



Mayor of Providence

Jorge O. Elorza

January 4, 2018

Honorable Members  
Providence City Council  
City Hall

Dear Honorable Members:

Pursuant to Sections 302(b) and 701 of the Providence Home Rule Charter of 1980, as amended and Public Law, Chapter 45-50, Sections 1 through 31 passed in 1987, I am this day re-appointing Mark Santow of 203 Rochambeau Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island 02906, as a member of the Providence School Board for a term to expire on January 31, 2021, and respectfully submit the same for your approval.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized initials "J.O.E." followed by a horizontal line.

Jorge O. Elorza  
Mayor

IN CITY COUNCIL  
FEB 15 2018

READ  
WHEREUPON IT IS ORDERED THAT  
THE SAME BE RECEIVED AND APPROVED  
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Jorge O. Elorza".  
CLERK

# **CURRICULUM VITAE**

**Dr. Mark Santow**

**Associate Professor and Chair, History  
University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth**

**Member, Providence RI School Board, appointed by Mayor, 2015-present (chair of Policy Committee since 2016).**

**Academic Director, New Bedford Clemente Course in the Humanities, 2005-present.**

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## **Education**

**University of Pennsylvania** Ph.D in American History January 2000, with Distinction

Adviser: Michael Katz

Committee Members: Thomas Sugrue and Walter Licht

**University of Massachusetts-Amherst** M.A. in American History 1992

**Vanderbilt University** B.A. in History and Philosophy 1989

Areas of specialization: American cities, race, politics and social policy

## **Teaching Experience**

**Associate Professor, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, Fall 2008-.**

**Assistant Professor, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, Spring 2004-Spring 2008.**

### **Classes taught:**

Urban Studies: Introduction to City Life

U.S. before the Civil War (Honors).

*America in Vietnam (300-level; research seminar; honors; online)*

*America in the 60s (300-level; research seminar)*

American Dream: Poverty & Opportunity in US History (300-level; honors)

*American Urban History (300-level; research seminar)*

*Color Line in Modern America (300-level; honors)*

U.S. since the Civil War

Vietnam: A Just War? (Honors; team-taught with Religious Studies)

*America since 1945*

American Urban History (graduate class), Fall 2004. Course taught to area history and

Social studies teachers at Bristol Community College, through Department of

Education "Teaching American History" grant.

20<sup>th</sup> century American History

**Assistant Professor, Gonzaga University 2001-Fall 2003**

**Visiting Assistant Professor, Fordham University 2000-01**

## **Scholarship and Professional Activities**

### **Books:**

Social Security and the Middle Class Squeeze, co-authored with Dr. Leonard Santow.  
Greenwood/Praeger 2005.

### **Books: (forthcoming)**

“Saul Alinsky and the Dilemmas of Race in the Post-War City.” University of Chicago Press.  
Forthcoming 2018

### **Books (in progress)**

“Castles Made of Sand? Home Ownership and the American Dream.” Contract offers from  
Johns Hopkins University Press, Palgrave MacMillan; under consideration by  
W.W. Norton.

### **Publications (Online/print magazines, newspapers, websites, blogs, think tanks):**

“[The Invisible Advantage of Whiteness](#),” *Providence Journal*, September 5<sup>th</sup> 2015.

“[America Unworthy of Black Forgiveness](#),” *Providence Journal*, July 2<sup>nd</sup> 2015.

“[To Nelson Mandela, My Favorite College Professor](#),” Huffington Post, December 5<sup>th</sup>, 2013

“[JFK, the Assassination, and the Avoidable Tragedy of Vietnam](#),” Huffington Post,  
November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013

“[Life Cut Short Left a Road Not Taken](#),” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>,  
2013.

“[The Real American Exceptionalism: Our Lives Are Stressful, Unhealthy and Short](#),”  
*Healthy Policies Blog*, January 2013. Also published on the [Equality Trust UK](#) blog,  
January 2013.

“[The Cost of Living Apart](#),” *The American Prospect*, September-October 2012,  
co-written with Richard Rothstein.

