Fresno County at a Crossroads:
Equity Is the Path to Health and Prosperity

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Foreword

Fresno County, home to nearly one million residents, is ripe with endless opportunity for social, economic, environmental, and political change. Our communities and our families depend on our ability to work together to shift the historic trajectory from one that has led to poverty, exclusion, and disenfranchisement to one that elevates community voices and ensures equal access to opportunity regardless of income, race, place, and wealth. There's too much at stake to do nothing. As a community of advocates, we have come together to demand respect for the many people and communities in the region that for far too long have been subject to historic underinvestment and inequality. We are growing our movement to ensure that all families have an opportunity for upward financial mobility, live in healthy and sustainable communities with safe water and basic infrastructure, have access to quality/dignified housing, live free from pollution and degraded environments and, most importantly, live in a region that values full inclusion of its diverse residents and communities.

We are excited to leverage the opportunities and confront the challenges highlighted in this report to grow our movement with community leaders, organizational partners, and the public and private sectors to create a prosperous and equitable Fresno County.

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Overview

Fresno is the nation’s top agricultural county¹, yet it struggles with slow growth, high unemployment, and an economy dominated by low-wage jobs and few pathways into the middle class. While communities of color account for 68 percent of the population—up from 38 percent in 1980²—the county’s racial inequities persist across all indicators of community health and well-being.

To build a stronger Fresno, stakeholders must start with equity—just and fair inclusion into a society in which all, including every racial and ethnic group, can participate, prosper, and reach their full potential. Equity seeks to counteract the barriers and systemic exclusions (historic and current) that prevent people from realizing their potential. Leaders in the private, public, nonprofit, and philanthropic sectors must commit to putting all residents on the path to economic security through equity-focused strategies and policies to grow good jobs, invest in human capital, remove barriers, and expand opportunities for communities of color currently being left behind.

Introduction

Located in the heart of California’s Central Valley, Fresno is an agricultural powerhouse. It is typically ranked at or near the top of the list of U.S. counties that generate massive value from agriculture—more than $5 billion in 2012.³ The Mediterranean climate, coupled with the ample production of crops such as grapes and almonds has earned the region the nickname “Garden of the Sun”; others consider it to be the raisin capital of the nation. It is also the gateway to Yosemite National Park, a place of stunning beauty.

Yet, despite its image of abundance, Fresno is a paradox. Adjacent to the fields yielding produce that feeds the nation are communities that qualify as food deserts. In the midst of a community where agribusiness has generated great wealth are residents living in dire poverty.⁴ While massive infrastructure planning is underway to develop a high-speed bullet train that will cross the state, the neglected low-income neighborhoods of Fresno lack basic bus service, as well as sidewalks, crosswalks, and traffic signals. And, in a region that is dependent on a sustainable environment, industrial and agricultural practices foul the air, water, and soil.⁵

In every instance, people of color and immigrants have historically been and continue to be most burdened by these challenges. Despite their importance in generating the region’s wealth, communities of color have not shared equitably in the fruits of their labor and have faced a long, often violent, history of marginalization and neglect. Today, racial inequities persist across all indicators of community health and well-being. The San Joaquin Valley’s communities of color contend with alarming health outcomes, including high rates of preterm labor and significantly lower life expectancy—averaging 20 years shorter life spans than their White neighbors living just 10 miles away.⁶ These disparate health outcomes are driven to a large extent by inequities in the social determinants of health, or the factors outside of the health-care system that impact health which will be discussed further. In Fresno, people of color live in neighborhoods where the housing is substandard, bus service inadequate, and the lack of investment to maintain and improve existing infrastructure is painfully obvious.
Fresno is, therefore, at a crossroads. Addressing the county's racial inequities is a moral and economic imperative. As people of color have grown in number and population share, the county's racial inequities have taken a larger toll. Today, 68 percent of Fresno County residents are people of color, up from 38 percent in 1980.\(^7\)

Taking action to reduce—and eventually eliminate—racial inequities is critical to the county's success, now and into the future. While overt racial discrimination is no longer legal, many current policies continue to reinforce and perpetuate racial inequities. Policymakers must consciously decide to adopt a new paradigm that places equity and inclusion at the forefront of decision making—including economic development and growth strategies.

