

UNNATURAL CAUSES: Part V, PLACE MATTERS

Overview (Cover)

I want to talk about how and why place matters. More specifically, I want to talk about how maps are part of this story, how they have been used to deliberately segregate people and create and reinforce the kinds of racial and income disparities that the documentary highlighted. There is nothing inevitable or natural about the way that neighborhoods took shape over the course of the 20th century in places like Philadelphia. The federal government, local governments, real estate industry, neighborhood associations, and other actors used various forms of housing discrimination, as well as violence, to create geographic disparities. Maps were among their most dangerous instruments, and I've brought some examples to show you. These days, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and maps are also used to understand how place matters, how neighborhoods affect people's health and general well-being, by allowing us to see health outcomes against neighborhood conditions. I'll show some examples of this and talk about the limitations and new directions within neighborhood effects research. Finally, I'll provide examples of how maps have been used to challenge geographic disparities. And I'll look to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois to have the last word about "the meaning of all this" and the role of research in social change.

Documentaries and emotion (Cover)

First, though, let's talk briefly about the format of this documentary. How do you feel after watching this? How do you feel after most academic presentations? Do statistical models and p-values inspire you? Do they inspire change? Perhaps, but I think the documentary format is particularly compelling. It allows us to hear the voices and see the faces of real people who are struggling, personalizing this abstract issue of "health disparities." It's pretty hard to feel a connection to real people when their health outcomes are summarized in a regression table. Research is about modeling, about representation; so are documentaries. A good number of researchers on campus are working on documentaries. The RWJ Health & Societies program seems to have more than their share: Jose Pagan (uninsurance in South Texas), Mehret Mandefro (physician and anthropologist working on second film, about violence), Sabrina McCormick (environmental links to breast cancer). Carolyn Cannuscio, a social epidemiologist here at Penn, and Mariana Chilton, an anthropologist at Drexel's School of Public Health, have both used photo-documentation to represent health issues in everyday life. I am currently working with two high school students on a documentary about Du Bois' book, *The Philadelphia Negro*, because this is such a compelling medium.

CREATING AND REINFORCING GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES

Philadelphia's Seventh Ward (Slide 3)

American cities and metropolitan communities have not always been racially and ethnically segregated the way most are now. At the time when Du Bois came to Philadelphia, in 1896, to study the "Negro problem," blacks and whites lived in extremely close proximity. That doesn't mean that the living conditions were in any way equitable. Whites frequently owned the large houses along Spruce Street and blacks generally rented the trinitities on the small streets and alleys. Du Bois dedicated a whole chapter of *The Philadelphia Negro* to the role of the environment on the well-being of blacks. But as this map shows, whites from Philadelphia and blacks from Philadelphia and the South lived together with Irish, Russian, German, and Polish immigrants in what was once known as the Seventh Ward.

Sundown Towns (Slide 4)

Racial segregation is largely a 20th century phenomenon. One technique for geographically separating whites from people of color was to establish a community as a “sundown town” where blacks and others were welcome to work during the day but expected to be out by sundown. James Loewen’s research indicates that Pennsylvania and New Jersey had their share of these towns, most likely including Hershey and Jim Thorpe, PA and Levittown, Mount Laurel, and Cherry Hill NJ.

Racial Zoning Ordinances (Slide 5)

Baltimore was the first city to use zoning regulations to restrict blacks from living in what were deemed “white” areas. Richmond, New Orleans, Charleston and others followed suit. Zoning was a tool developed by city planners to protect residential communities from the harmful effects of commercial and industrial activity—not to separate people. The Supreme Court ruled that using zoning regulations in this way was unconstitutional in 1917, in *Buchanan vs. Warley*. But the damage was done.

Redlining (Slide 6)

By the 1930s, redlining was the preferred technique for creating and reinforcing racial segregation. “Redlining” takes its name for the literal or figurative process by which lenders and insurance providers drew red lines on a map to indicate where prospective homeowners would and would not be served, and under what terms. Federal fair housing legislation of the 1960s and 1970s made this illegal, but in the decades before, this was simply considered good business practice.