Mark Santow, “[Gilding the Ghetto: George Romney Knew Better](#),” Rhode Island’s  
Future News blog, September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2012.

Guest Blog post on teaching American history, “The Edge of the American  
West,” [Chronicle of Higher Education](#), May 30<sup>th</sup> 2012.

“[Robert L. Carter and School Desegregation in the Metropolitan North](#),”



TheDefendersOnline.com, NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund, April 2012.  
Also published by [Rhode Island's Future](#) on January 6<sup>th</sup> 2012.

[“Finland Finland Finland, the Country Where I Quite Want to Teach”](#) [on public school reform],  
[Rhode Island's Future](#), January 4<sup>th</sup> 2012.

“Two Cheers for Liberalism,” The Public Humanist blog, sponsored by Mass Humanities,  
and published on the website of the Valley Advocate, August 2<sup>nd</sup> 2007.  
<http://www.valleyadvocate.com/blogs/home.cfm?aid=2291>

“Running in Place: What Saul Alinsky Can Teach Us About the Dilemmas of Race,”  
[The Next American City](#), November 2005, pp.22-25.

“Should We Support a Draft?” <http://www.commondreams.org>, April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2004.  
<http://www.commondreams.org/views/04/0429-12.htm>

“War Protest, Troop Support Not Exclusive,” [Spokane Spokesman-Review](#), March 10<sup>th</sup> 2003.

“Spokane Needs a Living Wage Law,” [Spokane Spokesman-Review](#), June 24<sup>th</sup> 2002.  
<http://www.spokesmanreview.com/news-story.asp?date=062402&ID=s1172863>

### **Publications (book chapters, articles/reviews in peer-reviewed journals)**

Review, *Reinventing Citizenship: Black Los Angeles, Korean Kawasaki, and Community Participation*, by Kazuyo Tsuchiya. *Journal of American History*, March 2015.

Richard Rothstein and Mark Santow, [“Report: A Different Kind of Choice:](#)  
Educational Inequality and the Continuing Significance of Racial Segregation,” Economic  
Policy Institute, August 22<sup>nd</sup> 2012.

Leonard and Mark Santow, “Flexible Social Security and Medicare Payroll Tax Rates for  
Different Times: Achieving Multiple Benefits,” *Challenge*, January-February 2012,  
pp.53-68.

Review, *Invisible Enemies: the American War on Vietnam, 1975-2000*, by Edwin Martini. Review  
[Symposium on Vietnam War Legacy Studies, Humanity and Society](#), February 2010,  
pp.113-118.

“Self-Determination: Race, Space, and Chicago’s Woodlawn Organization in the 1960’s,”  
[‘We Will Independent Be:’ African American Place-Making and the Struggle to Claim](#)  
[Space in the United States](#), edited by Leslie Alexander and Angel David Nieves.  
University of Colorado Press, 2008, pp.71-99.

“Running in Place: Saul Alinsky, Race, and Community Organizing,” [Transforming the City:](#)  
[Community Organizing and the Challenge of Political Change](#). Edited by Marion Orr.  
University of Kansas Press 2007, pp.28-55.

“G.I. Bill” and “Levittown” (2500 total words), [Work in America: An Encyclopedia](#),  
ABC-CLIO, 2003, pp.229-232, pp.323-325.

Book Review, "Wings of Power: Boeing and the Politics of Growth in the Northwest," by T.M. Sell, Columbia: the Magazine of Northwest History, Fall 2002, p.47.

"The War on Poverty," The Sixties in America, Salem Press, 1999, pp.762-764.

"...A growing and accumulative restlessness:' Black Schooling in Richmond, Virginia 1930-1942.'" The Griot: the Journal of Black Heritage (Spring 1997)

## **Grants and awards received**

\$50,000 grant from the Community Foundation of Southeastern Massachusetts for the New Bedford Clemente Course in the Humanities, November 2014.

UMass-Dartmouth Chancellor's Award Recognizing Excellence in Service (CARES), May 2014.

UMD College of Arts and Sciences Curriculum Innovation Grant (\$3000), for 'learning community' experiment on Just War Theory, Vietnam and World War I. Fall 2014.