Previous efforts to address Fresno's challenges were short-sighted because they overlooked and ignored the region's greatest assets—its people. There is growing consensus that a new approach is needed to spur economic development and community revitalization, but opinions are divided about what approach to take to get there. For example, current development policies aim to attract new residents, rather than meet the needs of existing residents. Similarly, proposed development efforts focus on enhancing Fresno's downtown neighborhood, while continuing to neglect the outlying communities largely made up of low-income people of color. In contrast, a more equitable approach would focus on connecting the people and places currently left behind to growth and opportunity while building community voice and power.

This policy brief and the accompanying data profile, *Advancing Health Equity and Inclusive Growth in Fresno County*, examine the current state of demographic change and equity in Fresno County and present a policy agenda to shift the area toward health and shared prosperity. The charts presented in this brief draw from the data profile. To view the full data and methods section, see the profile on the PolicyLink website at [www.policyleak.org](http://www.policyleak.org). These documents were produced by PolicyLink, the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) at the University of Southern California, with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and in partnership with a coalition of advocacy organizations from the Fresno region led by the Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability.

The analysis illustrates how a focus on policy changes that advance health equity can guide leaders toward a new path of shared prosperity. As defined by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, health equity means that everyone has a fair and just opportunity to be healthy. This requires removing obstacles to health such as poverty, discrimination, and their consequences, including powerlessness and lack of access to good jobs with fair pay, quality education and housing, safe environments, and health care. These social determinants of health—or the factors outside of the health-care system that impact health—play a fundamental role in health outcomes and shape community environments. There are seven key social determinants that influence health outcomes: education, employment, income, family and social support, community safety, air and water quality, and housing and transit. Health equity is well-aligned with inclusive growth because healthy people are better able to secure jobs, fully participate in society, and contribute to a vibrant regional economy.
The State of Health Equity and Inclusive Growth in Fresno County

The analysis of demographic change and equity in Fresno County reveals that communities of color have driven growth and change in the area over the past several decades, and now constitute nearly seven of every 10 residents. Yet Latino, Asian, Black, and multiracial Fresnans face persistent inequities in health and access to economic opportunity.

Fresno has undergone rapid demographic changes, resulting in a widening generation gap with racial implications. In 1980, slightly more than six in 10 Fresno County residents were White. The next several decades brought rapid demographic changes. Since the early 1990s, people of color have made up the majority of Fresno’s population. The Latino population has grown from 29 percent in 1980 to a plurality (51 percent) today. During the same time period, the share of Asian or Pacific Islander residents more than tripled from 3 to 10 percent. Just in the last decade, the U.S.-born Asian or Pacific Islander population grew by nearly 17,000 residents. People of color are driving growth in the region, outpacing growth of the overall population, as the number of U.S.-born White residents has steadily declined. By 2040, people of color will account for 73 percent of the population as shown in the graphic below.

These demographic shifts have contributed to a growing generation gap with racial implications. Currently, 81 percent of youth in Fresno are people of color, while 42 percent of seniors are White. The resulting disconnect leaves decision makers who are typically older, White, and male in the position of crafting policy and allocating resources for young people of color. Too often, the policies and actions being implemented are not supportive of youth, and do not address their needs. Moreover, this lack of representative political leadership can thwart broader efforts to promote access to opportunity for residents in high-poverty areas.

The Latino population grew from 29 percent in 1980 to a plurality today and is projected to continue growing through 2050.
Racial/Ethnic Composition, 1980 to 2050

Source: PolicyLink/PERE analysis of data from the U.S. Census Bureau and Woods & Poole Economics, Inc.
Note: Much of the increase in the Mixed/other population between 1990 and 2000 is due to a change in the survey question on race.
Fresno's diversity is a major asset that has the potential to fuel innovation and foster economic success. However, inequities and disparities are holding the county back. In order to build a more equitable and sustainable local economy, Fresno must actively take steps to better connect its communities of color to affordable housing, high-opportunity jobs, and pathways leading to economic mobility. Leaders must address the systems and barriers that hinder growth and prosperity for all residents. In fact, Fresno County's racial inequities in income alone add up to $17 billion in lost economic output every year as depicted below.

