



Economic Justice Issues

Explanations and
Suggested Action Steps
for Key Issues

Prepared by the
Advocacy Committee of the
Episcopal Network
for Economic Justice

April 2006



Working for Economic Justice

A guide to Church teaching and action steps for congregations and individual activists on some of the economic justice issues facing people in the United States

Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	D-1
Predatory Lending.....	D-3
Immigration: Images and Reality.....	D-6
Economic Justice for Women.....	D-9
Taxes and Economic Justice.....	D-13
Outsourcing: Economic Efficiency or Global Exploitation?.....	D-16
Socially Responsible Investments.....	D-19
Racism and Economic Oppression.....	D-23
Fair Trade.....	D-26
Affordable Housing.....	D-29
Living Wages.....	D-32
Hunger.....	D-36
Social Security.....	D-39

Introduction

The growth of economic inequality and the role of current U.S. policy in perpetuating poverty and violence at home and throughout the world give urgency to the Church's call for people of faith to stand in solidarity with the poor and oppressed. Poverty and various forms of discrimination are not the whole problem we face, however.

Deindustrialization, globalization, and redistribution of wealth upward through the tax code is seriously eroding even the great American middle class and threatening to undermine the very foundations of our democracy.

Advocacy is one way that people of faith can respond. The problem is huge but what we offer in this section is suggestions for small steps that can be taken at the grass roots level. That is where we can act to impact the larger issues and to honor our baptismal covenant.

This section of ENEJ's *Economic Justice How-To Manual* is a collection of brief papers which focus on some of the important issues that now affect our society and, to some degree, the world at large. The issues selected are predatory lending, immigration, taxation, outsourcing, socially responsible investments, racism, fair trade, affordable housing, living wage, social security, and hunger. Obviously missing are analyses of income and wealth inequality, the threat to workers' right to organize, education, health, and discrimination based on gender and sexual orientation. Some of these issues are addressed in detail in ENEJ's series of popular education modules which are available on-line at www.enej.org. But clearly we have more work to do. Meanwhile, we welcome reader feedback regarding what we have and have not included.

The format for each issue is similar: problem statement, church teaching on the subject, and suggestions for action that could be useful to individuals and congregations. Some of the papers also include a list of resources for further study. We believe this format should be user friendly and suitable for use by parish education programs. This publication and other resources are available on our web site at www.enej.org.

Episcopal Public Policy Network

Another essential resource for your congregation's involvement in social justice issues is the Episcopal Public Policy Network (EPPN). EPPN offers a booklet, *Policy for Action* (www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn), which summarizes church teaching on various social justice issues and posts regular legislative policy alerts to members when action is needed to advocate upon positions taken by the national church.

Other Resources

Publications available from the Episcopal Church Center include:

Do Justice! Justice Due

Organizing for Economic Justice

Taking Action for Economic Justice (The Michigan Plan)

To Empower the Powerless (a brochure outlining the Church's call to help the poor and oppressed)

These publications can be ordered at www.episcopalchurch.org from the Parish Resource Center.

ENEJ activist, the Rev. Canon Richard Gillett, is the author of a new book on globalization. Entitled *The New Globalization: Reclaiming the Lost Ground of Our Christian Social Tradition*, it is available from Pilgrim Press (www.thepilgrimpress.org). ENEJ's Economic Justice How-To Action Manual (June 2006) will offer sections on the rationale for Christian witness and action on economic justice issues, socially responsible investment, community organization and community development, economic justice education, and globalization. The manual will be available on-line (www.enej.org), in print, and in CD format (meamon@aol.com).

An excellent and current review of economic justice issues is contained in *Inequality Matters: The Growing Economic Divide in America and Its Poisonous Consequences*, James Lardner and David A. Smith, eds., The New Press, New York/London 2005.

Materials on how Episcopalians can participate in the United Nations Millennium Development goals are available from Episcopal Relief and Development at www.er.d.org/mdg. The related Episcopalians for Global Reconciliation (promoting millennium development goals) operates a listserv which publishes weekly updates with suggestions for individual and congregational opportunities to address global poverty.

The newsletter of Interfaith Worker Justice includes information about local and national worker justice campaigns and their website has some liturgical resources (www.iwj.org).

Use of This Document

This set of issue papers is a work in progress. Readers should feel free to offer to help edit or update this set of papers or to help add additional issues. Meanwhile we trust that these papers will be useful to individual activists as well as to facilitators of parish discussion or action groups. As you explore these issues more deeply, please share your experience with ENEJ.

Michael Kendall, ENEJ President
New York, New York

For further information, please contact us at:

Dianne Aid, Chair
ENEJ Advocacy Committee
Sanmateo921@yahoo.com

Michael Maloney, Staff
Episcopal Network for Economic Justice
meamon@aol.com

Predatory Lending

What is wrong

Predatory lending refers to the misleading packaging of high fees, costly credit insurance and other charges into loans to unsophisticated borrowers. These loans are often compounded by refinancing that, instead of benefiting borrowers, primarily generates fees for lenders.

Predatory lending strips billions in wealth from low-income consumers and communities in the U.S. each year. Borrowers lose an estimated \$9.1 billion annually due to predatory mortgages, \$3.4 billion from payday loans, and \$3.5 billion from other lending abuses, such as overdraft loans, excessive credit card debt, and tax refund loans.

A debtor's payments can rise unexpectedly as one lender sells the loan to another company. Due to the compounding of high interest, these loans may never be paid off. In the case of high interest home equity loans, the lenders foreclose when the borrower fails to pay, driving debtors out of their homes.

Predatory financial activities come in various forms:

- Payday loans and cash leasing services which can charge interest at an annual percentage rate of up to 390%.
- Instant check cashing services which include high fees for cashing checks.
- Rent to own TVs, appliances, furniture, etc, again with high and often poorly-disclosed interest rates.
- Car title loans which combine the services of loan sharks with a pawn shop for automobiles.
- Predatory and subprime home loans, high interest home equity loans, and mortgages with balloon payments.
- Industrial loan and thrift companies
- Tax preparation agencies that charge high rates for loans on anticipated tax refunds.
- Banks and lenders that sell loans borrowers do not need.

One of the most egregious—and fastest growing—examples of predatory lending, the payday loan industry, emerged from rural Tennessee in 1993. That year there were 200 sites; now there are over 22,000 nationwide. 105 million households used payday lenders in 2003.

The payday loan industry has persuaded 37 states to legalize its practices. Their political action committees make campaign contributions to state legislators in an effort to gain access and influence their votes. Hired lobbyists work to get favorable legislation passed. Even respectable U.S. banks such as Wells Fargo and JP Morgan Chase help fund the payday loan industry by extending their credit lines.

Who is affected?

Payday lenders target the working poor with bank accounts and jobs, who live from payday to payday and have an annual income of \$25,000 (2002).

Military servicemen are particular targets. Predatory lenders of all kinds cluster around military bases to prey on military personnel; bad debts could cause dismissal from military service.

Other targets are the poor who lack access to bank loans, credit cards or wealthy relatives. High risk borrowers who cannot get loans from mainstream financial institutions often turn to predatory institutions. Others caught in these loans are the elderly, minorities and the poor. Loss of jobs, illness, and emergencies are reasons for seeking these loans. Unfortunately, some do not know how to budget or indulge in impulse spending.

Our faith

In 2001, ECUSA's executive council passed a resolution instructing the treasurer to vote in favor of all shareholder resolutions asking financial companies to avoid underwriting and servicing predatory loans. During the 2002-03 shareholder season, ECUSA made affirmative proxy votes on linking executive compensation and progress on predatory lending with Citigroup.

The Bible has many references against usury and oppressing the poor.

“If you lend money to my people, to the poor among you, you shall not deal with them as a creditor; you shall not exact interest from them.” --Exodus 22:25

“Do not take interest in advance or otherwise make a profit from them...You shall not lend them [your kin] money at interest taken in advance...” --Leviticus 25:36-37.

“Zacchaeus stood there and said to the Lord, ‘Look, half of my possessions, Lord, I will give to the poor; and if I have defrauded anyone of anything, I will pay back four times as much.’ Then Jesus said to him, ‘Today salvation has come to this house, because he too is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man came to seek out and to save the lost.’” --Luke 19:8-10

Remedies

1. Churches can create credit unions or participate in ecumenical and secular efforts to establish credit unions and wealth-building strategies such as individual development accounts.
2. Congregations can conduct financial seminars on money and budgeting, taxes and tax refunds, credit and predatory lending.

3. Congregations can monitor predatory lending PACs to determine who gets their money, and publicize the results.

4. Dioceses can become directly involved. For example, the Diocese of New York has proposed a three-pronged anti-predatory lending initiative to:

- Establish a \$1 million fund for small and medium-sized loans to homeowners for repairs and other critical needs. Funds will come from the Diocese, ECUSA's Economic Justice Loan Fund, and Seedco, one of the nation's leading community innovators and lenders.
- Recruit commercial banks to refinance existing predatory loans.
- Participate, with other community organizations, in an educational campaign to help homeowners locate and access non-predatory sources of loans.

The Diocese hopes their initiative can have a significant impact on foreclosures and other tactics of predatory lenders now operating in upper Manhattan and the Bronx.