Joshua B. Stein Works-in-Progress Series at Roger Williams University (\$250), April 2014: "Loosening the 'White Noose': the Dream & Reality of Metropolitan Desegregation, 1965-1975."

Nominee for Brandeis University's Joseph B. and Toby Gittler Prize, for "outstanding and lasting Scholarly contributions to racial, ethnic and/or religious relations," March 2014. Nominated by UMD Provost Mohammad Karim.

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Summer Stipend (\$6000), April 2013. In support of book project *Castles Made of Sand? Homeownership and the American Dream*.

UMass-Dartmouth Chancellor's Colloquium Lecture, "'Ghosts': Vietnam, Afghanistan, and **The Lessons of History**," April 2013 (\$1000 honorarium).

Balch Fellowship, Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company. A \$2000 **Award for a one-month residency at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 2012-2013. In support of book project *Castles Made of Sand? Homeownership and the American Dream*.**

**Grant of \$5880 from the Chancellor's Research Fund and the UMass Joseph Healey Endowment,** in support of research project "Homeownership in Modern America," May 2010.

Author, successful \$1000 grant from the Provost to organize Departmental Faculty Seminar for History Department, 2007-2008.

Co-author, successful \$1000 grant from the Provost to organize Departmental Faculty Seminar on Teaching Race, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, 2006-2007.

History consultant and successful grant co-author, three Department of Education Teaching American History grants of \$1 million each. *Southeastern Massachusetts Teaching American History Consortium*, 2005-. Program is described in Public Service, below.

Service-Learning Faculty of the Year, 2002-2003, Gonzaga University.

Nominee, Fordham Faculty 50 Speakers Bureau, Spring 2001

Dissertation Fellowship, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, 1998-99

Horace Samuel & Marion Galbraith Merrill Travel Grant in 20th-Century American Political History, 1998

King V. Hostick Award for Dissertation Research, Illinois State Historical Society. 1997

University of Pennsylvania Advanced Dissertation Fellowship, 1996-1997

University of Pennsylvania Advanced Dissertation Fellowship, 1995-1996

Distinction, History Department Comprehensive Exams, May 1995

Finalist, Dean's Award for Teaching. University of Pennsylvania, Fall 1994

Mellon Dissertation Proposal Writing Fellowship, Summer 1994

## Conference Presentations

Paper, "Missing Rungs on the Ladder of Opportunity: Homeownership, Land Use Laws, and Educational Inequality in the U.S.," Policy History Conference, Nashville TN, June 2016.

Paper, "Teaching James Baldwin in 'Post-Ferguson' America: Race and the Burden of History," International James Baldwin Conference, American University, Paris, May 28<sup>th</sup> 2016.

Paper, "Should We Be Worried About the Decline in Homeownership Rates?" Eastern Economic Association Conference, Washington DC, February 26<sup>th</sup> 2016.

Invited Panelist, [The James Baldwin Project](#), November 11<sup>th</sup> 2015. Quinebaug Valley Community College and Eastern Connecticut State University, Danielson CT.

Paper, "Castles Made of Sand? Home Ownership and the New Deal Order." Beyond the New Deal Order, September 2015, UC-Santa Barbara.

Roundtable Discussion, "The Clemente Course in the Humanities and the Urban University," Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities (CUMU) Annual Conference, Syracuse NY, October 2014.

Panel, "The 'American Dream,' here and abroad: Home Ownership in the U.S. and France since World War II." Paper: "Loosening the 'White Noose': the Dream and Reality of Metropolitan Desegregation, 1961-1975." Policy History Conference, June 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> 2014, Columbus OH.

Invited talk, for the Joshua B. Stein Works-in-Progress Series at Roger Williams University, April 2014: "Loosening the 'White Noose': the Dream & Reality of Metropolitan Desegregation, 1965-1975."

Moderator, Mass Humanities 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Fall Symposium: "[Mind the Gap](#): Economic Inequality And Our Democracy." Saturday November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012, Boston College. Moderated a panel on 'What, If Anything, Can be Done?' Panelists were Timothy Noah, Will Wilkinson, and James K. Galbraith.



