

The Chicago Freedom Movement 40 Years Later: A Symposium

Assessing the Chicago Freedom Movement

by James Ralph

The Chicago Freedom Movement was the most ambitious civil rights mobilization ever launched in the North. The product of an alliance of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO—a coalition of Chicago civil rights groups), the Chicago Freedom Movement lasted from 1965 to 1967. It built upon the hard work of the CCCO in contesting racial inequality in Chicago, especially in its public schools. And it attracted national attention in the summer of 1966 when it launched a series of marches to expose persistent housing discrimination in metropolitan Chicago. On one open-housing march, Martin Luther King, Jr. was struck on the head by a rock. “Frankly,” he said, “I have never seen as much hatred and hostility on the part of so many people.”

Faintly Remembered Today

What is striking, on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, is how faintly the Chicago Freedom Movement is re-

membered today. While there are museums devoted to the famous civil rights campaigns in Montgomery, Birmingham and Selma, Alabama, there is no museum commemorating the Chicago Freedom Movement. In fact, the city of Chicago lacks even historic markers acknowledging the important sites of the Chicago movement. In Atlanta, the National Park Service maintains the childhood home of Martin Luther King. In Memphis, the Lorraine Motel, where King was assassinated in 1968, is the centerpiece of an impressive civil rights museum. In Chicago, by contrast, the North Lawndale apartment building where King lived for a time in order to be close to African Americans confined to Chicago’s West Side ghetto was torn down many years ago and now is a vacant lot.

The custodians of that deemed important in American history—the textbooks and the surveys—second this lack of public acknowledgment of the Chicago Freedom Movement. The fifth edition of *America’s History* does not mention it. Nor does the most recent edition of *American Journey*. The same is true for the second edition of *American Destiny: Narrative of a Na-*

tion and the fifth edition of *Out of Many*. In each of these textbooks, Martin Luther King’s and SCLC’s earlier Birmingham and Selma campaigns are discussed. Even James Patterson’s prizewinning history of America from 1945 to 1974, *Grand Expectations*, is silent on the Chicago movement.

A critical question, then, is how can this discrepancy in the public memory of the Chicago Freedom Movement and King’s and SCLC’s other campaigns be explained.

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The explanation stems in part from the popular judgment that the Chicago Freedom Movement was a defeat, especially compared to the Birmingham and Selma initiatives. The verdict of failure circled the Chicago movement even before it came to an end. Dissatisfied activists helped to fuel such a reading when in the wake of the Summit Agreement—a pact reached in late August 1966 between Martin Luther King, Al Raby (convenor of the CCCO) and other civil rights leaders, and Mayor Richard J. Daley and civic, business and religious elites to bring a halt to the open-housing marches and to take concrete steps to end the racial divide in the region—they decided to stage a march in Cicero, long known for its hostility toward blacks.

As Robert Lucas, who led the march in Cicero in September 1966, has stated, “King went up against Richard J. Daley, and he lost.” Over the decades, this assessment has been the dominant one in Chicago. Surveying the state of the city’s West Side 20 years after the Chicago Freedom Movement, one African-American resident concluded, “Nothing really happened.” And recently, Leon Despres, a supporter of civil rights who opposed the Daley administration during the 1960s, has said that results of the Chicago campaign were “not much of a victory for Martin Luther King, Jr.”

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This bleak reading of the Chicago Freedom Movement shaped the perspective of the first major biography of King, written by David Levering Lewis in 1970. “The Chicago debacle” was how Lewis categorized its outcome. Many later scholars arrived at the same conclusion. In *America in Our Time*, published in 1976, Godfrey Hodgson stated that “Martin Luther King went to Chicago and was routed . . .” Nearly a decade later, Alonzo Hamby, in *Liberalism and its Challengers*, concluded that the Chicago Freedom Movement “undeniably was more failure than success.” In the early 1990s, in his survey of the Civil Rights Movement, *Freedom Bound*, Robert Weisbrot argued that “In many

The Chicago Freedom Movement was the most ambitious civil rights mobilization ever launched in the North.

respects, the Chicago freedom movement had emerged as a debacle to rival the Albany [GA] movement.”

The assessment of the Chicago Freedom Movement as a defeat is not the only reason for its diminished place in the country’s public memory. That the Chicago movement was more focused on changing local conditions than were the Birmingham campaign and especially the Selma campaign also accounts for its modest national standing. During their initiatives in the South, King and SCLC were much more attentive to the national response (and corrective federal legislation) than they were in Chicago. The Chicago campaign, they hoped, would inspire similar nonviolent movements in other Northern cities.