Brewer Map Legend (Slide 7)

The maps that lenders created were much more sophisticated than just red lines on a map. This map of Philadelphia was created in 1934 by J.M. Brewer, a consultant to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, based in New York. Like other life insurance companies, Met Life invested some of its holdings in real estate. And like other lenders, they were interested in knowing where ethnic minorities—particularly African Americans, Jews, and Italians—lived because they were perceived to negatively impact housing values. Brewer went further than just indicating who lived where; he graded the neighborhoods on a scale from “highest class residential” to “lower or working class” and “decadent.”

Brewer Map (slide 8)

This section of Brewer’s map is from lower North Philadelphia, between Girard and Lehigh Avenues. The blue shaded area on the western side (Strawberry Mansion) and eastern side (around 7th Street), shows where Jews lived while the pink shaded areas centered on 12th and 22nd Streets show where African Americans lived. The bright red areas were industry. Those are the breweries of Brewerytown in the southwest corner. This map is so elaborate, there is almost no way to recreate this level of detail with GIS.

Home Owners’ Loan Corporation Map (slide 9)

Private companies were not alone in creating maps like the one Brewer created. The federal Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, established in 1933 to help thousands of homeowners avoid foreclosure during the Depression (yes, this should sound familiar), worked with local realtors and appraisers to create “residential security maps” of 239 different cities across the country. Areas colored red were deemed “hazardous” because they had one of a number of undesirable characteristics—aging housing stock, proximity to industry, or “inharmonious racial groups.” While it is unlikely that HOLC used these maps to decide where to provide assistance or that private lenders used these specific maps to determine where to make loans, these maps show how the federal government was complicit in institutionalizing race as a factor in mortgage lending.

HOLC Survey Sheets (slide 10)

Local realtors and appraisers working for the Home Owners' Loan Corporation conducted surveys of various parts of each city, describing the demographic, topographic, and housing characteristics. Phrases like "infiltration" indicate how the real estate industry equated neighborhood change with ecological thinking in the natural sciences, where species move to the most desirable places while other areas become obsolete. "Relief families" was a reference to families receiving some form of public assistance.

Homer Hoyt Overlay Maps (slide 11)

Homer Hoyt, a star social scientist at the University of Chicago, took his theories about housing values and city growth and his map-making talents to the Federal Housing Administration in the 1930s. FHA was created to provide insurance on mortgages in order to protect lenders against the kinds of losses they experienced during the Great Depression. Hoyt created map overlays representing neighborhood conditions of interest—racial composition, age of housing, housing conditions, percent renters—to see where these negative influences concentrated. This is just the sort of thing GIS is designed to do, allow one to integrate a variety of data and create various map layers.

FHA map of Chicago (slide 12)

This is the one map I would call a true redlining map, because it indicates where FHA would and would not extend insurance. FHA insurance typically went to new developments like Levittown. FHA developed and widely distributed an underwriting manual to make clear what kinds of homes and neighborhoods it considered acceptable. Like the HOLC maps, this map of Chicago used letters to indicate the "best" to the "worst" areas for lending. The dark red areas, encompassing downtown Chicago and the surrounding neighborhoods, were strictly off limits for FHA insurance. Given that homeownership is the primary way in which Americans acquire wealth, this massive subsidy promoting white suburban homeownership and denying old urban neighborhoods helps explain some of the disparities we see today.

Race Restrictive Covenants (slide 13)

White neighbors formalized "gentleman's agreements" not to sell their homes to people of color through race restrictive covenants that were written into the deeds. If enough neighbors included these restrictions in their deeds, those who sold their properties to people of color could be sued in court. Those searching for the appropriate discriminatory language to include needed to look no further than the FHA underwriting manual which included model language. FHA encouraged developers who wanted their properties to be covered by FHA insurance to include race restrictive covenants. Not until 1948, with the Supreme Court decision *Shelley vs. Kramer*, did the courts stop enforcing these agreements. But again, much of the damage had already been done.

Expressways (slide 14)

With the white flight to the suburbs and availability of federal transportation funding to create new highways, cities began developing expressways to provide quicker ways around and through their cities. In many cases, the expressways were built right through communities of color. Philadelphia's city planners imagined a network of expressways crisscrossing the city, only some of which were built: Roosevelt Expressway, Schuylkill Expressway, Vine Street Expressway, and I-95. White and black residents aligned with professionals, including local architects Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi, to protest a planned "crosstown expressway" along South Street. As this map shows, that area was home to a vibrant African American community well into the 1950s. Even though this particular

expressway was never built, anticipation of the expressway combined with gentrification all but eliminated the black community from Center City.