5. Congregations and dioceses can join with others to support legislation that curbs the activities of predatory lenders. Episcopal and United Methodist churches in South Carolina worked to get a good predatory lending law in South Carolina. There have been efforts to pass a law in Missouri and in Tennessee. Local governments in Cincinnati and other cities have had to respond because predatory lending causes blighted neighborhoods.

Verna M. Fausey
Nashville, Tennessee

Immigration: Images and Reality

In the midst of the pressing crowd of people during the April 10, 2006, Immigrants Rights March in Seattle, a woman came up to me, and without saying a word touched the Christ figure on the large San Damiano Cross I was carrying, then crossed herself and continued on. This was a profound symbol of the fact that these marches throughout the U.S. were happening during Holy Week. The sense of community and solidarity was vibrant and hopeful for people who have been living in the shadows of the broken U.S. immigration system. People came out into the sunshine for the afternoon, proud of who they are, and asked simply to be recognized as full participants in the country in which they live, work and contribute.

Throughout the country, faith communities, human rights organizations and thousands upon thousands stand in solidarity with immigrants. There are also those who are up in arms about the “demonstrations” and demands of people who are “not even Americans demanding that we change our laws”. Negative reactions are centered on resentment of the Mexican flag being displayed, and “people are breaking the law by being here”. “They take away our jobs” “Why don’t they do what my grandparents did, do the right thing and become citizens”? These beliefs for the most part come from uninformed guesses about what is truth

What is wrong?

Human migrations have always been driven by following food sources, and in a money based economy that translates to where the jobs are. There are a number of factors as to why Mexicans and other people from developing areas are immigrating to the United States to find work. Many work in the service industry. Americans are great consumers of the service industry, and want to keep costs down. Low wage service jobs contribute to keeping prices down for consumers. U.S. Foreign Policy programs such as NAFTA boost the U.S. economy and have a killing effect on Mexican economy. The government subsidizes U.S. farms, thus U.S. farmers can sell produce in Mexico at a cheaper price than the non government-subsidized farmers there. Ironically, therefore, Mexican farm workers come to the U.S. to work on farms which send produce back to Mexico, eliminating the ability of Mexican farmers to sustain workers on their own farms.

A recent study by Harvard economists George J. Borjas and Lawrence F. Katz indicated that illegal immigration has resulted in overall lower wages among high school dropouts by 8.2%. This study has been refuted by many other economists. In California, a state with one of the highest presence of illegal immigrants (6.9%) wages of high school dropouts fell 17% between 1980 and 2004, and in Ohio, a state with a low presence of illegal immigrants (1.0%) high school drop out wages fell 31% in the same time period.

There are other economic factors to consider. Immigrant labor is needed in the American economy. There are about nine million undocumented workers filling gaps in the U.S. workforce, working in low paying jobs with poor working conditions and no benefits.

Immigrant workers do pay taxes (sales taxes at a minimum), and most pay income taxes by using an individual tax payer identification number (ITIN) issued by the IRS to those who file income taxes and do not have social security numbers. Social Security is also withheld from checks paid to undocumented workers, benefits they will never be able to claim. The Social Security Administration currently holds \$420 billion dollars in withholdings that will never be paid to workers.

One of the biggest misconceptions about the undocumented is they are reaping public benefits. Undocumented people cannot receive unemployment or any type of public assistance benefits.

How does our faith inform us for action?

“When an alien resides with you in your land, you shall not oppress the alien. The alien who resides with you shall be to you as the citizen among you, you shall love the alien as yourself, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt.” (Lev. 19:33-34)

There are many Biblical stories of immigration and migration, from Abraham, Joseph and the Exodus to the exile in Babylon. Our Baptismal Covenant calls us to respect the dignity of every human being. Undocumented workers are often victims of racism, poverty and violence. The Church has a call to advocacy on their behalf.

General Convention has adopted at least nine resolutions in the past twenty years addressing refugee and immigrant rights. In 2003, the Convention called for expansion of the temporary worker program to include all employed immigrants. In 1997, a General Convention resolution asked Episcopalians to advocate that needy immigrants not be denied benefits.

Faith communities are often the first places immigrants turn for help and community in a strange land. It is a place where they find compassion and the familiar. In many dioceses, growth in churches is coming from Hispanic and other immigrant communities. I have been involved with many Bible studies around the Exodus as an Education For Ministry mentor. I have also been a part of Bible study groups with Mexican immigrants who can relate first hand to wandering across a desert (as they did when they crossed the U.S. – Mexican border). It is a very powerful witness. Newcomers enrich our liturgies. The immigrant community has much to give to mainstream communities.

Together as brothers and sisters we are called to advocate for changes which allow persons who are working and contributing to our communities and supporting families in their home countries to live a life of productivity and peace, where there is justice and hope for all.

Current National Legislation

The factors leading up to the current immigration controversy have been around for years, it is now reaching a crisis and congress has taken it on. Several bills have been proposed over the last several months, and it is rather confusing as to which ones are current. There are basically two genera of bills:

- 1) Restrictive/Punitive bills which include building walls along borders, rounding up immigrants and deporting them, regardless of humanitarian issues and includes provisions for a temporary guest worker program.
- 2) Compassionate Immigration Reform (supported by the Executive council of the Episcopal Church) which includes a path to citizenship, family reunification, worker protection and full rights for all immigrants.

There are many stories to be told, people coming in as guest workers who have been held in virtual slavery; a man being ripped away from his wife and children and being deported as a result of a traffic stop; immigration raids in fields just prior to pay day. One does not have to go far to find these stories, they are all around us, they happen to people who are in Episcopal Churches on Sunday, perhaps in your own community or parish. There are actions we can take to work towards compassionate immigration reform, which simply is part of our Baptismal promise to respect the dignity of every human being.

What One Can Do

- Be alert to bills before Congress, call your senators and congressional representatives and ask for compassionate immigration reform.
- Host dialogues in your parish or community on the realities of illegal immigration.
- Find opportunities to build relationships between immigrants and non immigrants in your community.
- Join actions such as immigrants' rights marches and economic boycotts
- Make our churches a place of peace and safety for immigrants
- Offer ESL classes, citizenship classes and general information on immigration issues

And remember that no human being is illegal

Resources

For further information visit the Immigrant Solidarity Network at www.Nohr4437.org and National Council de La Raza at www.NCLA.org
High School Drop Out figures come from The Detroit News, April 20, 2006

*Dianne Aid
Seattle, Washington*

Economic Justice for Women

The feminization of poverty

Women are more likely to live in poverty than men. According to the 2000 US Census, 12% of all women aged 16 and older lived under the federal poverty line compared with 9% percent of men. This problem is further aggravated by race: whereas 9% of white women and 12% of Asian American women live in poverty, rates for Native American, African American, and Hispanic women are one in four. Poverty also varies by geography; women in the South are particularly hard hit.

Worldwide, women constitute the majority of the poor, a gap that has only expanded over the past two decades. This global feminization of poverty has also led to a feminization in global migration patterns as now more women migrate than men, often to the global North and West to serve as nannies, maids, and sex workers.

What contributes to the problem

The “feminization of poverty” means more than just the fact that most of the poor are women. It means that political decisions, sometimes compounding and sometimes confounding dominant cultural beliefs about women and men, have created economies in which women’s contributions are systematically undervalued. Below are some of the factors that contribute to the problem.

Wage inequality: In the US, although the wage gap has closed slightly since the 1970s, in 2004, full-time women workers still earned 76% of what full-time men workers earned in a year. The average college-educated woman in her mid 40s has lost almost half a million dollars over two decades because of the wage gap. Although US women have made great strides in the last 50 years, at the rate of progress achieved between 1989 and 2002, women would not achieve wage parity with men for more than 50 years. Wage inequities are markedly larger for African American and especially Hispanic women, who face both gender and racial or ethnic discrimination.

Although frequently attributed to women’s choices, such as to eschew jobs requiring long hours, it is estimated that one-quarter to one-half of the wage gap results directly from gender discrimination. A 2003 study by the U.S. Government Accountability Office found that for the period from 1983 to 2000, approximately 45 percent of the wage gap between men and women could not be explained by the combined effect of differences in education, experiences, industry and occupation, unionization, and work hours. And it is not widely known how much of these differences are themselves shaped by discrimination or unequal access to opportunity--for example, gender-based discrimination in education and training programs may steer women into female-dominated, lower-paying jobs.

Labor force segregation: Part of wage inequality results from the economy being structured so that men and women work in different occupations and industries. Women,

particularly women of color, are consistently grossly underrepresented in a number of higher-paying occupations, such as jobs in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, and in top business jobs. They are overrepresented in lower-paying service industry jobs. In addition, jobs more frequently held by women are less unionized. When industries experience an influx of women, wages tend to decrease relative to other industries.

Privatized care-giving: In contrast to the rhetoric on family values, the US provides almost no support to those providing family and child care. Laws of almost all other Western, industrialized societies mandate paid leave time (for maternity/paternity, to facilitate employed parents' care of small children at home, and to take care of sick family members), monthly state child support, and subsidized daycare. Without such supports, US women raising children by themselves experience higher poverty rates than the general population. In 1999, single-mother families experienced poverty rates of 22% among whites, 22% among Asian Americans, 35% among African Americans, 36% among Hispanics, and 38% among Native Americans. Moreover, since welfare "reform" in 1996, it is harder for poor women to participate in education and training programs that would help increase their earnings, and child care supports for welfare recipients do not meet levels of demand.

