

Equitable Growth Profile of the Research Triangle Region

Summary



Foreword

The Research Triangle Region has a long tradition of growth and change, as its research universities and technologically sophisticated businesses have served markets and attracted people from across the United States and around the world. From the city cores of Raleigh and Durham to small towns and rural areas throughout the region, the communities that make up the Research Triangle have a common goal of seeing that all its people have pathways to success.

The Research Triangle Region is undergoing a profound demographic transformation. How the region responds will significantly influence future prosperity. People of color increasingly drive the region's population growth. Today, a quarter of the region's seniors are people of color, as compared to nearly half of the region's youth.

Ensuring that communities of color are full and active participants in the region's economy is critical to the next generation of growth and economic development. The region's economy could have been about \$21.8 billion stronger in 2012 if there were no economic differences by race. By developing good jobs and paths to financial security for all, creating opportunity across the region and strengthening education from cradle to career, Research Triangle leaders can put all residents on the path toward reaching their full potential, securing a brighter future for the entire region.

Over the past two years, both the Triangle J Council of Governments and the Kerr-Tar Council of Governments – the regional councils serving the greater Triangle region – have worked with diverse groups of stakeholders to identify and prioritize strategies we can pursue to sustain the region's prosperity and address its economic challenges. These Comprehensive Economic Development Strategies (CEDs) are blueprints for cooperative action to improve economic outcomes for all of our citizens.

For these strategies to succeed, we know we need to prepare for the region we will be, not the region we are today. That is why we partnered with PolicyLink and the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) to produce this Equitable Growth Profile. It provides an excellent evidence-based foundation for understanding the challenges and opportunities of our region's shifting demographics. It can help our region's diverse communities focus on the resources and opportunities they need to participate and prosper. We hope that this profile is widely used by business, government, academic, philanthropic and civic leaders working to create a stronger, more engaged, and more resilient region.

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Overview

Across the country, communities are striving to put plans, policies, and programs in place that build healthier, more prosperous regions that provide opportunities for all of their residents to participate and thrive.

Equity – full inclusion of all residents in the economic, social, and political life of the region, regardless of race, ethnicity, age, gender, neighborhood of residence, or other characteristics – is essential for regional prosperity. As the nation undergoes a profound demographic transformation in which people of color are quickly becoming the majority, ensuring that people of all races and ethnicities can participate and reach their full potential is more than just the right thing to do, it is an economic imperative.

In the past, equity and growth have often been pursued on separate paths, now it is becoming increasingly clear that they must be pursued together. The latest research on national and regional economic growth, from economists working at institutions including the International Monetary Fund and Standard and Poor's, finds that inequality hinders economic growth and prosperity, while greater economic and racial inclusion fosters greater economic mobility and more robust and sustained growth.¹

Embedding equity into local and regional development strategies is particularly important given the history of metropolitan development in the United States. America's regions are highly segregated by race and income, and these patterns of exclusion were created and maintained by public policies at the federal, state, regional, and local levels. In the decades after World War II, housing and transportation policies incentivized the growth of suburbs while redlining practices and racially restrictive covenants systematically prevented African Americans and other people of color from buying homes in new developments while starving older urban neighborhoods of needed reinvestment. Many other factors – continued racial discrimination in housing and employment, exclusionary land use practices that prevent construction of affordable multifamily homes in more affluent neighborhoods, and political fragmentation – have reinforced geographic, racial, and class inequities.

Today, America's regions are patchworks of concentrated advantage and disadvantage, with some neighborhoods home to good schools, bustling commercial districts, services, parks, and other crucial ingredients for economic success, and other

neighborhoods providing few of those elements. The goal of regional equity is to ensure that all neighborhoods throughout the region are communities of opportunity that provide their residents with the tools they need to thrive.

The Equitable Growth Profile of the Research Triangle Region examines demographic trends and indicators of equitable growth, highlighting strengths and areas of vulnerability in relation to the goal of building a strong, resilient economy. It was developed by PolicyLink and the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) to help the Triangle J and Kerr-Tar councils of governments, advocacy groups, elected officials, planners, business leaders, funders, and others working to build a stronger region.

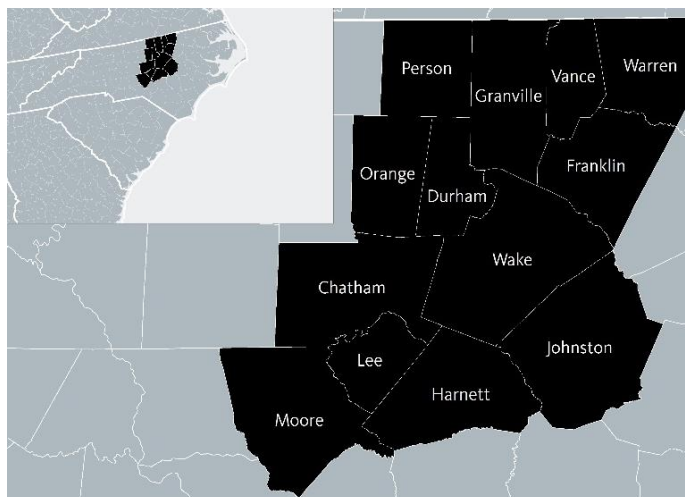
This summary document highlights key findings from the profile along with policy and planning implications.