Block-busting (Slide 15)

The occasional “for Sale” sign may seem innocuous, but during the 1950s and 1960s, realtors used them to incite panic among white homeowners. Realtors were known to charge the black families that moved into the abandoned blocks higher rents and sale prices. Neighbors in Mt. Airy famously worked across racial lines to encourage homeowners to see through the tactic and stay put, but in other parts of Philadelphia—such as West and North Philadelphia—white families left for the suburbs en masse. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 specifically banned this kind of “blockbusting,” but such legal prohibitions had limited impact after the large scale white flight.

Steering (Slide 16)

The most common form of housing discrimination is steering—the practice by realtors of directing prospective homebuyers to areas where people of their same race/ethnicity live. This, too, was made illegal by the Fair Housing Act of 1968, but it no doubt continues... with the help of GIS which makes it easier to find and analyze demographic data. The combined effect of these various types of housing discrimination is racial segregation. Look at this map of the Philadelphia metropolitan area. One quarter of the MSA’s population is African American, but as you can see, African Americans and other people of color are concentrated in Philadelphia, Camden, Wilmington, Norristown, Trenton... and, interestingly, Willingboro (Levittown) NJ.

Steering (Slide 17)

A three-dimensional representation of this same map makes the pattern that much more clear. Imagine being a person of color who wants to move from Philadelphia to the suburbs, to enjoy stronger schools, safer streets, and newer housing. In most directions, you would face a sea of predominantly white communities.

UNDERSTANDING DISPARITIES

Neighborhood Effects Research (Slide 19)

More and more, researchers are looking at individual health outcomes through an ecological lens, recognizing what the documentary teaches us, that “place matters.” Maps are extremely useful for understanding neighborhood effects because they allow us to see health outcomes in their neighborhood context and visually identify correlations. Researchers have looked at relationships between: (1) the availability of fast food, neighborhood racial and income composition, nutrient intake, and BMI; (2) the built environment, walking, and pedestrian accidents; (3) violence and birth outcomes; (4) alcohol availability, gonorrhea, and violence; (5) outdoor alcohol advertisements and youth attitudes about drinking; (6) recreation facilities and physical activity. It’s easy enough to establish a correlation, but what is the causal pathway? Why and how does neighborhood influence individual health outcomes?

Pre-term Birth (Slide 20)

Here’s an example of the kind of GIS maps that are most common. We can map birth outcomes—low birth weight births in Philadelphia in 2005—and identify the areas above and below the citywide average. Notice that the far Northeast and Northwest sections as well as Center City have the lowest rate of low birth weight births (the dark blue areas in South and Southwest Philadelphia are mostly non-residential). Then we can map poverty rates, a likely correlate. As we would expect, the areas with the

lowest poverty rates are the same as the areas with the lowest rate of low birth weight births (the red area in Northeast Philadelphia—the Northeast Airport—is mostly nonresidential). But there is certainly not a perfect correlation. One area of interest is in eastern North Philadelphia where there is high poverty but low rates of low birth weight births. The correlation between these two variables is 0.25—fairly high but perhaps not as high as we would have expected. Differences in low birth weight births also vary among racial/ethnic groups. Research by Jennifer Culhane and some of her colleagues suggests that chronic stress, more than poverty and certainly more than race, contribute to poor birth outcomes. It would be much better to map chronic stress than simply poverty, but that is a much trickier concept to define and measure.

We know a good deal about how place matters, but there is much we don't know. We need to know more about these causal pathways, for starters. We also need to know how people interact with their neighborhoods. Place matters, but neighborhood environment is not destiny. Who passed a Dunkin Donuts this morning? And who stopped and bought something? It is important to recognize human agency and choice, even when it is constrained as it is in many urban neighborhoods. We also need better measures of the environment. For convenience sake, we rely on US Census data, which has no information about health, and try to squeeze as much information as possible out of relatively small samples like the PHMC Community Health Survey. Administrative and survey data just don't cut it all of the time. We need to spend time observing and collecting data in the field. If we want to measure chronic stress levels in a neighborhood, we need to listen to people and understand their day-to-day challenges. Field data collection and analysis present particularly good opportunities to partner with community members and use community-based participatory research.