“‘The Tide Was Running Out’: Economic policy, Community Development and Black Activism in the 1960s,” Policy History Conference, Columbus OH, June 2010.

Conference Keynote, Alinsky at 100: Community Organizing in the 21st Century, Whitman College, October 2009.

Panelist, “Authors Meet Critics: Discussion of *Invisible Enemies: the American War on Vietnam, 1975-2000*, by Edward Martini. Association for Humanist Sociology Annual Meeting, Boston, November 2008.

“‘A Prize Piece of Political Pornography’: Saul Alinsky, Black Poverty, and the Limits of the War on Poverty,” Policy History Conference, St. Louis, May 2008.

“Saul Alinsky, Race, and a Look Back at the Kerner Commission Report,” The Legacy of 1968, An Interdisciplinary Conference, Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia, April 2008.

“Teaching About Race in the ‘Post-Civil Rights’ Era.” Organizer and chair of panel, American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia PA, October 2007.

“‘Chicago’s Great Question’: Saul Alinsky, Packingtown, and the Dilemmas of Race in the Postwar City.” Massachusetts Historical Society Seminar on Immigration and Urban history. October 2006.

Fellow, 2006 NEH Summer Institute on “African American Struggles for Civil Rights in the Twentieth Century,” W.E.B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University. Managed and directed by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Waldo E. Martin, Jr. (University of California, Berkeley), and Patricia Sullivan (University of South Carolina).

“Running in Place: Saul Alinsky, Race and Community Organizing,” Building Community Capacity for Change: A Conference of Brown Organizers, Swearer Center for Public Service, Brown University, Providence RI, April 2006.

“Justice, Risk, and the ‘Savagery of Impatient Money’: Thoughts on Social Security,” Justice Studies Association Annual Conference, June 2005, Hartford CT.

Participant, small working group on “Community Organizing and Ecology of Civic Engagement,” November 7-8, 2003. Political Science Department, Brown University.

“‘Whiteness as Property’: Saul Alinsky and the Politics of Racial Geography on the Southwest Side of Chicago, 1959-1968.” Presented to the Faculty Seminar On Race, Religion and Social Justice, Erasmus Institute, St. John’s University. New York. June 8-22, 2002.

“‘Whiteness as Property’: Saul Alinsky, Race, and Catholic Chicago, 1945-1960.” Presented at the Organization of American Historians. Toronto. April 1999

“Maximum Feasible Alinsky: Representation, Power, and the Community Action Program in Syracuse, New York.” Presented to Social Science History Association. Chicago. November 1998

"Saul Alinsky, Community Organizing, and Modern American Citizenship." Presented at the Organization of American Historians. San Francisco. April 1997

"Saul Alinsky and the Crisis of American Democracy." Presented at Defining Community, Re-Examining Society Conference. Flint, Michigan. September 1996

"Schooling in the Paper City: Class, Ethnicity, and Education in Holyoke, Massachusetts 1880-1913." Presented at New England Historical Association Conference. Amherst, MA. April 1996

"...A growing and accumulative restlessness: Black Schooling in Richmond, Virginia 1930-42." Presented at Southern Conference on Afro-American Studies. Tallahassee, Florida. February 1996

### **Professional service**

Reviewed manuscript of an article for the *Journal of Civil and Human Rights*, University of Illinois Press, July 2015.

At the request of editor Clark Dougan, reviewed manuscript for University of Massachusetts Press, "Derelict Paradise: Homelessness and Urban Development in Cleveland, Ohio," by Daniel Kerr. January 2009.

### **Public Service**

Appointed to three-year term on Providence RI [School Board](#) by Mayor Jorge Elorza, February 2015.

Academic Director, Clemente Course in the Humanities, New Bedford MA, 2005-. Sponsored by UMass-Dartmouth, Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities, and PACE, Inc. of New Bedford. Program provides college-level humanities courses for college credit to low-income citizens. In addition to teaching a course, the Academic Director is responsible for hiring and evaluating the faculty, and maintaining high academic standards.