These numbers are particularly devastating for African American, Native American, and Hispanic women and their children because they are also more likely to live in single-mother families. While the reasons for the prevalence of single motherhood and poverty for women of color are deeply rooted--in less economic opportunities in their communities and the high incarceration rate of African American men--"moral values"-based language tends to blame poor black single mothers for a variety of social ills.

Other issues:

- less access to pensions and lower pension benefits which women must stretch over a longer life expectancy. These pension deficits are worse for part-timers, the majority of whom are women.
- less access to unemployment benefits because of earnings requirements, rules restricting support for workers with care-giving responsibilities that disrupt employment, and exclusion of part-time workers.
- gender violence, such as sexual assault and domestic violence, which can result in pain and suffering requiring medical and psychological treatment.

Christian women's social justice activism

Historically, "moral values" arguments have been used to limit women's involvement as full and respected participants in congregational life and political activism. Men's dominance of religious leadership further affirms the message that men's religious authority is more valued. Christianity has traditionally assigned women a very specific set of roles rooted in family, children, and private life, while excluding them from public forms of leadership.

Despite these obstacles, Christian women have long been visible as active participants in Christian and interfaith social justice work, from anti-slavery to welfare rights

movements. A recent study of these women's religious and public visions suggests that their values provide a new model for rethinking American social policy. In contrast to the individualism and rights-based rhetoric that sometimes limits our perception of social injustice, women activists emphasize community, mutuality, and collective responsibility, values which can motivate community members to work together to promote the social welfare of the broader society. Not rejecting government's role in developing and implementing social policies, these activists promote individuals and groups working in coordination with the government to address inequality while reflecting on how inequalities of money, time, connections, and education limit people's ability to engage politically.

What the Church has said

Our Church has issued several resolutions about women and children living in poverty: confirming a commitment to government support of women and children, protesting their pauperization, and more recently, objecting to discrimination against women-headed households in welfare reform. A 1991 resolution also called for pay equity for women--equal pay for work of equal value--in our congregations, dioceses, and beyond. Christian ethics require that women, not just women with children, deserve economic justice; it was women of economic standing and means who supported Jesus' ministry (Luke 8:2-3).

What we can do

- Promote women's leadership (including lesbians and women of color) in our churches. Fifty-nine percent of Episcopalian/Anglican membership are women, but only one in five clergy are women. Although this percentage has more than doubled since 1987, a 2002 study suggests that men priests are nine times more likely to be hired as rectors than are women priests, a proportion that increases nearly exponentially with increases in congregational size. When women do become senior clergy, they are compensated \$10,000 less than their male counterparts.
- Advocate for the maintenance of social security and traditional pensions, not private retirement accounts invested in the market. Women are more often the beneficiaries of social security as retired workers or survivors of deceased workers.
- Work to enforce equal opportunity laws at the local, state, and federal levels to deter discrimination based on sex, race, or ethnicity.
- Encourage business-leader parishioners to reevaluate their wage and promotion practices to ensure that compensation among comparable jobs is fair, and to put effort into recruiting women, especially women of color, into training and education programs.
- Advocate for the living wage or increasing the minimum wage, as women, especially women of color, are more likely to hold these low-paying jobs.

- Campaign for welfare policies based on poverty-reduction, increased access to affordable child care, access to education and training programs without losing benefits, and health and leave benefits, all of which would ease the hardships that women in poverty face.

Other resources

Resources on the feminization of poverty

- the Institute for Women's Policy Research, <http://www.iwpr.org/>, which prepares well-documented research often disaggregated by state. See <http://www.iwpr.org/pdf/I914.pdf> for the study on Christian women's social justice activism, *Ties that Bind*, by Amy Caiazza
- for a readable resource on the feminization of migration, see Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Hochschild's 2002 book, *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*

Resources on empowering women

- Emily's List, a grassroots political network dedicated to electing women to office, <http://www.emilyslist.org/>
- National Organization for Women, www.now.org
- Third Wave Foundation, an activist organization supporting young women 15 to 30, <http://www.thirdwavefoundation.org/>
- for feminist theologies on ethnicity and race, for whom poverty and social justice are central, see mujerista and woman theologies, for example, Isasi-Díaz, Ada María. *Mujerista Theology: A Theology for The Twenty-First Century*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 1996.

Episcopal women's resources

- Women's Ministries of the Episcopal Church, <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/women/>
- Anglican Women's Empowerment and the yearly United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/unscw.htm>

Janet Elise Johnson
Brooklyn, NY

Taxes and Economic Justice

In 2003, Alabama Governor Bob Riley, a conservative Republican, began a push for a radical overhaul of the state's tax code that would have increased taxes on upper-income Alabamans while reducing the burden on the state's poor. Riley had a long record in Congress as a tax-cutter and came to the Alabama state house with strong conservative credentials, so his tax proposals surprised his supporters and opponents alike. Where had this sudden conversion come from?

It came, in large part, from an article published in the *Alabama Law Review* by Susan Pace Hamill, a University of Alabama law professor who was working on a graduate degree in theology during a sabbatical. Her article, titled "An Argument for Tax Reform Based on Judeo-Christian Ethics," argued that Alabama's tax system was not only unfair but, from a Christian perspective, immoral; it so burdened low-income families with excessive taxation while limiting taxes on the well-to-do that it flouted the clear ethical teachings of the Bible to do justice to the poor. Riley (who is a Southern Baptist) used much of the same moral and biblical language in his campaign for tax reform.

Ultimately, Riley's proposal was defeated in a referendum, with the state's wealthy interests as well as the Christian Coalition of Alabama leading the opposition to reform. But the experience raises an important truth for us to consider as both Americans and as Christians: our current tax system is unjust.

What is Wrong

Susan Pace Hamill, the author of the article that impressed Governor Riley, focused only on Alabama's state tax system, which she persuasively identified as the most regressive and unjust in the country. But at the federal level as well as in many other states, the tax code burdens poor and middle-class Americans while giving huge breaks and advantages to the wealthy. Here are just a few examples:

- Since the 1960s, the top corporate and income tax rates (i.e. taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals) have dropped sharply, while the payroll tax (which hits the poor and middle class hardest) has more than doubled. Today only 7% of federal government revenue comes from corporate taxes, while 40% comes from payroll taxes.
- Taxes on wages, which is the only source of income for most working- and middle-class Americans, are higher than the tax on capital gains, which is the primary source of income only of the wealthiest Americans. The federal tax code is gradually being rewritten to shift taxes completely away from wealth (with cuts in taxes on capital gains, investment dividends, and estates), and onto wages and work.
- The 6.2% payroll tax that funds the Social Security system applies to only the first \$90,000 of a person's income. Breaking through that barrier (which 90% of

Americans never do) gives you the equivalent of a 6.2% tax break on everything else you earn. For millionaires, the payroll tax barely even registers, while for many working Americans it is a bigger burden than the federal income tax itself.

- Because of requirements written into federal law, individuals and families claiming the Earned Income Tax Credit (a credit for the working poor) are audited by the IRS three times more often than wealthy individuals, and eight times more than business partnerships.
- The federal tax code is full of loopholes available only to people wealthy enough to hire the lawyers and accountants who can find (or create) them. While most Americans pay their taxes automatically through employer withholding, rich investors and business owners can shift money around until it is practically impossible to trace and tax.
- Tax (and service) cuts at the federal level are increasing the pressure on states to supply and pay for necessary services. Unfortunately, state and local taxes tend to be even worse than the federal system in hitting the poor and working class much harder than the well-off.

What has the Church said?

The Church has adopted few resolutions on the particular issue of tax fairness, even though every public program is impacted by the government's ability to raise and spend money. A direct and clear Church statement on the necessity of a fair tax code that ensures sufficient resources to carry out the government's social responsibilities should be a legislative priority for the Church.

What Can We Do

- Most importantly, pay attention! People generally think that tax policy is too technical or too complex or just too boring to understand. That's exactly what those who benefit from the current unjust system love to hear. But you don't have to be a CPA to understand that a tax that's 6.2% on someone making \$15,000, and 0.04% on someone making \$15 million, is unfair. (That's how the Social Security payroll tax works.) Likewise, our current tax policies mean that effective tax rates are going down for wealthy people and up for middle-class families. That's not hard to understand--and, if you're concerned about economic justice, it shouldn't be boring--even if the details about it are complicated. With the current ideological direction of the federal government, the system is likely to get even worse in the near future, so keep on top of what is going on in Washington and in your state.
- Spread the word. Incorporate discussion of the tax system into parish education programs. Speak about taxation in terms of biblical justice--Susan Pace Hamill's law review article is an excellent source for biblical references and theological arguments on tax justice. This is a message that should especially resonate for

middle-class families: it's primarily they who will pay more and benefit less as taxes are shifted away from the wealthy.

- Find out about “tax clinics” or other free resources in your community to refer low-income people for tax help. Many law and business schools and nonprofit organizations run these volunteer-based services; if there isn't one in your community, look into setting one up. Many low-income people don't claim refunds or tax credits they are eligible for (such as the Earned Income Tax Credit), or they spend money on tax-preparers to do something no more complicated than filling out a 1040EZ. (These paid preparers also push “instant refunds,” which are actually short-term loans with poorly disclosed but shockingly high fees and interest rates.) Basic education and free advice can save poor families a lot of money at tax time.
- Unlike the direct actions that we can take on many economic justice issues (establishing credit unions or CDC's, for example), we can't set up our own alternative to the tax system. This means it is vitally important to make demands on the politicians who write tax law, and hold them accountable. Let your political representatives know that we consider tax fairness a moral imperative.