**Fresno's equity dividend exceeded $17 billion in 2014**
Actual GDP and Estimated GDP without Racial Gaps in Income, 2014

**Improve housing quality, affordability, and opportunity for low-income renters of color**

Although Fresno’s housing costs are much lower than its coastal Californian counterparts, Fresno still suffers from high-cost burdens, large inequities in access to affordable and high-quality housing, and racial disparities in access to homeownership. Fresno’s high-poverty rates and lower incomes leave many households cost-burdened, defined as paying more than 30 percent of their income on rent. Fresno has the 12th highest renter-housing burden among the largest 150 metro areas in the country. The county’s Black and Latino renters are more likely to be burdened as seen in the graphic: 68 percent of Black renter households are cost-burdened as are 60 percent of Latino renter households (compared with just under 53 percent of White renter households).

When it comes to homeownership, which can be an important pathway to financial security, White residents are significantly more likely to own their home than Black or Latino residents. Two in three White households are owner-occupied, compared with just 28 percent of Black households and 42 percent of Latino households. In disadvantaged unincorporated communities, a lack of infrastructure and services (e.g., sewer, clean drinking water, streets, sidewalks) impedes infill development and community vitality. Conversely, in other areas, gentrification—stemming in part from development related to the statewide rail line transit program—is driving up the cost of housing and, according to some residents, resulting in displacement. In addition to focusing efforts on the availability of affordable housing options in the face of new development, future advocacy efforts should also work to ensure the quality and habitability of existing units. The Fresno Coalition for Healthy Housing recently achieved a significant victory in this area when the city council passed the Routine Interior Inspection Program.

Housing advocates should capitalize on this momentum and work to expand the scope and reach of subsequent preservation efforts.

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**Black and Latino renter households are most likely to be spending more than 30 percent of their income on rent**

Renter Housing Burden by Race/Ethnicity, 2014

![Graph showing renter housing burden by race/ethnicity in 2014](image)

**Source:** PolicyLink/PERE analysis of data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.

**Note:** Data represent a 2010 through 2014 average.
Key strategies to address these housing challenges include:

**Rigorous and responsive code enforcement for tenants, as well as for residents of mobile home parks.** The City of Fresno is in the initial phases of implementing its Routine Interior Inspection Program, which will include proactive inspections of rental housing to identify health and safety violations and require remediation. The city and advocates must ensure that the ordinance is effectively implemented and enhance this approach by adopting a registration process, as well as a rent escrow account program (similar to the REAP in Los Angeles) to direct rents to cover maintenance and repairs when property owners repeatedly fail to do so. Just cause eviction protections and rent control, along with other measures to protect tenants from retaliation, will also need to be enacted to prevent displacement. Promisingly, the city has committed in its 2015-2023 Housing Element to conduct a Housing Needs Assessment for mobile home parks in Fresno, which will identify the housing needs and resources to preserve quality affordable mobile homes in the city. However, the city must allocate sufficient funding in the 2017-2018 budget to complete the assessment.

**Increase affordable housing development in neighborhoods within and outside of downtown Fresno.** Stakeholders should consider facilitating a collaboration between financial institutions, local philanthropy, and other intermediaries in order to create new financing tools. The city should also identify and support the creation of new sources of municipal funding for affordable housing maintenance and development, such as the creation of an Affordable Housing Trust Fund. These sources include available local funding, such as the approximately $4 million in Fresno Redevelopment Authority (RDA) boomerang funds it receives annually; a potential ballot measure to finance affordable housing; and local jurisdiction support for a statewide permanent source of funding for affordable housing. The city should also incentivize affordable housing by instituting fee waivers, as many other jurisdictions do, for developments with a minimum number of affordable units. The Fresno community development financial institution (CDFI) could play a critical role in this effort through exploration of mechanisms such as the Capital Magnet Fund or the CDFI Bond Guarantee Program. This same collaboration could also help create products that make low interest home purchase and home-improvement loans available in targeted neighborhoods, specifically those that have historically been underserved by financial institutions. It should be noted that, as the city pursues downtown revitalization, it must adopt measures to ensure affordability in all new developments, and preserve the affordability of existing units for the long-term. This includes implementing the Anti-Displacement Task Force created by the Downtown Neighborhoods Plan, and the city council considering and adopting its policy recommendations.

