status?
5. Describe how affirmative action programs are perceived by some to have both helped and hindered the mission and goals of certain minority groups. Give examples to support your answer.
6. Discuss why patriotism could be considered a form of false consciousness when viewed from the conflict perspective. Give some race related examples to support your answer.
7. Explain why the upper classes may allow persons in the lower classes to attain prestige without granting them power or wealth. Give examples to support your answer.
8. Assuming that we could equally divide all the world's wealth and assets among everyone, why would stratification soon be evident among societies again? Use one or more of the various sociological perspectives to support your answer.
9. Discuss why college education may not benefit all sectors of a society in terms of social mobility. Do most college students expect to experience upward vertical mobility after attaining a college degree? Why or why not?
10. Discuss why it has been so difficult for sociologists and economists to study the impact of increases in the minimum wage or predict future impacts. How has that affected the debate over the state of the minimum wage?

National Perspective

- Despite six years of economic recovery, children remain the poorest group in America. Children are poor if they live in a family of four with an annual income below \$24,418—\$2,035 a month, \$470 a week, \$67 a day.
- Extreme poverty is income less than half this. New Census Bureau data reveal that nearly one-third of the 46.7 million poor people in the United States in 2014 were children. Of the more than 15.5 million poor children, 70 percent were children of color who already constitute the majority of our nation's youngest children and will be the majority of all our children by 2020. They continue to be disproportionately poor:
- 37 percent of Black children and 32 percent of Hispanic children are poor compared to 12 percent of White, non-Hispanic children.
- This is morally scandalous and economically costly. Every year we let millions of children remain poor costs our nation over \$500 billion as a result of lost productivity and extra health and crime costs stemming from child poverty.
- The Black child poverty rate increased 10 percent between 2013 and 2014 while rates for children of other races and ethnicities declined slightly. The Black extreme child poverty rate increased 13 percent with nearly 1 in 5 Black children living in extreme poverty. Although the Hispanic child poverty rate fell slightly, Hispanic children remain our largest number of poor children.
- Shamefully the youngest and most vulnerable children are our poorest during their years of greatest brain development. Nearly 1 in 4 children under five is poor and almost half live in extreme poverty. More than 40 percent of Black children under five are poor and nearly 25 percent of young Black children are extremely poor.

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State Perspective

- [New state data](#) show child poverty rates in 2014 remained at record high levels across 40 states, with only 10 states showing significant declines between 2013 and 2014. In 22 states, 40 percent or more Black children were poor.
- In 32 states, more than 30 percent of Hispanic children were poor.
- And in 24 states, more than 30 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native children were poor.
- Only Hawaii had a Black child poverty rate *below* 20 percent while only two states, Kentucky and West Virginia, had White, non-Hispanic child poverty rates *over* 20 percent.
- The rates are staggering, especially when we know there are steps Congress could take right now to end child poverty and save taxpayer money now and in the future.
- In CDF's recent [Ending Child Poverty Now](#) report based on an analysis by the nonpartisan Urban Institute, nine policy changes were proposed which would immediately reduce child poverty 60 percent and Black child poverty 72 percent and lift the floor of decency for 97 percent of all poor children by ensuring parents the resources to support and nurture their children: jobs with livable wages, affordable high-quality child care, supports for working families like the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and the Child Tax Credit (CTC), and safety nets for basic needs like nutrition, housing assistance and child support.

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Race, Power & Policy: Dismantling Structural Racism



Unequal Opportunity Race.mp3



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eBb5TgOXgNY>

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Creating “Change” Brainstorm: Where Do We Want To Go?

**We share a common desire to improve race relations.
Let's talk about what we mean by that & explore specifics we might do to
achieve that goal.**

- Participants think about your vision of what you would like to see in your “ideal” NJ community. Who are the leaders? Top 5 values you want respected ?
- What is your/our vision for poverty reduction & how is that related to race relations in NJ?
- How would you answer the general question of where we want to go in race relations?
- If we had excellent race relations, what kinds of things would we see in the community? Hear in the community? Feel? Do in the community?
- What are the main changes that need to happen to increase understanding & cooperative action across racial lines in NJ?
- What are some of the helping/hindering forces in our community?
- What things have you seen that give you hope for improved race relations?
- Explore the roles that the community's institutions and government play in helping race relations & reducing poverty. How could they do a better job?
- What are steps we as individuals could take to improve race relations in our neighborhood? In our workplace? In our agencies? In our schools? In our community? In our state? In our nation?
- Develop S.M.A.R.T. goals based on small group discussions.