Equitable Growth Indicators

This profile draws from a unique Equitable Growth Indicators Database developed by PolicyLink and PERE. This database incorporates hundreds of data points from public and private data sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Woods & Poole Economics, Inc. The database includes data for the 150 largest metropolitan regions and all 50 states, and includes historical data going back to 1980 for many economic indicators as well as demographic projections through 2040. It enables comparative regional and state analyses as well as tracking change over time.

Defining the Research Triangle Region

For the purposes of this profile, we define the region as the 13-county area shown below. All data in the profile use this regional boundary, exceptions where lack of data are noted in the "Data and methods" section of the full profile.



Profile Highlights

The region is undergoing a major demographic shift

The Research Triangle is a growing region whose demographics are quickly diversifying. Since 1980, its population has more than doubled, from 900,000 to over 2 million. During the same time period, the share of residents who are people of color has risen from 29 to 39 percent. By 2044, when the nation is projected to become majority people of color, more than 50 percent of the region’s population will be people of color.

Communities of color – especially Latinos, Asians, and people of mixed racial backgrounds – are driving population growth and contributed 56 percent of net population growth over the last decade. Latinos were the fastest growing group, increasing 127 percent and gaining nearly 120,000 residents, followed by Asians, with a 107 percent growth rate and net gain of more than 38,000 residents. The region’s large Black population will remain about a fourth of the population for the foreseeable future.

The region’s demographic shift is taking place throughout all of its 13 counties. By 2040, five counties will be majority people of

color, and every county except for Moore County will be at least one-third people of color.

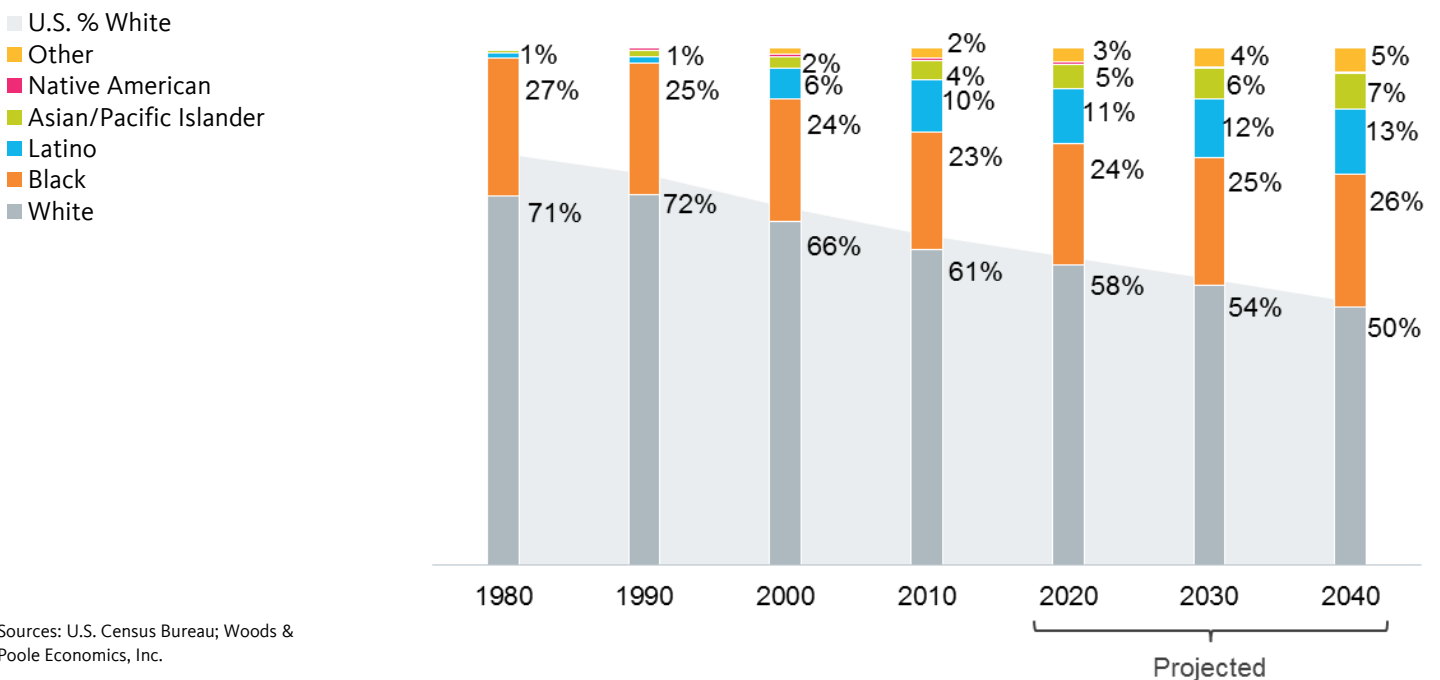
Youth are at the forefront of the region’s changing demographics, and the Research Triangle’s young residents are much more diverse than its seniors. Today, 48 percent of youth are people of color, compared with 23 percent of seniors. This 25 percentage point racial generation gap between young and old has risen very quickly, nearly tripling since 1980. This gap presents a potential economic risk for the region because a large racial generation gap often corresponds with lower investments in the educational systems and community infrastructure needed to support the economic participation of youth.²