SNAKs Project (Slide 21)

The Cartographic Modeling Lab collected information about the route kids took to school and where they stopped to buy food along the way for a study of BMI with Gary Foster who is now at Temple University. The study found that nearly 70% of kids stopped to buy food on the way to school, spending on average \$2/day. A graduate student working with the CML programmed a handheld computer with a simple GIS program that allowed kids to show us the streets they traveled and the stores where they stopped. I was surprised to see how familiar kids—even as young as first grade—were with their local geography. Doug Wiebe, an epidemiologist here at Penn, has a much more sophisticated study where he is interviewing young men who have been shot to determine where they were and what they were doing just before they were shot.

Routes to School (Slide 22)

In theory, we could use information about the routes children take to school to identify the most appropriate places to establish safe corridors. The red shaded areas in this map show concentrations of drug-related crime. The dotted lines represent hypothetical routes children take to school, some avoiding and some passing directly through the "hot spots" (I used hypothetical routes because data about children are so sensitive). What if we could create safe corridors that are free from alcohol and tobacco ads, junk food, and crime and that present opportunities for healthy eating and physical and activity?

FED-UP (Slides 23-42)

I would like to create a video-game like food and travel diary that allows kids to use online maps to show how they travel to school and what they purchase on the way. I'm calling this "FED-UP," for Food and Exercise Diary for Urban Places. Maybe it will be possible to use GoogleMap's StreetView, so that kids

can see their actual environment... and to hook them up with GPS devices to validate their self-reported travel behavior.

FED-UP (Slides 43)

I imagine them entering a store where they see displays of the kinds of foods they might purchase. They would then click on the display for the type of food they purchased—such as chips.

FED-UP (Slide 44)

They would then see images of the actual foods available in the corner stores so they could identify the specific product. This would work like the produce look-up at the grocery store self check-out line. Their selection would automatically generate a report about the nutrition information for the products they select—such as Romeo Rap Snacks. Such a system would tell us much more about kids behavior than a simple paper survey about their food purchases.

SOPARC Study—Meyers Playground (Slide 45)

For a study that Nicole Thomas and I are working on with Deborah Cohen from the Rand Corporation, we are looking at how people use neighborhood parks. First, we created detailed maps of our parks, identifying “target areas” in which to observe physical activity levels.

SOPARC Study—training (Slide 46)

We have hired students and community members who all received extensive training in how to count people in these target areas. They then had to count the number of people in these parks of each sex, race/ethnicity, and age group and indicate whether they were sedentary, walking, or vigorously active. We recorded the information on handheld computers. Our researchers had to observe each target area every hour for 14 hours a day for a full week in each park, in the summer and the fall. Needless to say, that generated a lot of data.

SOPARC Study—results (Slide 47)

We shared some of the results from Myers Playground in Southwest Philadelphia with the park’s community advisory board. The patterns in Philadelphia were similar to the four other cities where this study is being conducted. We found that parks are empty much of the time and that about 2/3 of the people in parks are sedentary. One of the busiest target areas at Myers Playground during the summer was the pool. Too bad that the pool at Myers will probably closed next summer due to budget cuts.

Michelle Obama at Meyers Playground (Slide 48)

This is an aside. When I went to meet with the community advisory board at Myers Playground, the director introduced me by saying, “Remember last summer when you all thought there were spies in the park...” I showed them the map we created in order to explain just what we did, but they were already familiar with it. Turns out that they gave a copy to the Secret Service when Michelle Obama came to speak. At least they found our research useful.

WIC/NEMS Study (Slide 49)

Another study that I’m working on with Jackie McLaughlin, Carolyn Cannuscio, Mariana Chilton from Drexel University, Allison Karpyn from the Food Trust, and Sara Ansell, a social work student, combines both of these elements: field data collection and measuring how people interact with their environment. We are assessing the access that people living in North Philadelphia (zip codes 19132 and 19133) have to healthy foods. Specifically, we are interested in the new foods that will be available to people who receive WIC benefits starting next year. We’ve identified 150 stores across these two zip codes. We

modified the Nutrition Environment Measure for Stores (NEMS), an instrument developed by Karen Glanz at Emory University. Many of the stores on the eastern side of our study area have Spanish-speaking owners and managers, so we are grateful to have a Spanish-speaking MPH student working with us.