More Resources

- The best book on the realities of the current tax code, and written in very clear English, is David Cay Johnston's *Perfectly Legal: The Covert Campaign to Rig our Tax System to Benefit the Super Rich—and Cheat Everybody Else* (Penguin, 2003). Johnston has also published an essay on the topic in *Sojourners* magazine (April 2005):
<http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=magazine.article&issue=soj0504&article=050410>
- United for a Fair Economy (the producers of ENEJ's economic justice education units) offers questions and answers about tax policy and tax fairness:
http://www.faireconomy.org/econ/state/Talking_Taxes/index.html
- Susan Pace Hamill's paper “An Argument for Tax Reform Based on Judeo-Christian Ethics” is available at: <http://www.law.ua.edu/pdf/hamill-taxreform.pdf>
- The following three organizations are think-tanks focusing on taxation issues--good for anyone looking for more technical or in-depth analysis of tax issues or for information on specific topics:
 - Citizens for Tax Justice: <http://www.ctj.org>
 - Tax Policy Center: <http://www.taxpolicycenter.org>
 - Center on Budget and Policy Priorities: <http://www.cbpp.org>

John Mark Summers
Brooklyn, New York

Outsourcing: Economic Efficiency or Global Exploitation?

What is outsourcing?

In recent years, outsourcing (especially offshore outsourcing) has become a significant hot-button issue with implications both to the United States economy as well as to the welfare of the American worker.

The simple definition of outsourcing is an arrangement in which one company provides services for another company that could also be performed in-house. As taught to any MBA student, outsourcing certain functions makes good business sense because it enables a corporation to focus on its core competencies. As a result, outsourcing business functions such as payroll processing to a company which specializes in payroll processing makes sense much in the same way that hiring a lawn care service might be a reasonable way for a family to get their grass cut while attending to more pressing family and work responsibilities.

More and more, corporations are outsourcing an ever broader array of functions to suppliers in successively cheaper locales. No longer are these the non-core support services which had been part of the traditional argument. As in earlier decades when companies moved production from labor union strongholds to places in the Sunbelt where labor unions were scarce, employers looked to reap even more lucrative cost savings beyond the borders of the US. The current era of offshore outsourcing had begun.

Why is outsourcing thought to be a good thing?

Traditionally, the same issues which applied to the simple case of a company outsourcing its payroll operations applied to entire industries. A nation could argue that moving the production of a commodity or finished product to another country made sense if that country possessed more plentiful resources for producing it. This certainly had been the argument for international trade. Why should Japan, with limited land resources, try to grow its own wheat, when Russia or the United States have superior land resources for this? In the world of the global corporation, multinational corporations own subsidiaries all around the world which can produce products by using the best resources at the most competitive prices. The consumer is then able to purchase goods and services at the best prices.

Moreover, a nation with vast human resources is able to employ its workers as the need for traditional agricultural employment wanes through improved farming technologies. These jobs are often a step up from what would be available if the industries remained in the more developed world.

Contrary to the theory, however, in the real world not quite everybody wins.

What are some of the costs of outsourcing?

From the American perspective, the most immediate result of outsourcing is the loss of jobs in many of our communities. A plant closing can devastate a community, not only leaving many of the residents jobless, but also reducing the tax base, threatening schools and government operations.

One could argue that from a global perspective, one job lost is another gained. Once all of this frictional unemployment is resolved, the worker who lost her job will be retooled with new skills for the “new economy.” In the 1990s, this proved to be true for many workers when it seemed that job losses were eclipsed by large numbers of new jobs in the growing service economy.

But, also from a global perspective, the new job which replaced the old job looks very different. It is rarely possible to replace one job with one costing the company a fraction as much without sacrificing worker safety, environmental standards, or human rights. The criticism of these effects is not limited to the United States:

Ashim Roy, the President of several unions representing General Electric workers in Gujarat in western India, said, "The jobs that multinational companies destroy in the US outnumber the jobs they create in India, as workers are working harder and longer. The companies create insecure jobs at near-poverty level wages with inhuman working conditions. We want to work with our sisters and brothers in the US and elsewhere to prevent exploitation and guarantee jobs with fair wages and human dignity for all."¹

Thus, this “efficiency” is really coming at a huge cost borne not by the corporation, but by society-at-large.

What has the Church said about outsourcing?

At its General Conventions of the Episcopal Church, there have not been resolutions specifically on the subject of outsourcing. But we can apply what’s been stated regarding worker justice issues at a global level.

In 2000, the Church adopted a resolution calling for ethical guidelines in international economic development, including partnership, respect, empowerment, oneness with creation, distributive justice, and people-centered development. The Church has also endorsed and called for the implementation of the UN Millennium Development Goals, one of which includes a global partnership for development that is fair and equitable for workers across the globe.

¹ Srirekha, N.C., 12/03/2004, “Anti-Outsourcing Cry Comes from Indian Labor Unions”, *India Post, News Report*, 12/03/2004.

We need to frame in this discussion in a new light: Rather than the American worker vs. the workers of the world, we need to see this as a conflict between the needs of the global worker against the needs of the global corporation.

What should we be asking our legislators to do?

Push for local, regional, national and international labor standards so that the workers in one part of the world don't possess an unfair competitive advantage based on the exploitation of human and natural resources.

Ask that corporations receive tax incentives when they produce good jobs for workers and risk losing these benefits when they export jobs, especially to places which compromise human rights, health and safety standards and environmental protections.

What should we do?

"We have met the enemy... and he is us" – Walt Kelly, creator of *Pogo*

Sometimes we forget that we are the shareholders who demand higher returns on our investment. We are also the consumers who shop around for the best prices. We should always consider a corporation's labor practices and their affinity toward outsourcing when determining whether to buy their products, or to own shares of their stock.

We should also encourage our parishes and dioceses to carefully invest endowment funds, taking corporate policies regarding outsourcing and worker justice into account.

Jeff Dey
Cincinnati, Ohio

Socially Responsible Investments

In 1971, the Episcopal Church (ECUSA) filed the first religious shareholder resolution at a corporate annual meeting. Presiding Bishop John Hines asked General Motors to cease business as usual in South Africa.

Since then, the socially responsible investment movement has grown to include other religious and individual investors, unions, foundations, and public and private pension funds. ECUSA was a founding member of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). Socially responsible funds have over \$2.03 trillion in investment portfolio wealth, according to ICCR.

Socially Responsible Investment Practices

Shareholder action. As a shareholder, when a church institution such as ECUSA votes by proxy at a corporate annual meeting, it exercises an important fiduciary responsibility and supports ECUSA's social witness, other religious institutions, and socially concerned investors. However, there is a need to get mutual fund shareholders to talk back to their mutual funds in casting proxies. A Ceres study revealed that only two percent of assets of 100 largest mutual funds supported global warming shareholder resolutions.

Investor activity can take the form of portfolio screening (to avoid certain products or practices), filing shareholder resolutions to bring about a social justice change, or placing funds with socially responsible portfolio managers and mutual funds. It is a good result when resolution sponsors and corporate management reach agreements.

In 2001, religious investors filed 132 (out of 226) resolutions in 96 companies; in 2002, 144 (out of 251) resolutions in 99 companies. In 2004, 210 shareholder resolutions were filed. As of March 11, 2005, 211 resolutions had been filed. Top issues in 2005 were the environment (especially global warming and renewables), political contributions and lobbying activities, fair employment, animal welfare and corporate governance.

In 1972, ECUSA's Executive Council formed the Social Responsibility in Investment Committee to monitor church investments. General Convention Executive Council resolutions guide ECUSA's proxy voting and shareholder advocacy. In 2002, ECUSA filed resolutions with ten of the companies in which it held common stock and voted "yes" on more than 100 resolutions filed by others, according to ECUSA's website.

Community investing Another form of socially responsible investing is community investing. Economically targeted investments provide an opportunity for churches to support organizations whose work is consistent with their mission. Such investments support affordable housing development, nonprofit facilities, childcare centers, small business development and micro enterprise lending. Vehicles for community investing include community development banks, community development loan funds, cooperative associations, credit unions, micro-enterprise funds and venture capital funds.

In 1988, General Convention passed a resolution calling on ECUSA to establish a ministry of community investment and economic justice directed to community-controlled economic development programs of the disadvantaged, with a special focus on land trusts, housing cooperatives, worker-owned businesses and community development credit unions.

Since 1988 the Episcopal Church's Economic Justice Loan Fund has made \$7 million available for lending to community development, financial institutions such as community development loan funds, credit unions and venture capital funds.

Our Faith

While the Bible does not provide specific guidelines on how many independent directors a corporate board should have, Jewish and Christian thought are sensitive to the issues of power and inequality.

If there is among you anyone in need, a member of your community in any of your towns within the land that the Lord your God is giving you, do not be hard-hearted or tight-fisted toward your needy neighbor. You should rather open your hand, willingly lending enough to meet the need, whatever it may be.

--Deuteronomy 15:7 (NRSV)

Over the years, General Convention and the Executive Council adopted resolutions on socially responsible investing on a variety of issues.