Stronger and more inclusive growth is the key to the region’s future prosperity

The Research Triangle region has struggled to recover from the Great Recession, and while its GDP and job growth are comparable to national averages, it is growing at less than half its pre-recession rate. Additionally, growth seems to be occurring unequally throughout the region and has been concentrated in the metropolitan areas of Raleigh-Cary and

The share of people of color is projected to increase through 2040

Racial/Ethnic Composition, 1980-2040



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Woods & Poole Economics, Inc.

Durham (to a lesser extent). From 2009 to 2012, jobs and GDP in Wake County grew at a rate more than double the average for the rest of the region.

In addition to these trends of slow and geographically asymmetrical growth in jobs and economic activity, the region faces several other challenges to long-term growth and prosperity. The region’s middle class is shrinking, as the economy is becoming bifurcated into low- and high-wage jobs. Inequality is on the rise and racial gaps in education, employment, income, and opportunity are wide and persistent. As the region grows more diverse, these inequities become even more serious threats to economic strength and competitiveness. Below are several key challenges the region will need to address to ensure a strong economy and a better shot at returning to the high growth seen prior to the recession.

Lower levels of higher education for communities of color

A strong education is central to labor market competitiveness in today’s knowledge- and technology-driven economy, but a growing segment of the Research Triangle’s workforce lacks the education needed for the jobs of the future. According to the Georgetown Center for Education and the Workforce, 42 percent of all jobs in North Carolina will require an associate’s degree or higher by 2020. Today, only 33 percent of Blacks and 37 percent of U.S.-born Latinos – the region’s fastest-growing group – have that level of education. The achievement gap has deep roots in public education systems, and looking at the share of working-age adults without a high school diploma in the region, we see that African American, Native American, and all

Latinos (but especially immigrants), are much less likely to have high school degrees than Whites.

The middle class is being squeezed

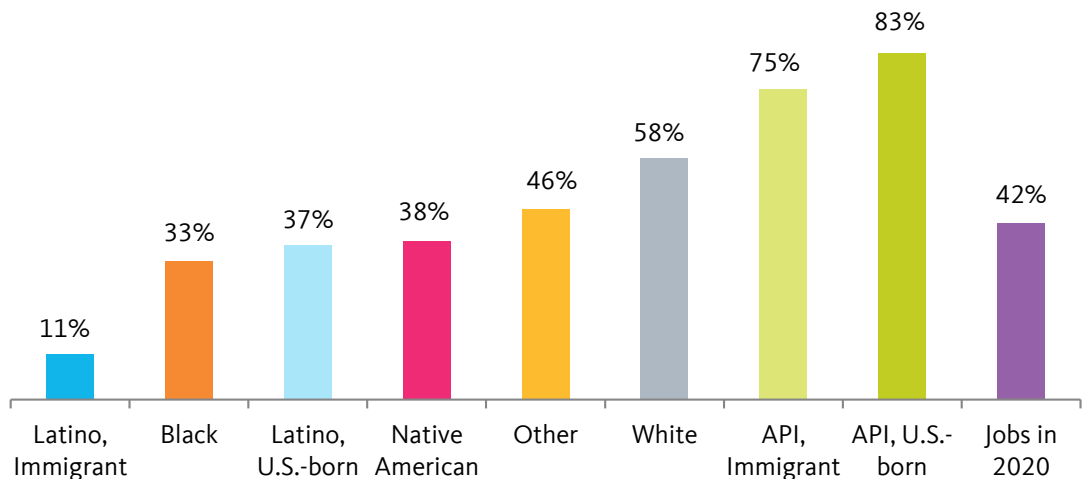
A strong middle class is the foundation for a strong regional economy, but the Research Triangle region’s middle class is being squeezed while inequality is on the rise. Since 1990, middle-wage jobs in the region have not kept pace with population growth, and grew less than half the rate of low- and high-wage jobs. Additionally, a disproportionate share of middle-class job gains have been concentrated in urban areas, with Durham County contributing 37 percent of the increase in middle-class jobs but only 10 percent of the increase in the region’s population. And while wages for low-wage jobs have increased 17 percent over the past two decades, that is less than half the rate of increase for high- and middle-class jobs in the same time period. This also has a disproportionately negative impact on people of color since they are more likely to work in low-wage jobs. The increasing diversity of the middle class is a more promising indicator. Though the middle class does not yet fully represent the region’s demographic diversity, its diversification does provide some evidence for the economic inclusion of emerging Latino and Asian populations.