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Executive Summary

A large portion of US children live in poverty—22 percent according to the official measure, and 18 percent according to the Census Bureau’s Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM). The SPM shows that child poverty is alleviated by the current safety net, but despite those benefits child poverty has risen over the last decade.

Within that context, the Children’s Defense Fund (CDF) contracted with the Urban Institute to assess the costs and impacts of a variety of policy options that could further reduce child poverty. The policy options defined by CDF include the following:

- Minimum wage increased to a level of \$10.10 in 2014 dollars for covered workers, and 70 percent of that level for tipped workers.
- Transitional jobs program for unemployed and underemployed people in families with children: CDF assumed a participation rate of 25 percent for unemployed individuals with the lowest family incomes.
- A full pass-through and disregard of child support income by the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program, and a \$100 monthly child support disregard per child in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly food stamps).
- Expanded access to housing vouchers for low-income households with children: New vouchers would be available to any household with children with income under 150 percent of the poverty guideline that also satisfied a test of rent burden, with the assumption that 70 percent of those households would be able to use the voucher.
- Increased SNAP benefits for families with children: The maximum SNAP benefit for families with children would be based on the Low-Cost Food Plan levels computed by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) rather than the Thrifty Food Plan currently used, increasing the maximum benefit by 30 percent.
- Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit: The parameters of the credit would be adjusted to increase the benefits; for example, the maximum credit for a single parent with two children would increase from \$5,036 to \$6,042.
- Fully refundable Child Tax Credit.
- Increased Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit (CDCTC).
- Expanded access to child care subsidies for low-income families with children under age 13: Specifically, child care subsidies would be available to any employed family with income under 150 percent of the poverty guideline wanting that subsidy.

All the options have the potential to directly improve families' economic well-being in the same year that the policies are implemented (as opposed to policies such as improved education with the potential to improve children's well-being in the medium to longer term).

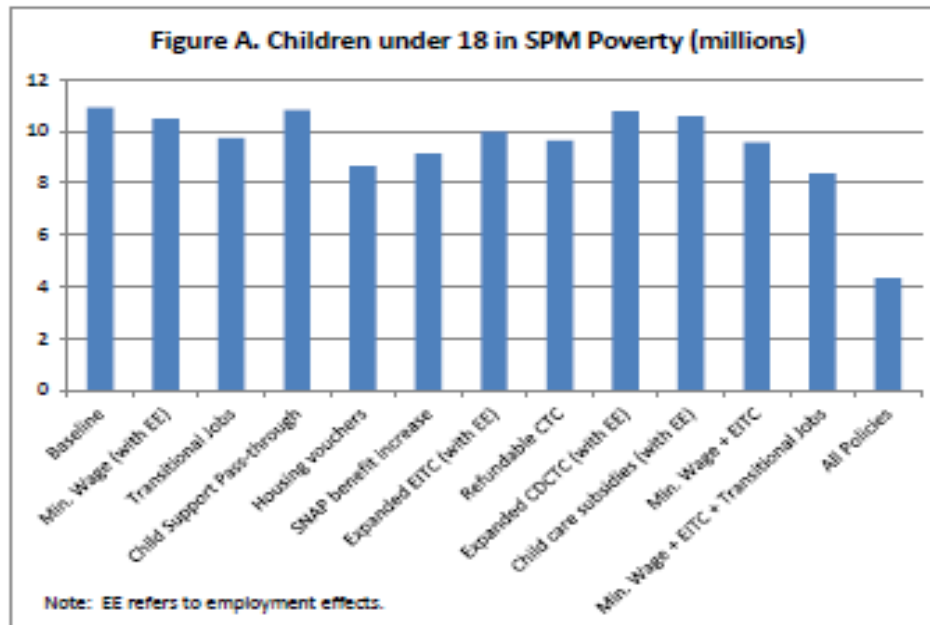
Urban Institute staff analyzed the CDF policies by applying a microsimulation model—the Transfer Income Model, version 3 (TRIM3)—to a large representative sample of US households—the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS-ASEC). The TRIM3 model is a comprehensive and detailed model that can capture both the current operations of tax and benefit programs and the potential impacts of changes to those programs, which has been used for both national and state-level analyses of the antipoverty impact of taxes and benefits. The CPS-ASEC data include information on over 75,000 households, and the information can be used to make reliable inferences about impacts on the entire population; it is the same survey database used to generate official poverty estimates. The analysis used the CPS-ASEC data that captured families' incomes and employment during 2010. We applied the TRIM3 model to the survey data to estimate the economic circumstances of families with children before any of the proposed policies, after each policy individually, and after all policies combined. TRIM3 captured the direct impacts of policies and the interactions among policies. For example, the fact that an increase in a family's earnings affects their tax liability and the amount of safety net benefits they are eligible to receive. We also used the model to impose external estimates of the extent to which increased tax credits might increase labor supply, and the extent to which a minimum wage increase might reduce employment.