WIC/NEMS Study (Slide 50)

We have a list of foods that we look for in each store that WIC participants will be able to purchase with their WIC checks starting next winter. For the first time, WIC will include vouchers for fruits and vegetables (rather than fruit juice), soy milk, and tofu, among a number of other food items. Starting in a couple of weeks, we will interview WIC participants about the foods they currently purchase, then we'll interview them again—and inventory the stores again—after the WIC changes take place to see if they impact the food environment and purchasing behavior of WIC participants. This first phase of the study is being funded by the Center for Public Health Initiatives.

Billboard Study (Slide 51)

We worked with students from Cheyney University on a study of outdoor advertisements that involved field data collection. It is possible to obtain administrative data about the location of billboards in Philadelphia, but because the content of those ads changes regularly, the only way to find out what is being advertised is to go outside and look. The Cheyney students used GPS devices to capture the location and digital cameras to photograph all outdoor ads—including billboards, bush shelter ads, and the smaller ads posted outside stores—within five zip code areas. Researchers in LA, Sacramento, Fresno, Austin, and New York did the same in their cities.

Billboard Study (Slide 52)

We wanted to determine if the number and type of ads differed according to neighborhood income and racial/ethnic composition. Guess what? They did. As we expected, areas with people of color had more ads promoting sedentary behavior. We also analyzed the location of alcohol, tobacco, fast food, and sugary beverage ads relative to schools, day cares, recreation centers, and libraries in Austin, Philadelphia, and LA. We found significant clustering around the child-serving institutions in LA and Philadelphia, and—again no surprise—the clustering was more common in neighborhoods of color.

IDENTIFYING AND CHALLENGING GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES (SLIDE 53)

Maps have an important role to play in helping to identify disparities, and researchers and advocates have had success using maps to affect change, as well.

Silent Spring Institute—Incidence of Breast Cancer (Slide 54)

The Silent Spring Institute in Newton, Massachusetts has used maps to investigate and communicate the relationship between environment conditions and the elevated rates of breast cancer on Cape Cod. This first map shows the incidence of breast cancer.

Silent Spring Institute—Land Use on Cape Cod (Slide 55)

Their research suggests that land use relates to breast cancer prevalence, specifically the location of cranberry bogs and golf courses where pesticides have been sprayed.

Silent Spring Institute—Pesticide Use (Slide 56)

Sevin is the brand name for carbaryl, a commonly used insecticide in the United States but banned in several European countries. Rachel Carson's 1962 book *Silent Spring* identified DDT (diphenyl-

trichlorethylene) as an environmental toxin and likely human carcinogen, and her book helped bring about a ban on DDT in the United States in 1972.

Transportation Planning and Environmental Justice (Slide 57)

Metropolitan planning organizations, such as the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Association, must conduct map-based environmental justice analyses before distributing federal transportation dollars. The Massachusetts' Executive Office of Energy and Environmental Affairs conducts similar analyses in order to ensure that areas with concentrations of low income, minority, foreign-born, or low English-proficiency residents receive their share of resources. Perhaps the massive federal spending on infrastructure that we anticipate in the coming months will use criteria like these.

TRF—Subprime Lending (Slide 58)

Dr. Ira Goldstein at The Reinvestment Fund here in Philadelphia has been a leader in research on predatory lending since well before the current credit crisis. His research uses maps to identify areas that have been victimized by aggressive marketing of subprime mortgages. Before he moved to TRF, Goldstein headed the Fair Housing Division of the Department of Housing and Urban Development's for the Mid-Atlantic region.

TRF—Mortgage Filings (Slide 59)

TRF has also mapped mortgage foreclosures. TRF is actively involved in community lending and policy-making, as well as research.

Food Trust—Need for More Supermarkets (Slide 60)

The Food Trust issued a study several years ago that used maps to show areas in need of supermarkets. The study was part of their successful lobbying campaign for passage of the Pennsylvania Fresh Food Finance Initiative which provides credit for grocery stores willing to locate in under-served areas of the state. This legislation has led to the opening of many new grocery stores, including several in West and Southwest Philadelphia, and is considered a model for other states.

Food Trust—Need for More Supermarkets (Slide 61)

The maps in the report identified areas where there were high levels of poverty and diet-related deaths and low supermarket sales. The red areas on the map to the right were considered "underserved." The maps were successful in helping make the case for new supermarkets in part because they made the patterns so apparent and the information so accessible. The Food Trust is helping researchers in other states create maps like these to support their own lobbying efforts.