Racial economic gaps

Across a host of indicators including employment, wages, poverty, working poor rates, and access to “high-opportunity” occupations, people of color fare worse in the Research Triangle labor market than their White counterparts. These racial economic gaps remain even after controlling for education,

Raising educational attainment among the region’s communities of color is critical to building a prepared workforce

Share of Working-Age Population with an Associate’s Degree or Higher by Race/Ethnicity and Nativity, 2012, and Projected Share of Jobs that Require an Associate’s Degree or Higher, 2020



Sources: Georgetown Center for Education and the Workforce; IPUMS. Universe for education levels of workers includes all persons ages 25 through 64. Note: Data for 2012 by race/ethnicity/nativity represent a 2008 through 2012 average and are at the regional level; data on jobs in 2020 is at the state level for North Carolina. API refers to Asians and Pacific Islanders.

which reveals the persistence of racial barriers to economic opportunity – including overt discrimination as well as more subtle forms of exclusion that are embedded into institutions and systems. However, not all people of color are equally affected, and many barriers seem to disproportionately affect Blacks and Latinos.

While overall unemployment in the Research Triangle region is lower than the national average, Latinos, people of other and mixed races, and especially African Americans have much higher rates of unemployment. The region’s African American workers face higher unemployment rates than their White and Latino counterparts at every education level, and both Black and Latino residents earn lower wages than Whites at every education level. Wage disparities persist even among highly educated workers, with college-educated Blacks and Latinos earning \$7/hour and \$11/hour less than their White and Asian counterparts, respectively.

Poverty and the challenge of a growing number of people who are among the working poor (defined here as working full-time for an income below 200 percent of the poverty level) are both on the rise in the region and are most severe for communities of color. One in three Latinos and one in five African Americans

now live below the poverty level, compared to less than one in ten Whites. Latinos in the region are more than six times as likely to be working poor than Whites. Poverty is also becoming entrenched in rural and inner city areas, leaving those at the fringes and the heart of the region most vulnerable.

Disconnected youth

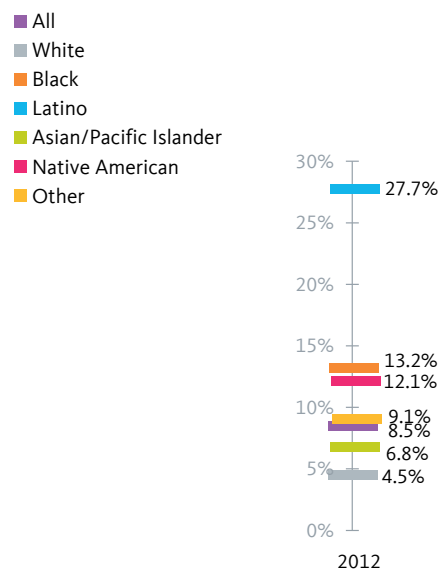
The region’s future quite literally depends on the ability of its youth to power its economy in the years to come. Although the fact that more of the region’s youth are getting high school degrees than in the past is a positive sign, the number of “disconnected youth” who are neither in school nor working is also on the rise. In the region, 30,000 youth are currently disconnected, nearly 60 percent of whom are Black and Latino. On the positive side, dropout rates have improved significantly over the past decade for Blacks and Latinos, although nearly half of Latino immigrant youth still drop out of high school.

An uneven geography of opportunity and prosperity

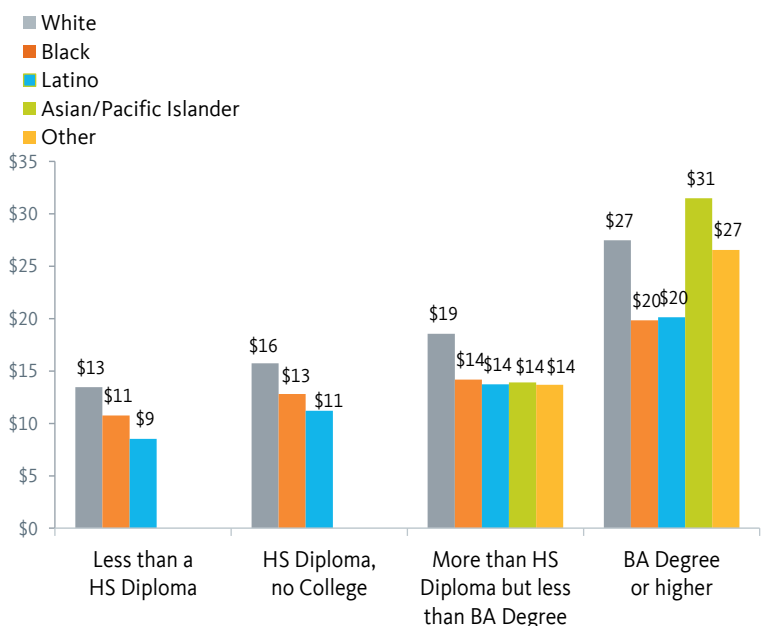
While the Research Triangle is experiencing renewed growth, prosperity is not distributed evenly in the region. Many rural and inner city areas suffer from a lack of car access and limited transportation choices, with Warren and Vance counties having at least 10 percent of households without a vehicle. Poverty is

The region’s African Americans and Latinos earn disproportionately low wages and are more likely to be working and poor

Working Poor Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 2012



Median Hourly Wage by Educational Attainment and Race/Ethnicity, 2012



Source: IPUMS. Universe includes the civilian non-institutional population ages 25 through 64. Note: Data represent a 2008 through 2012 average.