**Expand the use of inclusionary zoning.** Housing developments in downtown as well as development along transit and light rail lines should be prioritized in order to maximize construction of new affordable units. While transit-oriented development and inclusionary zoning present opportunities to benefit low-income residents, any affordable housing development in downtown should not be prioritized over other neighborhoods in dire need, such as West Fresno, Jane Addams, Calwa, and Southeast, or in high-opportunity neighborhoods lacking in housing opportunity. In addition, anti-displacement strategies should be incorporated into development plans (both residential and commercial) in areas targeted for revitalization.

**Incorporate equity strategies into future General Plan updates.** The General Plan update for Fresno County was completed in December 2014. At this point, the plan needs to be implemented. The General Plan update process provides multiple opportunities to intentionally incorporate equity into every aspect of land use and planning. Priority must be given to any development projects, infrastructure improvements, and investments that target the neighborhoods that have historically been underserved and are most economically disadvantaged jointly with strategies to ensure that existing residents are not displaced. For example, there must be less emphasis on incentivizing new development in the downtown area with more emphasis on upgrades to disinvested neighborhoods that will remediate health hazards caused by pollution and industrial waste, ensure access to healthy food, improve transportation services, protect existing and expand new affordable housing, and make parks and open space safe.
Expand housing choice and affordable housing options in high-opportunity neighborhoods. Fresno City’s own General Plan identifies a lack of housing choice in more affluent North Fresno neighborhoods as a driver of segregation. Affordable housing options in high-opportunity neighborhoods lead to expanded access to high-performing schools (e.g., Clovis Unified School District), green space, grocery stores, employment, and other amenities. Living in a high-opportunity neighborhood is one of the strongest predictors of future economic mobility. The city can do this through rezoning high-opportunity neighborhoods to include more multi-family housing, including and implementing strong commitments in its Housing Element that is currently being revised, and conducting a robust Assessment of Fair Housing, which it is required to complete by 2019. Notably, expanded housing choice has the potential to address the unique housing issues facing the large immigrant, undocumented, and Limited English Proficiency (LEP) populations, which face additional hurdles to protecting their housing rights and often face landlord retaliation.

Expand transportation access for disconnected communities of color

Fresno is challenged by longstanding transportation inequities. Very low-income African American and Latino residents are extremely reliant on the regional transportation system and limited numbers have access to automobiles. Twelve percent of Black workers who earn less than $15K each year use public transit compared with 1 percent of White workers and 2 percent of Latino workers in the same income bracket as depicted below. Similarly, 23 percent of Black households do not own an automobile, compared to 6 percent of White households who do not. These transportation challenges are compounded by dilapidated infrastructure that interferes with both driving and walkability due to the prevalence of potholes, and the lack of sidewalks, crosswalks, street lights, and adequate drainage. Concurrently, a pending mega-project to construct high-speed rail presents multiple opportunities to advance equity.

Very low-income Black workers are significantly more likely than White and Latino workers to rely on public transit

Percent Using Public Transit by Annual Earnings and Race/Ethnicity, 2014

Source: PolicyLink/PERE analysis of data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.
Note: Data represent a 2010 through 2014 average. Data for some racial/ethnic groups in some earnings categories are excluded due to small sample size.
Key strategies to address these transportation challenges include:

**Expand the regional bus system.** Additional bus service is critical to addressing some of the transportation challenges in Fresno, and should be prioritized in underserved areas, including rural and remote areas. Transit riders in these communities should be included in the planning process and involved in the designation of new or expanded routes.

**Explore additional funding mechanisms for infrastructure improvements.** Transportation decision makers should explore creating a Transit Development District as they consider funding options for making necessary improvements. Funds are raised via a sales taxes (\(\frac{1}{8} - 1\) percent) to cover the cost of transit-related projects, such as bridges, streets, highways, intersections, signage, signals, bus stop-related improvements or infrastructure. This strategy has been successfully implemented in Missouri. The city and county should also assess and make transparent their respective discretionary spending, as well as the Fresno Council of Government’s spending on transportation and infrastructure, in order to identify and adopt mechanisms to reverse inequities. For instance, advocates succeeded in securing a scoring matrix for the Fresno Active Transportation Plan (ATP) adopted in March 2017 that includes equity factors in prioritizing infrastructure projects for which the city will seek out ATP funds. Such approaches should be implemented across available funding pools and should proactively seek out available local, state, and federal funding to address transportation-related infrastructure deficiencies and inequities. For rural areas and disadvantaged neighborhoods with lower populations, the county should consider vanpools, ride sharing, and other innovative transit solutions.