The Summit Agreement, which marked the end of the most active phase of the Chicago Freedom Movement, was in fact the strongest local agreement King and SCLC had ever negotiated in any of their city projects. The settlement that ended the Birmingham campaign was fuzzier than the Summit Agreement. But, as Taylor

Branch has recently noted in his new book, *At Canaan’s Edge*, its weaknesses “disappeared in a rippling tide that dissolved formal segregation by comprehensive national law.” Though the Chicago Freedom Movement was part of the constellation of forces that led to the passage of a federal fair housing law in 1968, housing discrimination, residential segregation and inner-city slums have not disappeared the way that segregated lunch counters and blatantly racist voting registrars have.

Even a recent outpouring of scholarship focusing on the Civil Rights Movement in the North is unlikely to boost the reputation of the Chicago Freedom Movement. New books like Matthew Countryman’s *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* and Martha Biondi’s *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* point to a growing recognition of the importance and complexity of the fight for racial equality in the North. So rich is Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard’s *Freedom North*, a new collection of essays about Northern activism, that the conventional view of the Civil Rights Movement as confined to the South in the 1950s and 1960s is destined for revision. But the place of the Chicago Freedom Movement in this new scholarship is ambiguous. Putting a spotlight on the Chicago campaign deflects attention from the wide array of local movements in the North and suggests that Northern protest relied on the influence of Martin Luther King and Southern-based civil rights organizations.

An Alternative Reading

The prevailing wisdom, then, is that the Chicago Freedom Movement was not one of the most noteworthy or significant episodes of recent history. Yet looking back after 40 years, there is a strong case for an alternative reading.

First, there is the overwhelming evidence that the Chicago project—whose motto was “End Slums”—was

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The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, headed by PRRAC Board member Catherine Tactaquin, convened a series of discussions among members and partners around the current immigration proposals before Congress; the following Statement is the product of those meetings. Organizations and Individuals are requested to endorse the Statement (available in Spanish as well on their website, www.nnirr.org. Endorsement/inquires to ctactaquin@nnirr.org.

National Statement to Support Human and Civil Rights for All Immigrants and to Oppose Compromise Immigration Reform Proposals

April 2006

"Fair and Just Immigration Reform for All

We stand together as immigrant, faith, social justice, labor, peace, human and civil rights organizations and other concerned communities to support human and civil rights for all immigrants and to oppose the immigration "reform" proposals presently in the U.S. Senate. *[On May 25, the Senate passed its immigration reform bill by a 62-36 vote; the bill goes to a House-Senate conference committee, where it will doubtless receive strong right-wing opposition from House leaders who favor far stricter measures.]* We oppose H.R. 4437, the immigration bill passed in the House of Representatives in December, as well as all of the compromise bills presented in the Senate.

We call upon members of Congress and the Administration to stop masquerading these proposals as immigration reform. We demand nothing less than immigration policies that are fair and just, and that respect the rights and dignity of all immigrants and other members of our society.

The rush to reach a bipartisan accord on immigration legislation has led to a compromise that would create deep divisions within the immigrant community and leave millions of undocumented immigrants in the shadows of our country. We oppose the behind-the-scenes brokering currently playing

out in the legislative process. These trade-offs and deals are based on election-year campaigning and demands by business lobbyists, rather than on the best interests and voices of immigrant communities. We say, "No deal!"

In a re-ignited civil rights movement, millions of immigrants, their families, neighbors and co-workers, along with faith and labor leaders, peace and justice advocates, have marched and rallied in cities across the U.S. The mobilizations have served as a wake-up call for the whole country to acknowledge the vital role of immigrants as co-workers, neighbors and members of our broad society. And, as details of the current legislative compromise have become known, the voices of immigrant communities are rejecting the proposals for a so-called legalization program, and are denouncing the further erosion of human and civil rights through the enforcement and criminalization provisions. The stakes are considerable, and affect all of us.

This year is the 20th anniversary of the 1986 legalization and employer sanctions law, and the 10th anniversary of the restrictive Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act. We cannot allow the current proposals to be enacted as this generation's flawed immigration reform legacy.