Signatory (invited), housing scholars amicus brief for fair housing case decided by the US Supreme Court (favorably), *Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. the Inclusive Communities Project*. July 2015.

Panelist, "Facing Historical Wrongs," Bedford MA [Multicultural Festival](#), April 2015.

Signatory (invited), housing scholars amicus brief for California Supreme Court inclusionary zoning case, *California Building Industry Association v. City of San Jose*, decided (favorably) spring/summer 2014.

Signatory (invited), housing scholars amicus brief for US Supreme Court fair housing case, *Township of Mt. Holly et al v. Mt. Holly Gardens Citizens in Action Inc., et al*, October 2013.



Featured scholar, Event TV [documentary](#) on the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in New Bedford (cable access channel 18), October 2012.

History Advisor, Southeastern Massachusetts *Teaching American History* Consortium's Professional development projects for local K-12 history and social studies teachers, funded by the United States Department of Education. Our three separate \$1 million grants focused on the problem of teacher attrition in secondary schools in Fall River and New Bedford by training new teachers in the classroom use of primary sources, and on keeping all history teachers up to date on recent scholarship. 2005-2011.

**My role** was to represent UMD in the program (we offered graduate credit to participating teachers), to grade work produced by teachers in graduate classes, to write significant portions of the grant applications, organize public presentations and primary source workshops for teachers by prominent academic historians, and to generally oversee all historical content of programs.

Academic Director, Clemente Course in the Humanities, Spokane, 2002-03. Sponsored by Bard College, Washington Commission for the Humanities and Spokane Neighborhood Action Programs. College-level humanities classes for low-income people.

Vice-Chair, Spokane Human Rights Commission, 2002-03. Appointed by the Mayor and City Council of Spokane, Washington.

Member, Invitations Committee, Mayor's One Spokane Summit on Poverty, 2002

Delegate, One Spokane Summit on Poverty, May 2002.

## University Service

### **Department Service**

Chair, History Department, July 2011 to present.

Adviser to HST transfer students, spring 2013 to present.

Supervised AQAD Self-Study and authored Departmental report, Spring 2013.

[Interview Committee, European History Search, 2010-2011.](#)

Chair, History Department Curriculum Committee, 2009-.

Chair, History Department Committee on standards for promotion to full professor, 2008-.

Departmental Faculty Seminar, funded by \$1000 grant from the Provost, 2006-2007 and 2007-2008. Organized the 2006-07 seminar; wrote grant for 2007-2008 seminar.

Committee, Teaching American History Grant, 2006-.

AQAD Committee, 2006.

Class of 2008 History Advisor, 2004-.

Faculty Advisor, Student History Association, 2004-06.

African History Search Committee, 2005.

Latin American History Search Committee, 2004.

### **College and University Service (including on-campus talks)**

Member, Chancellors' Council on Diversity and Inclusion, Fall 2015-.

Search Committee, Archivist for the Barney Frank Papers, December 2013-March 2014.

CAS Urban Studies program committee, spring 2014-.

Chair, ROTC Committee, Spring 2014-.

Interdisciplinary Studies Committee, Spring 2014-.

College of Arts and Sciences Strategic Planning Committee, Fall 2013

Principal author, College of Arts and Sciences Mission Statement, Spring 2013

Committee co-chair, Five Year Review of CUSP, 2011-2012.

Member, Philosophy Department FEC, 2009-11.

Member, HR/EEO Sub-Committee, Diversity and Pluralism Council, Spring 2009-.

Member, Humanities Academic Council, Fall 2008-Spring 2010.

Faculty Federation Grievance Committee, October 2007.

Team Member, Faculty Intellectual Capital and the Community, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth Strategic Plan, 2007.

Working Conditions Subcommittee, Faculty Federation, Fall 2006.

Student and Faculty Academic Affairs Committee, 2004-08 (chair from 2006-08).

Program Development Committee, African/African-American Studies, 2006-.

General Education Committee, 2006-08.

Regional Studies Advisory Committee, 2005-08.