Source: IPUMS. Universe includes civilian noninstitutional full-time wage and salary workers ages 25 through 64. Note: Wages for Asians and Others with a HS diploma or less are excluded due to small sample size. Data represent a 2008 through 2012 average. Dollar values are in 2010 dollars.

also highest in major cities and on the outer northeast edges of the region. And while rent burden (households spending 30 percent or more of income on rent) is persistent throughout the region, it is more prevalent in these same areas. Not coincidentally, communities of color are highly concentrated in these same outer fringes and inner boroughs. Blacks and Latinos stand out as having significant obstacles to economic success, even once adjusted for education. Among those with a bachelor’s degree, only 59 percent of Blacks and 46 percent of Latino immigrants have access to “high-opportunity” jobs that offer good prospects for future growth, while nearly three-quarters of Whites and over 80 percent of Asians have access to those same jobs.

Racial economic inclusion would strengthen the economy

Rising inequality and racial gaps in the region are not only bad for communities of color – they also hinder the whole region’s economic growth and prosperity. According to our analysis, if there were no racial disparities in income, the region’s GDP would have been \$21.8 billion higher in 2012. Unless racial gaps are closed, the costs of inequity will grow as the Research Triangle becomes more diverse.

Implications

The Research Triangle region’s growing, diverse population is a major economic asset that will help the region compete in the

global economy – if its leaders invest in ensuring all residents can connect to good jobs and contribute their talent and creativity to building a strong next economy. Our data analysis suggests focusing on the following goals to spur more equitable growth in the region. Below we describe each goal and share strategies that regional leaders might pursue to advance them.

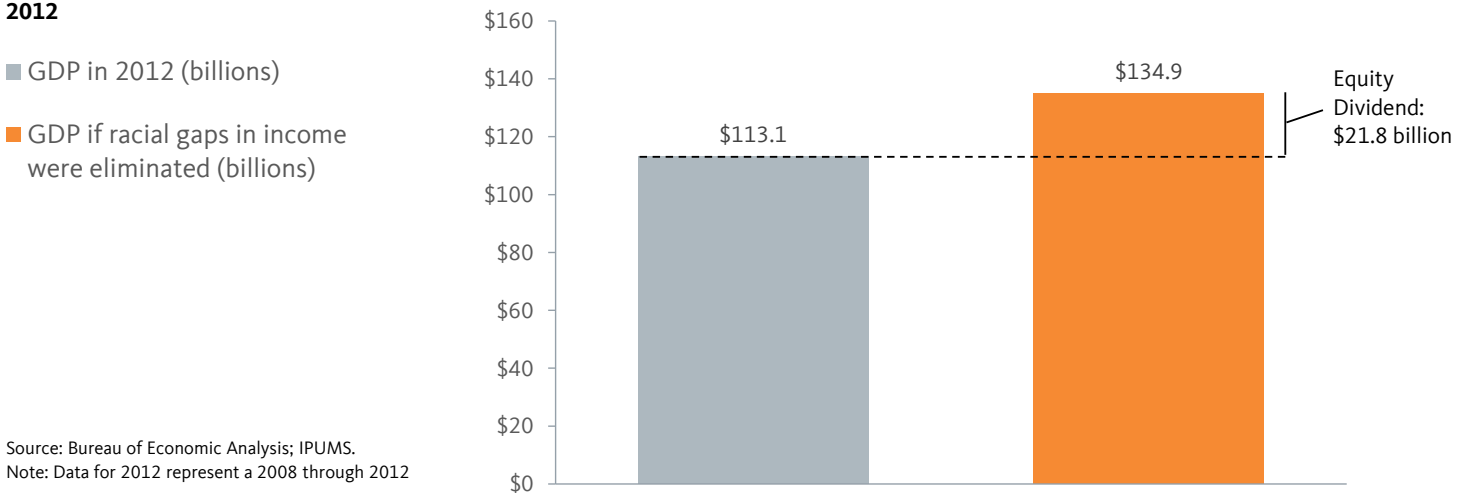
Grow good jobs and create pathways into them for workers facing barriers to employment

The region’s higher levels of unemployment and lower levels of educational attainment for many members of its communities of color call for a strong focus on creating on-ramps to good, family-supporting careers for these populations. A robust strategy for growing new good jobs and connecting workers to them is critical for the region’s future economic prosperity. Local economic and workforce development efforts should be focused on the sectors and occupations that show signs of strength and pay living wages. This can help create the “high-opportunity” jobs that anchor a broad middle class. There are several promising approaches to building pathways, including the following:

- Implement sectoral workforce strategies that connect workers with low education levels to high-quality training programs that lead to gainful employment in growing sectors of the economy. Such approaches are a win-win for employers who need access to skilled workers as well as workers seeking employment.³

The Research Triangle Region’s GDP would have been \$21.8 billion higher in 2012 if there were no racial disparities in income.