What We Want: Fair and Just Immigration Reform

Fair and just immigration reform means:

- Genuine legalization and opportunities to adjust status for all undocumented immigrants, including youth and farmworkers
- Preservation of due process, including restoration of access to the courts and meaningful judicial review for

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William Sloane Coffin Arthur Hertzberg

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, whose recent passing reminds us of the important role played by whites—in particular, white clerics—in the Civil Rights Movement, as well as the vital links between that Movement and other social justice struggles. Rev. Coffin in particular lent his prestige and moral authority to the anti-war movement, from Vietnam to Iraq.

immigrants

- No indefinite detention or expansion of mandatory detention
- No expansion of guest worker programs
- No more wasted resources allocated to further militarize our borders and to contribute to the crisis of human rights and lives in the border regions
- An end to employer sanctions and electronic worker verification systems
- The strengthening and enforcement of labor law protections for all workers, native and foreign born
- No use of city, state or other government agencies in the enforcement of immigration law
- No more criminalization of immigrants, or their service providers
- Expansion of legal immigration opportunities, support for family reunification and immediate processing of the backlog of pending visa applications
- Elimination of harsh obstacles to immigrating, including the HIV ban, “3 and 10 year bars,” and high income requirements for immigrant sponsors.

The Current ‘Legalization’ Proposal is Unacceptable

The proposed 3-tiered temporary worker program offers little hope for broad, inclusive legalization of undocumented immigrants. What some are calling a “path to citizenship” in the last Senate bill is merely a massive temporary worker program without worker protections, and contains numerous hurdles that will drastically limit the number of undocumented immigrants who can actually legalize. Such a program would divide communities, including mixed-status families, erode wage and benefits stan-

dards, and place a greater burden on safety-net services.

The Enforcement Proposals Undermine All of Our Rights

Significant provisions in the current Senate proposals would dramatically undermine a broad array of rights, increase the criminalization of all immigrants, result in mass deportations, and unfairly exclude millions from eligibility for any legalization opportunity. The expansion of expedited removal would eliminate the right to a court hearing, while the broadened definition of “aggravated felony” to include many minor offenses would result in mandatory detention and mass deportations. The proposals also seek to reinstate indefinite detention and increase detention facilities, including the use of closed military bases. Encouraging local police to enforce immigration law would not only add an additional burden that detracts from current responsibilities, but would discourage immigrant access to public safety institutions.

Moreover, the increased resources to militarize the border, which has already cost over \$30 billion in the past 12 years, has not deterred unauthorized border crossings and instead has caused a humanitarian crisis with the deaths of some 4,000 people in the desert. Current border enforcement policies, without provision for safe and legal entry, have resulted in the detention and criminalization of tens of thousands of people at a significant daily cost to taxpayers.

The Proposals Fail to Protect Workers

The current proposals would further erode already weak labor protections and rights for immigrants and other workers. Immigrant workers have historically been used as “cheap labor” by employers and industries unwilling to pay decent wages or to

maintain reasonable working conditions. These proposals continue in that same shameful vein, and are designed to force and keep wages down to compete with cheap labor suppliers globally.

Workers need more, not less, rights. A real legalization proposal needs to be coupled with the repeal of employer sanctions, the provision of the landmark 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act that has led to the criminalization of immigrant workers, and which would be deepened through an expansion of an employment verification system. This program has done nothing in the last twenty years but increase discrimination and abuse of immigrant workers. Employers have had greater leverage to threaten and intimidate immigrant workers, break organizing efforts, carry out unjust firings, and lower wages and work conditions for all working people. These abuses impact the entire American workforce, particularly the most vulnerable toiling in low-wage jobs such as farmworkers, day laborers and domestic workers.

No Expansion of Guest Worker Programs

A key concern is the significant expansion of guest worker programs found in almost all Senate proposals and supported by the Administration. We oppose these programs both when they are tied to legalization for undocumented immigrants already living and working here, and as a means for managing future flows of immigrants into the United States. The U.S. does not have a shortage of workers; what we have is a shortage of employers willing to pay a living wage and maintain decent working conditions.

Guest worker programs have been condemned by labor and immigrant communities for their long record of violations of labor rights and standards, including blacklists and deportations of workers who protest. In 1964, Ernesto Galarza, Cesar Chavez and other defenders of workplace

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Katrina's Blueprint for Ending Poverty

by Lance Hill

There is an old saying, "When you stumble, dig for gold." When we encounter adversity, we seldom have the presence of mind to learn from it, although we generally learn more in life from our mistakes than from our successes. Hurricane Katrina was a monumental stumble that nearly landed us into an abyss. It scattered the poor of New Orleans throughout the nation and left those behind consumed with the task of shoring up the city's levees before the next storm arrived. Yet concealed within the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of poor people was a rich vein of new knowledge that may unlock the secret to ending poverty.

The unexpected windfall was not that the flood waters had washed away

the poor to better lives elsewhere. This is the fashionable "silver lining" argument trumpeted by pundits who believe that every success that displaced people enjoy is more evidence that they should never return home to New Orleans. A "culture of poverty" created by the poor themselves was responsible for their plight, so they say, and no amount of government services or employment opportunities could mend a broken spirit.