To assess the results in terms of poverty, we used the SPM poverty measure. Unlike the official measure of poverty, which considers only a family's cash income, the SPM looks at families' resources more broadly—including the value of in-kind benefits and refundable tax credits, but subtracting taxes that a family must pay as well as the cost of child care and other work expenses for families with employed parents. The SPM allowed all the policies to be considered using the same metric.

Considering all the policies in combination, the impacts on poverty were as follows:

- Overall, the number of children in poverty in 2010 according to the SPM is estimated to fall from 10.9 million to 4.3 million due to the CDF-proposed policies—a drop of 60 percent.
- Among the children who are not raised out of poverty by the policy package, the great majority—4 million—nevertheless see an increase in family economic resources.
- The poverty gap for families with children—the aggregate amount of money by which the incomes of poor families with children fall below their poverty thresholds—fell from \$40.5 billion to \$15.0 billion, a drop of 63 percent.

The individual policies had varying impacts on child poverty (figure A).



- **Minimum wage increase:** The proposed minimum wage increase reduces child poverty by 4 percent when we assume that there would also be wage increases for workers earning slightly below the current minimum or slightly above the new minimum, as well as a small amount of job loss. The impacts of the minimum wage are muted by the fact that many minimum wage workers do not work full-year full-time, as well as the fact that increases in earnings may be offset by reductions in safety net benefits.
- **Transitional jobs program:** This was the most effective of the policies focused on cash income. When transitional jobs are available to individuals in families with children, and with an assumed maximum take-up rate of 25 percent (for non-workers with below-poverty income), 2.5 million parents and guardians are modeled to take the jobs, earning an average of \$10,630 in the year. Child poverty falls by 10.7 percent from this one policy.
- **Modified treatment of child support by the TANF and SNAP programs:** This policy reduces child poverty by 0.8 percent. The impact is muted by the fact that relatively few families receive TANF, and only a minority of those families have child support paid on their behalf.
- **Expanded access to housing vouchers for low-income households with children:** This was the most effective individual policy, reducing poverty by 21 percent. New housing vouchers were provided to 2.6 million households, with an average annual subsidy of approximately \$9,400.

- **Increased SNAP benefits:** This was the second most effective individual policy, reducing child poverty by 16.2 percent. The benefit increase helped all 10.7 million families with children receiving SNAP in the average month of the year under actual 2010 policies, with a \$1,896 increase in the maximum annual benefit for a three-person family; an additional 1.3 million families began receiving SNAP due to the benefit increase.
- **Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit:** When modeled with the assumption that the increased EITC would cause some non-working single parents to enter the labor force, child poverty was reduced by 8.8 percent.
- **Fully refundable Child Tax Credit:** Of the three changes to tax credits, this change had the greatest antipoverty impact. It allowed an additional 4.4 million tax units to receive the credit, and increased the credit available to others, reducing child poverty by 11.6 percent.
- **Increased Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit (CDCTC):** This had the least impact of the three proposed changes to tax credits, reducing child poverty by 1.3 percent. The impacts on families' economic well-being are limited by the fact that many low-income families have low child care expenses.
- **Expanded access to child care subsidies:** The policy that guarantees child care subsidies for families under 150 percent of the poverty guideline also has limited antipoverty impact. When we assume that families would take the subsidy if they had child care expenses before the policy, and if we also assume some increase in labor supply, child poverty is reduced by 3.1 percent.