**Incorporate transit-oriented development into future revitalization efforts.** As Fresno continues to see an increase in new construction, transit-oriented development should be incentivized to address aspects of both transit and affordable housing development needs. The pending high-speed rail bullet train provides an opportunity to maximize the benefit of construction and development projects that arise from the rail line. Options include the construction of housing with set-asides for affordable units along the rail line, and prioritizing small business development by disadvantaged business enterprises and minority business enterprises also along the rail line. Jurisdictions must also be proactive to ensure mitigation of all high-speed rail impacts on surrounding communities. For example, the high-speed rail is planned to run along the Jane Addams community, creating visual and noise impacts, and serving as an additional barrier between the neighborhood, the rest of the city, and resources such as grocery stores, jobs, educational centers, and health care.
Address the environmental racism harming communities of color

Environmental racism in the Fresno region is a major threat to the health and quality of life of community residents, particularly people of color. Industrial facilities, farmland, brownfields, and toxic waste disposal sites are disproportionately located in and around low-income neighborhoods of color. The average Fresno resident is exposed to more air pollution than 70 percent of neighborhoods nationwide. African American and Asian or Pacific Islander residents of Fresno have the highest rates of exposure. Those living below the poverty level have greater exposure than residents who do not live in poverty. Not surprisingly, adult asthma rates are higher in Fresno compared to the state overall. Furthermore, the life expectancy of people of color is 20 years shorter than that of Whites living in communities just 10 miles (or less) apart. According to the CalEnviroScreen developed by the California Environmental Protection Agency, Fresno neighborhoods that are home to low-income residents and people of color experience some of the highest levels of pollution burden in the state. These same neighborhoods are experiencing extremely high rates of respiratory illness and disease. In addition, research indicates that the rate of pre-term birth in Fresno is double the state average and similar to some of the poorest countries in the world.

These health challenges are exacerbated by the fact that the county has a lower health insurance coverage rate than the state overall: 72 percent of adults ages 18 to 64 have health insurance compared with 77 percent of adults in the state as a whole. Only 63 percent of Latino adults and 62 percent of Native American adults are covered.

A key strategy to address these environmental challenges is:

Pursue more stringent penalties for polluters. Local advocates have emphasized the need for jurisdictions to stop allowing the siting of new polluting land uses in disadvantaged communities and to proactively mitigate existing impacts with neighborhood greening strategies. In the City of Fresno, this means adopting the final Southwest Specific Plan and conducting the Industrial Compatibility Assessment, as the city has committed to do. For the county, it can start with, in part, conducting a robust environmental justice analysis under SB 1000 as part of its pending General Plan revision. Industries that pollute the environment and contribute to the conditions that negatively impact health outcomes for residents should be aggressively penalized. Fines and fees should be imposed on offending companies and resources leveraged should go toward a fund that can be used to cover clean-up costs and provide restitution to injured residents. For example, Vermont’s Department of Environmental Conservation has implemented a program that levies daily fees on polluting companies. Similarly, developers should be incentivized to remediate brownfields and clean-up sites through available resources from state and federal environmental clean-up programs.
Connect residents facing barriers to employment to education, training, and employment opportunities

Employment and related gaps in the education system are among the most serious challenges low-income residents and people of color in Fresno are confronting. For example, high-opportunity occupations in the region are out of reach for youth who have not received adequate education and job training to equip them to fill these positions. This concern is particularly disconcerting considering that Black young people are more than three times as likely and Latino immigrant youth eight times as likely as White youth to not have a high school diploma and not currently be in pursuit of one as depicted in the graphic.

Key strategies to address these education and training challenges include:

Replicate successful career pathway programs that serve residents facing the most barriers. Career pathway programs should be expanded to allow for implementation in both public schools, grades six through 12, as well as community colleges. Prop 47 funds should be utilized to better serve formerly incarcerated youth. The AGAPE Charter School in Fresno and Mandela Apprenticeship Program in Oakland both offer resources and curricula that could be scaled to better prepare local youth for careers in agricultural businesses and/or construction. Given the impact of incarceration, which particularly affects young people of color, resources should be increased or reallocated to fund programs that provide

Nearly one-third of Latino immigrant youth lack a high school diploma and are not in pursuit of one

Source: PolicyLink/PERE analysis of data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.
Note: Data for 2014 represent a 2010 through 2014 average. Data for some racial/ethnic groups in some years are excluded due to small sample size.
marketable training and reduce recidivism. These programs should be developed in coordination with the corrections staff and administration so that at least some academic and vocational training is available before an individual is released from custody. The Urban Farming Pathways Initiative\textsuperscript{24} in Boston, the Jane Addams Resource Corporation\textsuperscript{25} which works with the manufacturing sector in Chicago, and the horticultural and landscaping pathway established by the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society\textsuperscript{26} are model post-release employment training programs.