Actual GDP and Estimated GDP without Racial Gaps in Income, 2012



Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis; IPUMS.
 Note: Data for 2012 represent a 2008 through 2012 average.

- Target spending and investments to support regional equity initiatives of local governments, school districts, nonprofits, and businesses. Focus on providing affordable housing and well-connected transit systems to link residents – particularly in rural counties – to employment centers. Take measures to prevent better-connected low-income households in central cities from displacement.
- Connect underrepresented workers to good jobs and careers through targeted local hiring strategies, apprenticeship programs, and post-secondary job-training programs.
- Remove barriers and implement strategies to help minority-owned businesses expand. This can create employment pathways for people who are jobless because these firms tend to hire more employees of color and people living in the in the community.
- Leverage the economic power of large anchor institutions, like hospitals and universities, for community economic development. These anchors can develop intentional strategies to hire jobseekers facing barriers to employment, create on-the-job training opportunities, and purchase more goods and services from local- and minority-owned businesses who provide local jobs, as Cleveland's anchor effort has done.
- Support policies that expand job opportunities for formerly incarcerated individuals, such as Durham's successful campaign to Ban the Box (see below). These policies remove questions about criminal convictions and incarceration at initial stages of the hiring process, so that employers first get an opportunity to learn about a candidate's experience rather than automatically ruling the person out.

Durham removes barriers to employment for people with records.

Since the City of Durham, North Carolina, passed a “Ban the Box” policy in 2011, the proportion of new hires with a criminal record has increased from 2 percent to more than 15 percent, with no increase in workplace crimes. The policy removes questions about prior convictions from job applications, allowing an applicant to present his or her qualifications first. Nationally, more than 10 states, 60 cities and counties, and major employers like Walmart and Target have “banned the box.” Read more at <http://www.ncjustice.org/?q=second-chance-alliance/ban-box-second-chance-fair-employment>.

Raise wages and increase financial security

Policies that ensure strong and rising wages, especially for low-wage earners, can reduce working poverty and increase financial security, while bolstering the economy by increasing

household incomes and spending. At \$7.25 per hour, North Carolina's minimum wage is the same as the federal minimum, and conservative estimates suggest that North Carolina families need more than twice that much to make ends meet. North Carolina's local governments have passed living wage laws to ensure that city and county governments pay their employees enough to cover their basic expenses, and seven localities have done so.⁴ Durham's law, for example, sets the minimum wage at 7.5 percent above the poverty level, currently \$12.17 per hour.⁵ Certification is another approach: Just Economics runs a Living Wage Certification Program that has identified and promoted more than 300 companies that pay at least \$12.50 an hour. Portland, Oregon, has promoted the growth of Certified B Corporations: companies that meet standards of social and environmental performance, accountability, and transparency.⁶ Outside of North Carolina, some jurisdictions have incentivized living wages in their criteria for government contracts or economic development subsidies.

Municipalities in the region should consider these tools to raise the floor for its low-wage workers and ensure employers it does business with are providing good jobs. Additionally, there are several other tools to boost financial security, such as providing children's savings accounts that give low-income children a way to save for college or retirement, or ensuring all families have access to a mainstream bank account. Municipalities should also make strides in addressing wealth gaps by creating programs to save or invest their earned income tax credits (EITC), similar to the Save USA program in New York City, which allows qualifying recipients the opportunity to save and earn returns on their savings.⁷ Finally, tax policies should be reformed to shift away from reliance on regressive sales tax and more toward progressive income taxes.

Build communities of opportunity throughout the region

All neighborhoods throughout the region should provide their residents with the ingredients they need to thrive, and also open up opportunities for low-income people and people of color to live in neighborhoods that are rich in opportunity (and from which they've historically been excluded). Coordinating transportation, housing, and economic development investments in ways that expand opportunity for struggling urban neighborhoods and rural areas is an important strategy to address geographic disparities in the region. Counties throughout the region – particularly those facing the highest rates of rent burden – need to provide much more affordable rental housing in order to provide low-wage workers with an opportunity to live near work and reduce their commute time

and associated costs. Similarly, making transportation investments that increase mobility and access to jobs for low-income, transit-dependent residents addresses a critical barrier to employment for workers and expands employers' access to workers. Addressing lingering racially discriminatory housing and lending practices and enforcing fair housing laws are also critical to expanding opportunity for all.