The individual policies also had varying impacts on the poverty gap (figure B). The increase to housing vouchers had the largest impact on the poverty gap for families with children, and the SNAP benefit increase was the next most effective.

Considering both the number of children in poverty and the poverty gap, the impact of the package as a whole is much larger than the impact of any individual policy. Different policies address the needs of children living in different circumstances. For example, while several policies focus on parents who are already employed, the transitional jobs policy would assist parents and guardians who are currently unemployed or underemployed, and the increases to SNAP benefits and housing vouchers are not tied to employment.

The antipoverty impacts of the package are broad-based. Poverty declines for all racial/ethnic groups, in all regions of the country, in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, and for children living with both working parents/guardians and non-working parents/guardians. There is somewhat less poverty reduction for children living in a family headed by an unauthorized immigrant, for teenagers, and for Hispanic children.

**Table 5: State Rank of Children in Poverty and Extreme Poverty
States with the lowest child poverty are ranked 1st**

State Rank	Poverty		Extreme Poverty	
	Under 18	Under 6	Under 18	Under 6
1	Wyoming	Hawaii	New Hampshire	Utah
2	Maryland	Maryland	Utah	Hawaii
3	New Hampshire	Wyoming	Alaska	Alaska
4	Utah	Utah	Maryland	Wyoming
5	Hawaii	Iowa	Wyoming	Maryland
6	North Dakota	North Dakota	Hawaii	New Hampshire
7	Connecticut	New Hampshire	Minnesota	Iowa
8	Minnesota	Colorado	Iowa	Idaho
9	Massachusetts	Connecticut	Colorado	Colorado
10	Iowa	Minnesota	Nebraska	Minnesota
11	Colorado	Massachusetts	Connecticut	Connecticut
12	Vermont	Virginia	New Jersey	Nebraska
13	Alaska	Vermont	South Dakota	Vermont
14	Virginia	New Jersey	Idaho	Washington
15	New Jersey	Alaska	Virginia	Delaware
16	Nebraska	Nebraska	Massachusetts	Virginia
17	Washington	Montana	Wisconsin	New Jersey
18	Delaware	Washington	Kansas	Kansas
19	Kansas	Kansas	Vermont	Massachusetts
20	South Dakota	Delaware	Washington	Wisconsin
21	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Delaware	South Dakota
22	Montana	Idaho	North Dakota	Montana
23	Idaho	Pennsylvania	Montana	North Dakota
24	Maine	South Dakota	Oregon	California
25	Pennsylvania	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
26	Rhode Island	California	Maine	New York
27	Illinois	Rhode Island	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
28	Missouri	New York	Rhode Island	Oregon
29	Indiana	Missouri	Indiana	Indiana
30	Oregon	Maine	California	Florida
31	Nevada	Oklahoma	Missouri	Missouri
32	Oklahoma	Indiana	Nevada	Rhode Island
33	New York	Oregon	New York	Texas
34	Michigan	Michigan	Oklahoma	Nevada
35	California	Florida	Florida	North Carolina
36	Ohio	Nevada	Texas	Maine
37	Florida	Texas	North Carolina	Michigan
38	North Carolina	Ohio	Michigan	Oklahoma
39	Texas	North Carolina	Arkansas	Arkansas
40	West Virginia	Arizona	Ohio	Arizona
41	Arizona	West Virginia	West Virginia	Ohio
42	Tennessee	South Carolina	Tennessee	Georgia
43	Kentucky	Georgia	Georgia	Tennessee
44	Georgia	Kentucky	Kentucky	West Virginia
45	Arkansas	Tennessee	Arizona	Kentucky
46	South Carolina	Arkansas	Alabama	Alabama
47	Alabama	Louisiana	South Carolina	South Carolina
48	Louisiana	Alabama	New Mexico	New Mexico
49	Mississippi	Mississippi	Louisiana	Mississippi
50	New Mexico	New Mexico	Mississippi	Louisiana