- Militarism--divest from top defense contractors; ask companies to cease bidding on nuclear weapons
- International operations--right of workers in China, divest from companies doing business in the Sudan
- Environment--promote renewable energy sources, climate change, hazardous chemicals
- Disassociate from offensive imagery of American Indian communities
- Glass ceiling report on removing impediments to career advancement of women and people of color
- Avoid underwriting predatory loans
- Divest from tobacco companies

ECUSA uses its position to press for social changes on issues including corporate governance, the environment, equality in organizations, fair lending and responsible use of capital, international operations, militarism and specific products and services. In addition to proxy voting, ECUSA screens its portfolio and does not own stock in tobacco manufacturers, companies doing business in the Sudan and companies among the top five Defense Department contractors that receive more than fifty percent of the revenue from military contracts.

Things to do

Religious institutions and individual investors should look at where their money is invested. Consider factors besides the rate of return and the risk factor. If your diocese, parish or organization plans to invest, obtain ECUSA's guidelines.

Determine if endowed parishes practice socially responsible investing criteria in their investments. Pressure the endowed parishes' organization, the Consortium of Endowed Episcopal parishes, to adopt socially responsible investment guidelines.

Place funds with socially responsible portfolio managers and mutual funds, and in community investing.

File resolutions regarding investments at General Convention and at diocesan conventions.

Encourage ECUSA to budget more funds in the church's Economic Justice Loan Fund.

Resources

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR)

475 Riverside Drive, #550

New York, NY 10114

Web site: www.iccr.org

Phone: (212) 870-2293

Fax: (212) 870-2023

Coalition of over 275 faith-based institutions, including denominations, religious communities and others

National Community Capital Association (NCCA)

924 Cherry St.

Philadelphia, PA 1917-2411

Web site: www.communitycapital.org

Phone: (215) 923-4754

Fax (215) 923-4755

Network of private sector community development financial institutions; has information about all funds in your area.

Ceres

99 Chancy St., 6th Floor

Boston, MA 02111

Phone: (617) 247-0700

Fax: (617) 267-5400

Web site: www.ceres.org

A Boston-based coalition of investors and environmental groups, it helped launch the Investor Network on Climate Risk (INCR) in November 2003.

Publications:

Community Investing: An Alternative for Religious Congregations Seeking a Social as Well as a Financial Return. Episcopal Network for Economic Justice. 1999.

Socially Responsible Investing: Making a Difference and Making Money by Amy Domini. 2001.

Business Ethics: The Magazine of Corporate Responsibility

2845 Harriet Ave. #207

P O Box 8439

Minneapolis, MN 55408

Web site: www.business-ethics.com

Phone: (612) 879-0695

Fax: (612) 879-0699

Engage God's Mission: Policy for Action

The Social Policies of the Episcopal Church, USA

Office of Government Relations

110 Maryland Avenue NE, #309

Washington, DC 2002-5626

Phone: 1-800-228-0515

Fax: (202) 547-4457

Web site: www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn

Published by ECUSA's Office of Government Relations this lists resolutions adopted by General Convention and Executive Councils between 1991-2003. A few prior selected resolutions are included

Verna M. Fausey

Nashville, Tennessee

Racism and Economic Oppression

The term “racism” covers a multitude of sins. These include prejudiced attitudes, intentional discriminatory behaviors, and social structures that, without anyone’s active intent, automatically confer advantages on whites and disadvantages on people of color. Each of these components of racism is destructive on its own; together they create and perpetuate inequalities of many kinds, including economic inequality.

Public opinion surveys show a change in whites’ racial attitudes over the last fifty years. White respondents are less likely to say that African Americans, Latinos and others are inherently inferior, but are more likely to attribute these groups’ poverty to a lack of motivation or work ethic. This is because white Americans increasingly believe that discrimination is a thing of the past. The most common “racist” attitude among whites today, then, is a state of *denial*.

Has Discrimination Disappeared?

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits the more intentional forms of discrimination in employment, housing, education and so on. This legislation has undoubtedly diminished the incidence of this type of discrimination, but has not come close to eradicating it. Audit studies, in which pairs of job candidates or housing applicants of different races are matched in terms of qualifications, repeatedly and consistently show continued discrimination by employers and landlords.* Lawsuits have also uncovered many examples of deliberate discrimination: in 1996, Texaco agreed to a \$176 million settlement when a secret recording revealed executives belittling African Americans and conspiring to destroy documents pertaining to an earlier discrimination lawsuit.

Even more pervasive, and easier to miss, is a more subtle form of structured inequality referred to as “institutional discrimination.” This occurs when practices that seem racially neutral produce racially negative consequences. Examples abound: a factory moves from the inner-city to the suburbs, and public transportation linking the two locations is inadequate, so inner-city residents – disproportionately people of color – have lost those jobs. Our tendency to fund schools with local property taxes means that children in the poorest neighborhoods attend the worst schools, where they’re ill-prepared for college. Requiring job applicants to have a college degree appears racially neutral, but disproportionately screens out certain nonwhite groups, since they’re less likely than whites to have a college education.

The insidious thing about institutional discrimination is that it does not require discriminatory *intent*. No bigots are needed; all that’s needed is that we continue to do business as usual, without examining too closely the consequences of our conventional practices.

* See HUD’s 2000 Housing Discrimination Study, at <http://www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/hds.html>

The Fruit of Discrimination

But the consequences are staggering: the median family income for a black family in 1950 was 54% of the median white family's income; even by 2000 it had grown to only 64%. Over 23 percent of African Americans live below the poverty level, compared to 5.3 percent of non-Hispanic whites, and with the exception of a few years, black unemployment rates have been at least double those for whites since World War II. For Latinos, the picture is not much better: median family income in 2000 was 59 percent that of whites, with 20.2 percent of families under the poverty level, and unemployment rates twice those of non-Hispanic whites.

Further, while Asian Americans are often lumped together as a “model minority,” many groups within this category are struggling: 42 percent of Cambodians and 62 percent of Hmong, for example, live below the poverty line. Even more established, “successful” Asian groups such as Chinese, Filipino and Korean Americans have poverty rates higher than those of whites.

Our Faith

Jesus said that the entire life of faith hangs on love of God and love of neighbor. Challenged as to who constitutes one's neighbor (Luke 10:29), he made it clear that everyone is included, even and especially those we would most like to exclude. So we know who our neighbors are, but what exactly does it mean to *love* them?

In his book *Prophetic Reflections*, Cornel West argues that love is not principally a set of feelings, but a set of commitments. The first is to the premise of *imago dei* – that is, that all people are made in the image of God, which confers on them dignity and worth independent of their social status. The second commitment is to *analysis*: we cannot claim to love our neighbors if we can't be bothered to understand their problems. But analysis without *action* – the third commitment – is dead.

Action

What kind of action can the Church take against the economic and other consequences of racism? The problem is too large to be addressed by a simple set of steps, but the Episcopal Church has already recognized two points as fundamental. First, in 1994 General Convention passed a resolution committing to “strengthening the recruitment, retention, and education of people of color for the ordained ministry,” and we need to continue to recruit both ordained and lay people of color to positions of leadership. The greater the range of perspectives present in our conversations about race, the more productive they will be. But people of color need to be equal participants in these conversations, not tokens, and not “representatives” of some imagined consensus within their communities. For white people to define the issues and determine the actions to be taken “on behalf of” people of color is not the way forward, so diversifying our leadership is of the utmost importance.

Second, in 2000 General Convention passed a resolution requiring all leaders in the Church, both lay and ordained, to undergo anti-racism training. These programs are critically important, not only to raising awareness about racial issues, but to opening dialogue on matters that we usually prefer to avoid. For these programs to have a real impact, however, they must go beyond the “airing and sharing” of feelings about race, and include concrete, substantive information about the status of racial groups and the state of race relations, both in the Church and in the nation. Given that a major barrier to racial progress in our time is the denial by so many that we have a problem, presenting evidence of that problem should be a priority.

How do we love our neighbors? By seeing Christ in them, and doing for “the least” of his brothers and sisters what we claim to be willing to do for him. We need the intellectual integrity to work at understanding our neighbors’ problems, and we need the moral courage to take action based on that understanding. In short, we must take our neighbor seriously; our Lord has made it clear that *he* will take it personally.

Susan Pitchford
Seattle, Washington

Fair Trade: A Socially and Economically Just Way Of Global Trading

Global Trade

Every society has engaged in trade and the societies that rose to prominence were those that mastered the art of commerce. Historically, those people and societies with access to the best trade routes, the best land and the best skills relentlessly exploited those who did not.

Globalization refers to a system of global trading between nations. Currently, the most widely recognized and practiced system is known as free trade as in NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement, not yet finalized).

As the 21st century dawned, crushing poverty, soaring debt and ongoing political instability forced developing countries to skew their economies toward producing natural resource exports, frequently at the expense of their own people. As a result there exists a vast inequity in the distribution of the world's assets which is immoral and unjust. The world population is approximately 6 billion. Of that number, 5 billion live on less than \$2 a day. The wealth of the top 1% of households now exceeds the combined wealth of the bottom 95%.

The way in which big multinational corporations go about doing business is making the rich richer and the poor even more mired in poverty. Big business gets wealthier by exploiting poor workers all over the world, mostly in already impoverished developing countries. The dissolution of tariffs guaranteed in international trade pacts like NAFTA allows large corporations to use cheap labor from developing countries to produce the most goods possible at the expense of workers. The use of child labor and sweatshop conditions further increases profit for big business and increases the misery and poverty of workers.