Denver invests in affordable homes near transit. In 2004, voters in the Denver metro approved a sales tax increase to fund and expand its regional transit system to include 122 miles of new commuter and light rail, 57 new transit stations, 18 miles of bus rapid transit, and more bus connections across suburbs. To leverage the transit investment to connect low-income residents to jobs and economic opportunities, the City and County of Denver launched a Transit-Oriented Development Fund in 2010 to preserve and build housing near the new transit stops. In 2014, the fund was expanded to six counties in the region with a goal of adding 2,000 affordable homes near transit. Learn more at <http://www.enterprisecommunity.com/denver-tod-fund>.

Ensure education and career pathways for all youth

Ensuring that all youth in the region, including African Americans, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, and youth with mixed racial backgrounds can access a good education that leads to a career is critical to developing the human capital to power the Research Triangle's economy in the future. Policies and investments to strengthen public preK-12 education are particularly important given the region's quickly growing racial generation gap and the need for a productive, healthy workforce to support the growing senior population. In addition, the Triangle's rising number of disconnected youth and high share of immigrant youth without high school degrees signal the need for intentional strategies to ensure all youth can successfully complete high school and enter college or another job-training program. Key strategies include the following:

- Strengthen the preK-12 public school system by ensuring sufficient and equitable funding for schools attended by lower-income students.
- Implement universal preschool for all three- and four-year-olds. Studies show that high-quality preschool increases lifetime earnings, boosts high school graduation rates, and decreases incarceration.⁸
- Invest in "cradle-to-career" efforts (such as Promise Neighborhoods) that provide children and families living in low-income neighborhoods with education, health, and

social supports from birth to college to career.⁹

- Replace overly harsh "zero tolerance" school discipline policies with strategies focused on positive behavior support and restorative justice to lower suspension and expulsion rates and reduce the number of disconnected youth.
- Create high-quality after school and youth development activities that provide learning opportunities outside of the school day.
- Increase the availability of apprenticeships, career academies, college scholarships, and other education and training supports that provide work experience and connections to keep more youth on the track to graduation, college, and careers.

Promise Neighborhoods help youth beat the odds. Promise Neighborhoods is an interdisciplinary, place-based initiative modeled after the Harlem Children's Zone that works with more than 50 communities to ensure that all children receive the educational, health, and community supports needed to successfully transition from cradle to college and career. Using a disciplined approach, Promise Neighborhoods critically assess how to use cross-sector partnerships to not only build programs, but also rebuild systems. The Northside Achievement Zone, for example, is focusing on 2,250 children living in a one-square-mile area in north Minneapolis where 90 percent of children live in poverty. An analysis found that 60 percent of the children in the program were prepared for school, compared with 35 percent in the broader community.¹⁰ Learn more at promiseneighborhoodsinstitute.org.

Bridge the racial generation gap

Bridging the racial generation gap between youth of color and a predominantly White senior population will be critical to the region's future success. In addition to ensuring a strong public education system, the region will need to prepare for a growing aging population (both from aging and migration) in ways that advance the shared interests and needs of both generations.

Opportunities include the following:

- Strengthen the elder care sector and ensure seniors can age with dignity by securing living wages, benefits, and adequate training and standards for care workers.
- Plan for multigenerational communities that allow the elderly to age in place while providing safe and healthy environments for families to raise children.
- Invest in multigenerational community facilities and public spaces (for example, schools that include facilities for seniors) to encourage social interactions across generations.

- Build intergenerational alliances, coalitions, and campaigns (like the Caring Across Generations campaign) to move forward these efforts.
- Support measures that ensure that employees have the opportunity to take time off from work to care for themselves or their families without the risk of losing their jobs, so that they can balance work and family obligations.

Caring Across Generations Campaign advocates for the rights of seniors and their care workers.

The Caring Across Generations campaign is a national movement to bring together families, workers, and others to transform the care industry and ensure seniors and care workers can live with dignity. In Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, and elsewhere, the campaign builds broad coalitions to make care work visible, highlighting its value to the overall economy and the support it provides families. Caring Across Generations' policy reforms include increasing access to in-home care for Medicaid recipients and ensuring care jobs pay a living wage and provide benefits, training opportunities, and a pathway to citizenship. Learn more at www.caringacross.org.

Ensure diverse civic participation and leadership

Given the region's rapid demographic shifts that are being driven by the increasing diversity of the youth population, it is important for regional leaders in every sector to proactively take steps to ensure opportunities for communities of color to participate in decision making and leadership. Strategies to build diverse leadership include the following:

- Create a durable regional equity network or collaborative of leaders across race, age, issue areas, and geography to advance equitable growth strategies and policies.
- Facilitate active engagement by all racial and ethnic communities in local and regional planning processes by implementing best practices for multicultural engagement (e.g., translation services, provision of child care during meetings, etc.).
- Support leadership development programs (such as the Boards and Commissions Leadership Institute), including youth-focused programs, to help neighborhood, organizational, and civic leaders build their leadership and capacity to serve in government and on decision-making bodies.