Improve coordination of resources available for formerly incarcerated residents. In addition to training programs, a one-stop resource hub for formerly incarcerated individuals is helpful in streamlining their ability to access mental health, job training, and other services. This hub can be online\textsuperscript{27} like the one created by the City of Chicago, or within a dedicated agency or program like the ones created in Houston\textsuperscript{28} and Little Rock.\textsuperscript{29}

Better incorporate the community’s voice into decision making that impacts neighborhoods of color

Underlying each of the issues confronting Fresno—those cited here as well as others—is the most vital component in advancing racial equity: the leadership and engagement of community members. If policy strategies are to be effective, they must be grounded in the wisdom and experiences of people of color and immigrants who have lived through the circumstances that must be changed.

Fresno has a long and substantial history of activism, by labor leaders, cultural leaders, youth, the faith community, and an array of social and economic justice advocacy organizations. These groups have frequently proposed strategies for change in the past. They have developed expertise in technical, financial, legal, and political fields in order to develop those strategies. It is imperative that these stakeholders, along with the voices of emerging activists and leaders, be at the forefront of all efforts to achieve equity. A prime example would be incorporating robust participation from community residents and advocates into land use and zoning policy making. The decisions made in this arena address environmental pollution and exposure to toxic waste, as well as housing and commercial development, issues that significantly impact the quality of life. Without their involvement and leadership, meaningful progress will be difficult to achieve.

A key strategy to address these advocacy challenges is:

Develop strategic alliances across racial and socioeconomic boundaries. Cross-racial collaboration would maximize the impact of community voice. As each successive racial and ethnic group arrived in Fresno, they were subjected to hardship, and each found the strength and determination to endure. Yet each group has tended to confront their situations in isolation. As the demographic shifts underway in Fresno unfold, it is imperative that people of color learn from their shared history and build upon it. And, as a result, they will gain political power by working together to design and implement equitable policy change. Advocates and policymakers should take active steps to ensure that residents of disadvantaged communities and impacted demographic groups are specifically included in all
city and county task forces and commissions, and make certain that residents of rural communities have opportunities to participate.

In conjunction with residents, community-based organizations, and other stakeholders, Fresno should assess barriers to community participation and create a plan to eliminate these barriers and promote engagement in all aspects of city and county decision making.

Conclusion

Fresno is in the midst of major demographic and economic changes, and the policies it implements now will determine what kind of future the region will have. Closing gaps in the economy by focusing on vulnerable families, investing in youth of color by prioritizing education, and ensuring access to jobs that pay living wages—all of these strategies will strengthen communities. And as these strategies yield multiple benefits, the health of residents will also be enhanced. Ultimately, prosperity in Fresno will only occur as a result of intentional efforts to build vibrant and thriving neighborhoods where all residents can fully participate. The imperative for Fresno is to take action now to make equity the priority, creating equitable communities that work for all.
Author Biographies

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This policy brief and the accompanying equity profile are part of a series of reports produced in partnership with local community coalitions in Fresno, Long Island, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and Sacramento. This brief lifts up policy solutions to advance health equity, inclusive growth, and a culture of health while the profile features additional health indicators to build a data-backed case for equity. These communities are also a part of the All-In Cities initiative at PolicyLink, which supports community leaders in advancing racial economic inclusion and equitable growth.

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Cover photo: Courtesy of Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability

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Notes


7. PolicyLink and PERE, Advancing Health Equity and Inclusive Growth in Fresno County, p. 23.

8. Ibid.


11. Ibid, p. 103.


13. PolicyLink and PERE, Advancing Health Equity and Inclusive Growth in Fresno County, p. 93.


19. In addition, Fresno County must but has not yet completed its SB 244 analysis.