Fair Trade – the Alternative

Fair Trade, or Alternative Trade, refers to the exchange of goods based on principles of economic and social justice, human dignity, community, and environmental sustainability. The key goals of Fair Trade are to empower low-income, disadvantaged or otherwise marginalized artisans, craftspeople and farmers around the globe to better their conditions, and to promote understanding between them and First World consumers. Fair Trade increases the living standards of small-scale farmers and artisans in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other developing regions. Fair Trade businesses must meet the most rigorous standards for ensuring worker well-being and empowerment. Advocates of Fair Trade seek to create a system of global exchange that works for producers and consumers.

What are the benefits of Fair Trade?

Fair Trade is an investment in people and their communities. Fair Trade businesses pay a fair wage in the local context that covers the cost of merchandise as well as giving the producer a good financial return. They provide equal opportunities for all people. Producers often give back to their communities by educating children, investing in schools and health clinics and encouraging further development programs.

Fair Trade businesses engage in environmentally sustainable practices. Farmers use integrated crop management and organic practices by avoiding the use of chemicals to control pests. For example, 85% of Fair Trade coffee is organic.

Fair Trade businesses provide healthy and safe working conditions and do not engage in the use of child labor.

Fair Trade empowers women. Over 60% of Fair Trade producers are women and they are often the sole source of income for their families. Women are encouraged to participate and assume leadership roles in local cooperatives and women's programs.

Fair Trade businesses provide financial and technical assistance to producers whenever possible. Long term and stable relationships between importers and producers are essential and eliminate exploitative middlemen in global trading.

Fair Trade practices are supported abundantly in scripture and church teachings.

Our Baptismal Covenant calls upon us to “seek and serve Christ in all persons,” to “strive for justice and peace among all people” and to “respect the dignity of every human being.” This is exactly what Fair Trade practices and principles strive for in addressing the economic and social injustices created by current big business trade practices.

What can you do to support the Fair Trade Alternative?

Become a **Conscious Consumer.**

- **Read labels** and try to avoid buying items from countries likely to be engaged in unfair trade practices.
- **Buy Fair Trade** items on-line. Every purchase improves the life of a producer family in a developing nation.
- **Find a store** near you that stocks Fair Trade products.
- **Educate yourself.** Visit the **Fair Trade Resource Network** at www.fairtraderesource.org. FTRN gathers and compiles research and data on Fair Trade advocates and galvanizes Fair Trade organizations and individuals seeking to get involved. FTRN seeks to raise consumer awareness about improving people's lives through Fair Trade Alternatives.
- **Support local produce farmers** who are using organic farming techniques.

What can my church do to support the Fair Trade Alternative?

- Buy **Bishop's Blend** coffee or another Fair Trade coffee available locally. Invite your congregation members to a coffee hour where they can learn more about the difference Fair Trade makes for coffee farmers.
- Make **Fair Trade purchases** part of your church's purchasing priorities.
- Hold a **Fair Trade Holiday Craft Sale** featuring crafts from local **Fair Trade** businesses.
- **Start a campaign** to visit local supermarkets, restaurants and businesses to encourage them to carry Fair Trade coffee, chocolates and other items.

Additional Resources

Here are some websites for more information on Fair Trade and to buy Fair Trade products.

Fair Trade Federation
www.fairtradefederation.org

Oxfam International
www.oxfam.org

Far East Handicrafts
www.fareasthandicrafts.com

International Federation for Alternative Trade
www.ifat.org

Fair Trade Resource Network
www.fairtraderesource.org

TransFair USA
www.transfairusa.org

Global Exchange
www.globalexchange.org

Sweatshop Watch
www.sweatshopwatch.org

Fair Trade Foundation
www.fairtrade.org.uk

Jubilee 2000
www.jubilee2000uk.org

Equal Exchange
www.equalexchange.com

Free the Children
www.freethechildren.org

Co-Op America
www.coopamerica.org

Multinational Monitor
www.essential.org/monitor/

Barbara Novak

Affordable Housing

The Problem

Even as the real estate boom (or bubble?) of recent years has increased the wealth of homeowners and the overall health of the economy, millions of Americans still struggle with the problem of affordable housing.

Housing is the largest expense in the budgets of most Americans, but for the poor and near-poor it is often overwhelming. Nationally, more than one in four households face a housing cost “burden” (the federal government defines this as spending more than 30% of after-tax income on housing); among low-income households, the figure is more than half.² Minimum-wage earners and single-parent households are at especially high risk for excessive housing cost burden.

Excessive housing costs threaten the present economic conditions as well as the long-term financial security of families. Unaffordable housing can lead to overcrowding, as families are required to force more people into less space; to excessive debt, as households are forced to borrow more to meet their housing costs; and even to poor health, as money spent on housing is unavailable for other needs, such as medical care and good nutrition. Renters with burdensome housing costs are particularly disadvantaged, as their expenses make it nearly impossible to save enough to buy and build equity in their own home.

Causes of the Problem

The crisis in affordable housing is a complex economic problem, with various causes. For many households, low wages or unemployment may simply make it difficult or impossible to pay the rent or mortgage (a particular problem in areas with declining or depressed economies). Other families may earn a decent income, but live in an area where especially high housing costs consume a burdensome portion of that income (this is the case in many “hot” housing markets on the east and west coasts). Still others may have been victimized by predatory lending (see the relevant article in this booklet) or housing discrimination. Housing issues are often community- and even neighborhood-specific, so the exact character of housing affordability problems can vary widely from place to place and from household to household.

Most generally, though, the central cause of affordable housing problems is the small (and diminishing) supply of affordable units. All things being equal, developers prefer to invest in properties at the higher end of the market, leaving a shortage of housing for low and moderate-income people. Many federal subsidies that gave private investors an incentive to supply affordable housing are running out, causing many affordable units to be converted to market-rate housing, or else fall into disrepair and abandonment.

² “Meeting Our Nation’s Housing Challenges,” Report of the Bipartisan Millennial Housing Commission Appointed by the Congress of the United States, 2002.

The federal government has been steadily reducing its support and subsidization of housing for low-income people. According to the Los Angeles Times, “the amount of money that Congress and the president have authorized to be spent on housing assistance has plunged by nearly two-thirds in the last 25 years, from an inflation-adjusted \$82 billion in 1978 to \$29 billion [in 2003].”³

The Position of the Bible and the Church

The idea of hospitality is central to biblical teachings, especially in the gospel and the prophets. Isaiah insists that a proper fast to the Lord requires “bring[ing] the homeless poor into your house” (58:7). Jesus speaks often of the duty to welcome the poor stranger, perhaps most dramatically in Matthew 25 (“And when was it that we saw you a stranger and welcomed you, or naked and gave you clothing?... Just as you did it to one of the least of these, you did it to me.”). Jesus and his disciples themselves traveled in poverty and depended on others to open their homes and offer shelter. In sending the disciples forth on their missions, “He said to them, ‘Take nothing for your journey, no staff, nor bag, nor bread, nor money--not even an extra tunic. Whatever house you enter, stay there, and leave from there. Wherever they do not welcome you, as you are leaving that town shake the dust off your feet as a testimony against them.’” (Luke 9:3-5)

The Episcopal Church’s 2003 General Convention reaffirmed the church’s commitment to safe and affordable housing for low-income households. As New York Archdeacon (and ENEJ President) Michael Kendall has explained to the *New York Times* (9/10/99), “Housing is not a privilege to be earned – we’re talking about having people have the essentials of life.”

What to Do

In advocating for affordable housing, it is especially important to engage government officials and decision-makers at the local level, where most housing issues are actually decided. Affordable housing advocates can insist that permits for major new economic development projects (particularly those supported by taxpayers) include significant provisions for affordable housing.

In urban areas undergoing gentrification, advocates should demand that this process be well-managed. Gentrification of marginal areas can bring a rise in property values, safer neighborhoods, and better schools. Unfortunately, it can also lead to the displacement of the low-income residents who saw the area through its more difficult times. It is essential to maintain an adequate supply of affordable housing to avoid this unfair outcome.

Lobbying at the federal level can also affect the amount of money devoted to ensuring affordable housing. Advocates can tell their representatives to stop the decline in federal spending on housing for low-income people, and support policies that enable expanded homeownership for low-income and first time buyers.

³ Peter G. Gosselin, “The Poor Have More Things Today -- Including Wild Income Swings,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 2004.

Beyond advocacy, moreover, many churches and faith-based organizations across the country are actively and directly involved in developing affordable housing for their communities, often through nonprofit community development corporations (CDC's). Communities with acute shortages of adequate housing have been transformed by the efforts of church-based development. ENEJ and affiliated organizations and congregations have developed an impressive amount of experience and expertise in developing affordable housing. See the section below for examples.

Other Resources

Stacia M. Brown, "Building Hope: Faith-based initiatives tackle the affordable housing crisis," *Sojourners*, February 2004.
<http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=magazine.article&issue=soj0402&article=040223>

Episcopal (and other faith-based) CDC's involved in affordable housing development (this is a very partial list):

Abyssinian Development Corporation

4 West 125th St.
 New York, NY 10027
 212-368-4471
www.adcorp.org

Bethel New Life, Inc.