Advisory Board, Center for Teaching Excellence, 2005-.

Grants Committee, Center for Teaching Excellence, 2005-.

Mentor, Summer Teaching Institute, Center for Teaching Excellence, Summer 2005

Gave address to University of Massachusetts Board of Trustees, on the role of research in teaching, May 2005.

Search Committee for Director of African and African-American Studies, 2005.

Cultural Affairs Committee, 2004-08.

*On campus talks and presentations*

Nonquitt Lecture, "'Ghosts': Vietnam, Afghanistan, & the Lessons of History," Sept. 2013.

Panelist, Faculty Churning Interdisciplinary Ideas, "The Fall of the Faculty: the Faculty Role in an All-Administrative University," Library Grand Reading Room, April 2013.

UMass-Dartmouth Chancellor's Colloquium Lecture, "'Ghosts': Vietnam, Afghanistan, and The Lessons of History," April 2013 (\$1000 honorarium).

Discussion Facilitator, Office of Faculty Development Discussion, "Post-Tenure Career Choices," April 2013.

Faculty presenter, ceremony honoring the donation of the Barney Frank papers to the UMD Library, April 2013. Video can be found here (I appear at the 21:00 mark):  
<http://www.umassd.edu/inauguration/eventschedule/anafternoonwithcongressmanfrank/>

"The Implications of Barack Obama's Election," Frederick Douglass Unity House, February 2009.

"Race and the 2008 Election," Frederick Douglass Unity House, October 2008.

Panelist, "The American Dream," 'Speak Up, Speak Out' public forum series, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, April 2008.

Panelist, "Can We Win a War on Terror?" 'Speak Up, Speak Out' public forum series, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, April 2007.

Panelist, "Race on Campus," 'Speak Up, Speak Out' public forum series, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, November 2006.

Discussant, "Race on Campuses and In Classrooms." Students Organized Against Racism (SOAR) Conference, UMD, November 2006.

First Year Residential Experience, UMD Book Festival, June 2006. Presented a lecture on my



book, *Social Security and the Middle Class Squeeze* (Greenwood/Praeger 2005) to parents of incoming freshmen.

Discussant, "The Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement," Black History Month, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, February 2006.

Discussant, "The Hidden Consequences of Class Mobility: Implications for University Teaching," Center for Teaching Excellence, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2005.

Panelist, "Social Security: Is there a crisis?" University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2005.

Presentation, "Promoting Learning Through Service," Talking About Teaching Conference, Center for Teaching Excellence, January 2005.

Keynote, "Is It Patriotic to Protest When We Are At War?" University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, May 12<sup>th</sup> 2004.

Keynote, "Military Draft 2005?" University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, May 4<sup>th</sup> 2004

"From Silent Spring to Sustainability: Tracking the American Environmental Movement," April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2004. Public Lecture, "Earth Day 101," University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth.

Member, Faculty Advisory Committee, Social Justice Curriculum Requirement, Gonzaga, 2002-3.

Chair, Speakers Committee, Gonzaga University, 2002-03.

Alternate, Curriculum Committee, Gonzaga University, 2002-03.

Member, Faculty Service Learning Committee, Gonzaga University, 2002-03.

Member, Faculty Advisory Committee, 'Take Back the Night,' Gonzaga University, 2002-03.

Member, Justice Committee, Gonzaga University, 2002-03.

Faculty Adviser, 'Mission: Possible,' Spring 2003 trip to Camden, New Jersey with fifteen undergraduates, to do community service. Gonzaga University.

## **Membership in Professional Associations**

American Historical Association

Organization of American Historians

## **References**

Professor Thomas Jackson ([tfjackso@uncg.edu](mailto:tfjackso@uncg.edu))

University of North Carolina-Greensboro

History Department

336 334 4040

Professor David Freund  
University of Maryland  
History Department

Richard Rothstein  
Research Associate, Economic Policy Institute  
Fellow, Thurgood Marshall Institute of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund  
[rrothstein@epi.org](mailto:rrothstein@epi.org)  
510 643 7191