Boards and Commissions Leadership Institute trains the next generation of leaders. Since 2010, Urban Habitat's Boards and Commissions Leadership Institute has been training leaders from underrepresented San Francisco Bay Area communities to serve on decision-making bodies. The Institute empowers residents to become leaders on the issues that have the most direct impact on their neighborhoods: transportation, housing, jobs, and more. Graduates have won 35 seats on priority boards and commissions, including planning commissions, housing authorities, and rent boards. The program is being replicated in the Twin Cities, Sacramento, and elsewhere. Learn more at urbanhabitat.org/leadership/bcli.

Conclusion

Across the region, leaders in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors are already taking steps to connect its more vulnerable communities to educational and economic opportunities. To secure a bright future, the Research Triangle region needs to implement a growth model that is driven by equity – just and fair inclusion into a society in which everyone can participate and prosper. Through concerted investments and proactive policies, the region can leverage its rising diversity as an economic asset, and prepare all of its workers to lead it into the next economy.

¹ Andrew G. Berg and Jonathan D. Ostry, *Inequality and Unsustainable Growth: Two Sides of the Same Coin?*, Staff Discussion Note (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2011) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2011/sdn1108.pdf>; Jonathan D. Ostry, Andrew Berg, and Charalambos G. Tsangarides, *Redistribution, Inequality, and Growth*, Staff Discussion Note (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2014) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2014/sdn1402.pdf>; Joe Maguire, *How Increasing Inequality is Dampening U.S. Economic Growth, and Possible Ways to Change the Tide* (New York, NY: Standard & Poor's Financial Services LLC, 2014) https://www.globalcreditportal.com/ratingsdirect/renderArticle.do?articleId=1351366&SctArtId=255732&from=CM&nsl_code=LIME&sourceObjectId=8741033&sourceRevId=1&fee_ind=N&exp_date=20240804-19:41:13; Manuel Pastor, *Cohesion and Competitiveness: Business Leadership for Regional Growth and Social Equity*, OECD Territorial Reviews, Competitive Cities in the Global Economy, Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development (OECD), 2006; Manuel Pastor and Chris Benner, "Been Down So Long: Weak-Market Cities and Regional Equity," in *Retooling for Growth: Building a 21st Century Economy in America's Older Industrial Areas* (New York, NY: American Assembly and Columbia University, 2008); Randall Eberts, George Erickcek, and Jack Kleinhenz, *Dashboard Indicators for the Northeast Ohio Economy*, prepared for the Fund for Our Economic Future (Cleveland, OH: Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, 2006), <http://www.clevelandfed.org/Research/workpaper/2006/wp06-05.pdf>.

² David N. Figlio and Deborah Fletcher, *Suburbanization, Demographic Change and the Consequences for School Finance*, working paper (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2010), <http://www.nber.org/papers/w16137.pdf>.

³ Sheila Maguire, Joshua Freely, Carol Clymer, Maureen Conway, and Deena Schwartz, *Tuning in to Local Labor Markets: Findings from the Sectoral Employment Impact Study* (New York, NY: Public/ Private Ventures, 2010), http://www.issueelab.org/resource/tuning_in_to_local_labor_markets_findings_from_the_sectoral_employment_impact_study; Lea Cathryn, *BEST Benefits: Employer Perspectives Research and Evaluation Brief* (Boston, MA: Commonwealth Corporation, 2004), <http://www.insightcced.org/uploads/nns/BEST%20Benefits%20%20Employer%20Perspectives.pdf>; Industry Partnerships in Pennsylvania, "Industry Partnership" (booklet, Pennsylvania Workforce Development, April, 2009) <http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt?open=514&objID=575072&mode=2>.

⁴ North Carolina Justice Center, *What Local Governments Can Do to Support Living Wages and Job Quality in NC*, fact sheet (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Justice Center, 2014), http://www.ncjustice.org/sites/default/files/NCJC%20Factsheet_preemption_May%202014.pdf.

⁵ Durham People's Alliance, "A Living Wage," presentation, February 6, 2014, <http://www.slideshare.net/garrettdixon/pa-living-wage-presentation-1-3014mk2>.

⁶ Baker, Linda, "B Corps grow in Oregon," *Oregon Business*, September 22, 2011, <http://www.oregonbusiness.com/articles/104-october-2011/5930-b-corps-grow-in-oregon>.

⁷ "SaveUSA New York City," Department of Consumer Affairs, Office of Financial Empowerment, http://www.nyc.gov/html/ofe/html/policy_and_programs/saveusa.shtml.

⁸ Weiss, Elaine, "Pre-K's Potential as Part of a Comprehensive Pro-Children Strategy," *Huffington Post*, November 30, 2014, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/elaine-weiss/preks-potential-as-part-o-b-5902318.html>.

⁹ America's Promise Alliance, *Every Child Every Promise: Turning Failure Into Action* (Washington, DC: America's Promise Alliance, 2006), <http://www.americaspromise.org/sites/default/files/Every%20Child%20Every%20Promise%20-%20Full%20Report.pdf>.

¹⁰ Mitchell, Corey, "Promise Neighborhood program faces questions," *Minneapolis StarTribune*, June 20, 2014, <http://www.startribune.com/local/minneapolis/264068911.html>.

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