4950 W. Thomas
 Chicago, IL 60651
 773-473-7870
www.bethelnewlife.org

Episcopal Housing Corporation

4 East University Parkway
 Baltimore, MD 21218
 410 366-6200
 (Daniel McCarthy, Executive Director)

St. Edward's Redevelopment Corporation

605 South Michigan Avenue
 Chicago, IL 60637
 (The Rev. Dr. Richard L. Tolliver)

Beaver Street Enterprise Center

1225 West Beaver Street
 Jacksonville, FL 32209
 (Jackie Perry, Manager)
 904-265-4700
www.freshministries.com

Episcopal Community Development

31 Mulberry Street
 Newark, NJ 07102
 973-430-9986
 (Carla Lerman, Executive Director)
ecd07102@dioceseofnewark.org
<http://www.dioceseofnewark.org/ecd/>

Episcopal Housing Ministry

St. Michael's Episcopal Church
 Raleigh, NC.
 919-884-0110
 (Robert Henley)

John Mark Summers
Brooklyn, New York

Living Wages

What is Wrong

Some economic development strategies attract businesses by offering huge tax breaks and other benefits. This model frequently brings in employers of low wage jobs. Without sufficient income, families are forced to use city and county services to provide for their basic food, health and housing costs.

On the other hand, economic justice activists can be encouraged by the progress of various living wage campaigns. A national study showed that living wage laws are not only attracting increasing support (with over eighty now enacted since 1994 and dozens more pending), but are actually working to reduce poverty levels.

In 1994 Baltimore food bank operators noticed that many of their clients were full-time employees with city contractors. The contemporary living wage movement began when Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development (BUILD) worked with unions and community groups to raise wages for city contractors. That year, Baltimore enacted a living wage law.

Proponents generally define a “living wage” as the amount a full-time worker must earn to pay for basic needs—housing, food, childcare, transportation, health care and taxes. Living wage campaigns highlight the gap between wages and the cost of living for working families. Local ordinances require a wage of at least \$8.20 an hour—much higher than the current minimum wage of \$5.15. Some ordinances require a higher wage if no benefits are offered. (The federal minimum wage amounts to \$203 per week and \$10,702 per year—below the national poverty threshold of \$12,682 for a single parent with one child and \$18,660 for a couple with two children.)

As living wage campaigns began to have success, some large employers took notice. At least five states—Arizona, Colorado, Louisiana, Missouri and Utah--passed laws that ban any local living wage ordinances. In 2003 the Tennessee state senate passed such a bill; however, its companion remained in a house committee.

The reluctance of state legislatures and city councils to pass living wage (or minimum wage) laws has forced proponents to mount ballot initiatives or referendums. When the Albuquerque city council refused to pass a minimum wage, ACORN coordinated a petition campaign to put the issue on the ballot. The proposal would have raised the city’s minimum wage to \$7.50 an hour and applied to businesses with ten or more employees. Opponents mounted a television and radio campaign claiming the proposal violated citizens’ privacy, and the measure failed October 2005

What is the broader importance of the living wage movement? How significant is it in the larger scheme of critical social justice issues facing the church, such as hunger, poverty, racism, sexism and the justice of the economic system itself? It may be helpful to look at the term itself: living wage.

Unlike the term “minimum wage,” which is an economic category, the notion of a “living wage” has a moral connotation. Behind it is a simple but powerful premise, namely that anyone who works full time for a living should not have to live and raise a family in poverty. But it is not yet widely recognized that living wage campaigns and the strategy driving the leading advocates of the movement embrace much more than just the aim of raising the wages of low-income workers. The movement embraces a larger vision and is basically about three things: power, the distribution of power, and the responsibility of government to ensure that fairness and justice prevail in our cities and communities (and ultimately in our nation).

The living wage movement addresses larger systemic issues--hunger, racism, sexism, economic injustice and the powerlessness of those at the bottom of the ladder, who are disproportionately people of color and women. All of these issues, needless to say, are deeply intertwined with the present tolerance of an unjust economic order.

Our Faith

“My chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands.” –Isaiah 65:22

“Do to others as you would have them do to you.”--Luke 6:31

Theologian Walter Brueggeman observes God’s rescue of the enslaved Israelites as told in the Exodus story: “That rescue, however, was not an easy miracle. It was accomplished through tedious, nerve-wracking negotiations led by Moses, supported and authorized by God. In some part, this emancipation of the helpless poor who became Israel is accomplished by human agency that refused to accept degrading poverty and economic injustice as a permanent or legitimate social condition.” Brueggeman's description of the prolonged facedown between Moses and the Pharaoh before the Israelites were liberated is an apt template for the growing living wage movement around the country. It is apt not only in the great effort it demands, but also in the vision of new hope that is empowering its refusal to accept degrading poverty and injustice as an ongoing social condition.

The General Convention of 2000, reaffirming a similar resolution in 1997, passed a resolution “Poverty: National Support for the Implementation of a Just Wage.” It urged bishops and leaders within their dioceses “actively to support the ongoing implementation of a living wage within the institutions of the church and continue to advocate the passage of living wage ordinances at all government levels.” In this vein the 2003 General Convention passed resolutions supporting both our involvement in living wage campaigns in our communities, and our need to pay the Church’s own employees a living wage. The same convention urged Congress to raise the federal minimum wage to at least \$8.70 an hour--the hourly equivalent of an annual wage at the current federal poverty line, \$18,100 for a family of four.

The Diocese of Los Angeles has taken the lead on an interfaith level and within the Episcopal Church. The Diocese has pushed parishes and missions to bring their own employees into compliance with a “living wage” standard, parallel to that stipulated by

the City of Los Angeles under the city's own living wage ordinance (passed in 1997). It does recognize that in some cases of hardship there will be exceptions; the diocesan resolution is, like the national one, not binding.

In October 2005, the Episcopal Church's Executive Council announced plans to ask the 2006 General Convention to authorize a survey of employment of lay employees, their compensation and benefits.

What Can We Do

1. Participate in and support local and state living wage campaigns.
2. Participate in and support living wage campaigns at local colleges or universities.
3. Oppose state legislation barring counties and cities from enacting living wage ordinances.
4. Find out if your church and diocese pays non-clergy employees a living wage.
5. Participate in studies. The Diocese of Los Angeles has done this.

Additional Resources

Organizations

Episcopal Network for Economic Justice (ENEJ)
Contact Michael Maloney at e-mail: meamon@aol.com
Web site: www.enej.org

ACORN
88 3rd Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Phone: (718) 246-7900
Fax: (718) 246-7939
E-mail: natexdirect@acorn.org
Web site: www.acorn.org

Living Wage Resource Center
88 3rd Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Contact: Jen Kern at (718) 246-7900 ext. 230
E-mail: naacorncom@acorn.org

Established by ACORN in 1998, it tracks the living wage movement and provides materials and strategies in living wage campaigns.

Economic Policy Institute (EPI)
1660 L Street NW, Suite 1200
Washington, CC 20036
Phone: (202) 775-8810
Fax: (202) 775-0819
E-mail: epi@epi.org

Web site: www.epi.org

National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice
1020 West Bryn Mawr, 4th floor
Chicago, IL 60660
Phone: (773) 728-8400
Fax: (773) 728-8409
E-mail: info@iwj.org
Web site: www.iwj.org

Books and videos

Living Wage Campaigns: An Activist's Guide to Building the Movement for Economic Justice by David Reynolds. 2003 Cost \$15 (make check to ACORN) Order from ACORN, 739 8th St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. This *Guide* has profiles of successful campaigns, information on building a coalition, doing research, responding to opponents, and conducting an electoral strategy. It has a draft of a model ordinance. Portions of the *Guide* are available on the Internet in a PDF format at www.laborstudies.wages.edu

The Rev. Canon Dick Gillett has several resources including a video and printed materials. Contact the Rev. Canon R. W. "Dick" Gillett, 1281 E. Orange Grove Blvd. Pasadena, CA 91104, Phone: (626) 309-4146 or e-mail: dgillpas@mindspring.com.

Let Justice Roll Down: American Workers at the New Millennium A video, made by the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles, placing the struggle of low wage workers in a larger economic justice perspective, focusing on the struggle of workers in Los Angeles and the response of the interfaith community there. The video is newly available in English and Spanish in a 10-minute version, and also in the original 30-minute version (English only). There is also 46-page printed booklet of the same title, with detailed economic analysis and religious response and resources, published in Dec. 1999.

"It's About More Than Just Wages" is a short (4-page) introduction to the concept and the significance of the rising living wage movement in the country, with special relevance for the religious community. See *The Witness* web site, www.thewitness.org/agw/gillett.

Dick Gillett and Verna M. Fausey
Pasadena, California, and Nashville, Tennessee

The Problem of Hunger and A Blueprint to End Hunger

What is Wrong

Every year, nearly 35 million Americans, including 13 million children, are threatened by hunger. Many children rely on a free school lunch as their only meal of the day. Many elderly people eat too little to maintain good health. Working parents often skip meals so that their children may eat. Food banks have had to keep evening hours so that working poor families may have access to food contributions.

Across the state of Pennsylvania, 1.2 million people -- about one in 10 -- live in households where someone goes without enough food to eat, according to anti-hunger advocates. In Allegheny County alone, it is estimated that more than 85,000 people use food pantries to feed their families. Pennsylvania pantries reported that between 2001 and 2005, as the national poverty rate steadily increased, they saw a 23 percent increase in people needing help. The same statistics are echoed nationwide.