"The Meaning of All This" (Slide 62)

In his classic 1899 classic, *The Philadelphia Negro*, W.E.B. Du Bois entitled the first section of his final chapter, "the meaning of all this." Du Bois wanted to make sure his reader was not lost in the 384 pages of detailed tables, diagrams, maps, and dense pros. He did what Adewala Troutman referred to as looking upstream to understand the root causes of the racial inequities he identified through his research. Troutman deliberately uses the word "inequities" instead of "disparities" to underscore the injustice of these differences. The "vastest of the Negro problems," according to Du Bois, was that the world denied the full humanity of black people from Africa, or in his words, "denies that these come within the pale of nineteenth century humanity."

Much of this—or at least some of it—has passed and the world has glided by blood and iron into a wider humanity, a wider respect for simple manhood unadorned by ancestors or privilege. Not that we have discovered, as some hoped and some feared, that all men were created free and equal, but rather that the differences in men are not so vast as we had assumed. We still yield the well-born the advantages of birth, we still see that each nation has its dangerous flock of fools and rascals; but we also find most men have brains to be cultivated and souls to be saved.

And still this widening of the idea of common Humanity is of slow growth and to-day but dimly realized. We grant full citizenship in the World-Commonwealth to the “Anglo-Saxon” (whatever that may mean), the Teuton and the Latin; then with just a shade of reluctance we extend it to the Celt and Slav. We half deny it to the yellow races of Asia, admit the brown Indians to an ante-room only on the strength of an undeniable past; but with the Negroes of Africa we come to a full stop, and in its heart the civilized world with one accord denies that these come within the pale of nineteenth century Humanity. This feeling, widespread and deep-seated, is, in America, the *vastest* of the Negro problems; we have, to be sure, a

Playground (Slide 63)

I live in a neighborhood near here where families enjoy an extremely high quality of life. Kids of all ages play in the sprawling park. Dog owners let their dogs off their leashes without incident. The older kids play on co-ed soccer teams coached by their parents.

Farmer’s Market(Slide 64)

We have a thriving farmer’s market—even in the winter.

Front Porches (Slide 65)

Most of our houses have front porches where people eat dinner, swing, drink wine, or surf the net. This neighborhood is a destination area for trick-or-treaters. Our public school is subsidized by the University of Pennsylvania so even the families that can afford private school generally don’t bother. Hopefully many of you live in places like this: relaxed, clean, trusting, well-policed.

Tobacco Ads (Slide 66)

Not far from my house, there is a line marking the end of my neighborhood and the beginning of another. That line coincides pretty closely with the catchment area for the elementary school my son will likely attend, and the demographics shift from mostly white and upper middle class to lower income and African American. There’s no sign announcing the change, but one of the most visible changes is in the outdoor advertisements. This corner store, about six blocks from my house, is covered with cigarette ads advertising cheap cigarettes.

Tobacco Ads (Slide 67)

Even worse, the corner store directly across the street from the elementary school where kids in my neighborhood used to go, before Penn helped built a new school, has cigarette ads. I don’t need a social scientist to spend \$5 million of federal money to tell me the odds that those ads will increase the likelihood that students at that school will smoke some day. Even if they don’t influence behavior that directly, they give kids the message that their lives are worth less than kids who don’t have to look at them. I wouldn’t tolerate that if it was along my son’s walk to school. So why do I tolerate it for someone else’s children? All of our children need to hear, see, and feel messages that they are loved and valued. Heck, we adults need that kind of affirmation.

W.E.B. Du Bois (Slide 68)

Our federal government has a sad history of contributing to neighborhood inequities, but the truth is that we are all complicit. We all find ways to protect ourselves, to segregate ourselves, from the painful truth that we are allowing other people's children to grow up under unacceptable conditions. Du Bois essentially reported that 100 years ago. We need to match our research skills with some good old fashioned indignation. We need to get angry. And by "we," I don't mean leaving the work of ending racial and ethnic health disparities to people of color. We need to redraw the circle, as I heard a minister explain recently, so that all people are embraced as fully human. I think that maps can be useful in this work, for some of the same reasons they were helpful in redlining neighborhoods and creating and reinforcing segregation. They can make simple patterns more obvious and can communicate values to a wide audience. The point of the documentary today about "Place Matters"—and this larger series, Unnatural Causes—is that inequality is killing us. And it's killing all of us, not just poor people and people of color, because as Du Bois knew, denying the humanity of anyone denies some of our own humanity.