The decrease of adequate and affordable housing and of low-income rental assistance programs, the rising cost of utilities, expensive and often inadequate health care, lack of adequate child care subsidies for low-income working families, and a unrealistically low minimum wage all mean that working poor families simply have less and less money to spend on food.

Among industrialized countries, the United States is the only one that still tolerates widespread hunger within its borders. At the 1996 World Food Summit, the United States pledged to cut domestic food insecurity in half by 2010, but progress against hunger has been far below the rate needed to reach that goal.

Sadly, the last resort for families with hunger has been weakening as state and federal budgets cut resources for food security. Over the past several decades, U.S. leaders have worked in a bipartisan way to develop national nutrition programs such as the child nutrition programs, the Food Stamp Program and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). These programs are often our last line of defense against hunger. Although they are effective, today these programs are severely underfunded and fail to reach many people. By strengthening the programs and improving people's access to them, we can do much more to reduce hunger.

Our Faith

“‘Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and gave you food, or thirsty and gave you something to drink?’ ... And the king will answer them, ‘Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.’” (Matthew 25:37-40)

A General Convention resolution passed in 1985 (A080) called on the government to reorder budget priorities to alleviate hunger. This was echoed by the February 1995 Executive Council meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, which called on the church to

support federal nutrition programs. We have been quick to respond to human suffering and mindful of the responsibility that wealth brings. But despite our abundance and charitable spirit, we all have much work to do to assure that every American is adequately fed.

What Can Be Done

On June 3, 2004, Hunger Awareness Day, the National Anti-Hunger Organizations (NAHO) released a working document, “A Blueprint to End Hunger.” As part of the document, *The Millennium Declaration to End Hunger in America* calls upon our nation’s leaders and all people to join together to end hunger in America. We are called to work together, private and public leaders, community, religious and charitable groups, so that we may achieve an America where hunger is but a distant memory and we live true to the values of a great nation.

Recommendations as we prepare to raise a strong moral voice of public support:

- We can declare the ability to purchase needed food as a basic human right. We can move toward a future where everyone enjoys that right as a realistic, affordable and morally compelling goal for the United States. We know how to end hunger and other advanced industrialized nations already have done so.
- We can remember in prayer that the common good is achieved through political will of all faithful people.
- The Episcopal Public Policy Network can join with the NAHO when immediate national public policy action is called for.
- We can encourage diocesan participation and parish engagement in the study and recommendations of “A Blueprint to End Hunger.”
- We can encourage dioceses to participate in and recommend letter writing campaigns and active support for needed legislation.
- We can encourage engagement in state and local e-advocacy and a commitment to address every legislative level with the power to act to end hunger locally.
- We can support our local allies in our communities by working on locally recommended hunger advocacy, and by supporting local food banks and hunger education organizations.
- We can observe National Hunger Awareness Day (June 3) in our dioceses and parishes. National Hunger Awareness Day was first recognized in 2002, and provides a platform for American anti-hunger organizations to speak out and raise awareness about the serious problem of hunger in the United States. More than 34 million Americans - including 13 million children - depend on help each year from a national network of more than 50,000 food banks and food rescue organizations, community and faith-based charities, and government agencies. To learn more, visit www.hungerday.org.

More Resources

The Blueprint to End Hunger can be accessed at
<http://www.frac.org/Blueprint%20to%20End%20Hunger.pdf>

National Anti-Hunger Organizations

America's Second Harvest www.seconharvest.org

Bread for the World www.bread.org

Center on Hunger and Poverty www.centeronhunger.org

Community Food Security Coalition www.foodsecurity.org

Congressional Hunger Center www.hungercenter.org

The End Hunger Network www.endhunger.com

Food Research and Action Center www.frac.org

MAZON: A Jewish Response to Hunger www.mazon.org

The National Interfaith Hunger Directors RESULTS www.results.org

Share Our Strength www.strength.org

World Hunger Year www.worldhungeryear.org

Wanda Guthrie

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Social Security: A Program that Works

What is the problem?

Social Security is one of the greatest success stories of the U.S. government's efforts to protect the health and social well-being of its citizens. It provides retirement insurance to retirees of all income brackets as well as to their survivors and to disabled workers. We all pay into it. And we all receive or will receive monthly payments proportionate to our lifetime earnings, those with low lifetime earnings receiving more relative to their contributions. The program nicely supplements other pensions and savings we are fortunate to have. It rescues us and our dependents from poverty in our older years. Social Security pays benefits to 48 million people each month.

The following are quotations from Social Security recipients at a "Town Hall Meeting on Social Security" in the Pittsburgh City Council Chambers in September, 2005, showing the human face of Social Security and the consequences of abandoning the system:

- "I am a mother and a grandmother. My daughter is disabled, and I have to take care of my grandkids. Lots of people won't make it if you take our Social Security away. I mean, I get Social Security, and I work part-time, and I take care of my family. Those kids need clothes, they need shoes, they need food. I can't save anything, I've got to take care of my family. You take my Social Security—we just won't make it."
- "When it came time for me to retire I said to my wife, hey, we got it made. I got a pension and Social Security, we have it made. Boy, was I wrong. In a few years everything was going up and I was standing still. But Social Security went up with inflation and if we did not have that we would have used all our savings and we would be in poverty."
- "My mother received Social Security and after my Dad died was left with a young sister to raise. Well, mother lived her life out in her little home with dignity thanks to Social Security and a part-time job."
- "I have multiple mental and physical health disorders, including schizophrenia, manic-depression, chronic fatigue and others. I depend on Social Security to survive. Without it, I would be out on the street. Please do not take away our life, our hope, and our dignity."

A recent report of the Trustees of Social Security, released on May 1, 2006, announced that the Social Security program will be exhausted, if no corrections are made, by 2040. At that point Social Security tax collections will be able to pay for only 74% of the scheduled benefits.

There seem to be two political solutions to this challenge. One of them advocates that the program be privatized. Under this plan a part of every premium would go into a separate account that the beneficiary would invest in the stock market. That part of a person's account would be subject to the ups and downs of the stock market and to the expertise of the financial consultant. There would be no guaranteed premium from that account when

that person begins to receive social security payments. That portion of the Social Security Program would no longer be a social insurance program but an individual investment program. And the program as proposed would require an additional \$3 trillion from the federal treasury (taxes) in order to support the transition.

The alternative solution, instead of changing the basic nature of the program, would change current formulas. Like every program that deals with the vagaries of long-term budgeting, Social Security every decade since its founding has had to be tweaked in order to stay in line with anticipated costs. Congress has customarily changed the contribution formulas to assure the solvency of the program. They can also change the benefits to better meet the needs of the recipients and the solvency of the program.

What does the Church say?

A resolution was passed at the 1985 General Convention concerning the Church's ministry to the aging and "to protest to the President of the United States and to members of the Congress those cuts in Social Security benefits, supplemental housing funds, Medicare, Medicaid and other health and welfare supports which heretofore have been made available to all Americans, young and old, who can demonstrate that they have insufficient funds to provide a decent life for themselves."

In February, 2005, the Executive Council reaffirmed the commitment of the Episcopal Church to "protecting the widow, the orphan, the elderly and those living with disabilities" and "further recognizes the Social Security program as a positive and effective response by the United States Government to protecting the vulnerable in our society, most notably lifting the elderly out of poverty, and...if the United States Government is to make changes in the Social Security program, the Episcopal Church urges (1) maintaining the fundamental structure and intent of the program and assuring its long-term financial stability and (2) not putting a disproportionate burden on the low-income and working poor."

A sign-on letter was sent to Congress on April 26, 2005, "To Preserve and Strengthen Social Security" from a variety of faith partners including the Episcopal Church (see "Religious Organizations' Statement of Principles to Preserve and Strengthen Social Security" at http://www.episcopalchurch.org/3654_62722_ENG_HTML.htm).

What should we do?

We should advocate for an even stronger resolution by the churches in support of the Social Security system and also write to our members of Congress. Below are quotations from the Sign-On Letter of April 26, 2005 sent to Congress from various denominations.

- **Equity, fairness and progressivity.** "Overall, the costs and benefits should be distributed progressively in proportion to each person's ability to pay and level of need. Care must be given to assure that segments of the population are not systematically disadvantaged due to gender, race, or marital status."
- **Social Security benefits for the vulnerable and less fortunate should not be reduced. Private accounts created by reducing benefits should be**

opposed. “It is the birthright of each person to live a life with dignity and access to the basic necessities of life. Social insurance should remain a basic part of our society. Disability and survivor insurance must be maintained. Security for the elderly, survivors, and persons with disabilities should not be left to the vagaries of fragile family support systems, voluntary charity, or economic cycles. It is a matter of compassion.”

- **Retirement planning should not be restricted to Social Security.** “Social Security is intended to be the third leg of a three-legged stool, the other two legs being personal savings and employer-provided pensions. Congress should encourage personal savings and employee pensions in addition to (not as a substitute for) the current system, and, especially, it should explore ways to help low- and middle-income households save more for their future.”
- **Social Security retirement benefits should be strengthened and protected from risk. It is a matter of Stewardship of the public trust.** “Congress has a moral obligation to fulfill its trust responsibilities to those who have contributed through their payroll taxes to the Social Security trust fund. Congress must also assure that future beneficiaries will receive benefits sufficient to meet their basic needs, that trust fund revenues and expenditures balance over time, and that future generations will not be unfairly burdened by this generation’s debts.”

*Wanda Guthrie
Pittsburgh, PA*