Most of the displaced are not faring as well as some would have us believe, but there are success stories and they deserve our attention—but not for the reasons normally offered. Success can also be a sign of failure—in this case, the failure of New Orleans to provide adequate services and opportunities for poor people to help them succeed. Why do the same people flourish in one environment and founder in another? The answer lies with viewing the displacement as an enormous social experiment.

Before Katrina, we were told that it was a waste to spend money on New Orleans schools because poor black students did not want to learn. Yet there is clear evidence that many host communities succeeded where New Orleans failed. In Houston, Austin and Columbia, South Carolina, many displaced children are excelling in school. Rather than treat these successes as arguments against returning to New Orleans, we need to find out why these communities succeeded and use their strategies as a blueprint to rebuild New Orleans schools and neighborhoods. The answers are not that hard to find.

To improve achievement scores in some Houston schools it took little more than reducing the teacher-student ratio and using new computer-based learning technologies. In Columbia, South Carolina, each displaced family person was provided a "shepherd," a personal advocate whose job was to make sure that evacuees found decent

housing, necessary social services, and good healthcare and schools.

These simple experiments with urban poverty have produced a formula for success. Now we know that these children can learn, if only they are provided the necessary resources. Given this knowledge, to return these children to the same underfunded and overcrowded schools will be nothing short of a moral crime. Now we know that families are far more likely to prosper and become independent if they have a helping hand from someone who will advocate for them against unresponsive government bureaucracies and heartless corporations. Why cannot we provide the same helping hand for people returning to New Orleans? If we change nothing, nothing will change.

The great exodus from New Orleans and the Gulf Coast created an unprecedented opportunity to experiment with new strategies for ending poverty and ignorance. The key that unlocked the door to a better life in Houston or Austin is the same key that will unlock the door to a better life in New Orleans. While researchers are descending on the Gulf Coast by the hundreds to find solutions to our problems, it may be that the answers are to be found using this Diaspora as Blueprint Research approach to research in the displaced communities. Social scientists need to rethink their research strategies and objectives in the displaced communities so that they can ultimately translate their findings into a blueprint for ending poverty, ignorance and crime in New Orleans as well as rest of the nation.

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Katrina Summer Research Project

To complement the extensive humanitarian relief work by the hundreds of people coming to the Gulf Area, Lance Hill, Executive Director of Tulane University's Southern Inst. for Education & Research, is organizing teams to undertake basic research tasks necessary to counter the racial injustices of the recovery. The aim is to create Katrina Research Workgroups to go to New Orleans this summer, for brief or extended periods, to develop brief, accessible reports on social justice issues surrounding education, housing, homelessness, employment, social services, resettlement patterns, community organizing, the environment, public health, etc. Such groups will be comprised of experienced researchers and students working with and guided by local community people. For further information, contact Hill at so-inst@tulane.edu.

rights won the abolition of the old Bracero guest worker program. The purpose of that program, they said, was the creation a vulnerable workforce in order to drive down wages and break union organizing efforts among immigrants and non-immigrants alike. The purpose of current proposals is the same. Temporary, contract workers are prevented the option of putting down roots and becoming full and equal members of our communities.

Future migrants should not be forced to accept a second-class status, violating our country's most basic commitments to equality. They should be given permanent residence status, allowing them to work and travel freely, to exercise their labor rights, and to live as any other member of our society.

No Compromise, No Deal on Fair and Just Immigration Reform

In recent years, immigrant community members, including youth and students, farmworkers and others, have effectively organized and rallied in support of legislative proposals to strengthen their rights and opportunities to be equal members of this society. Despite the loud and determined voice of immigrant communities, advocates and supporters for fair and just immigration reform this year, we have yet to see an acceptable proposal from Congress. And with H.R. 4437 already passed by the House, we are very aware that any proposal from the Senate would be subject to further compromise in a Senate-House reconciliation process, and would likely produce laws

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that would detrimentally affect current and future immigrants for years to come.

Increased enforcement does not address the complex issue of global migration. Employer sanctions and beefed up border security have been in place for decades as deterrents to migration, and yet the number of undocumented continues to grow. The sources of migration rest in the problems of economic and political instability, poverty and war in migrant-sending countries. Despite the urgency of the immigration issue in this country, it is clearly not just a "domestic" issue and our policies need to consider support for economic stability, fair trade agreements and peace as vital to addressing the migration of people in search of work, survival, and safety.

We will continue to raise our voices for genuine immigration reform that respects the rights and dignity of all immigrants, and is fair and just. Immigrant workers, students and families are making incredible sacrifices to raise their voices for themselves and future generations, in the face of re-criminations and disciplinary actions from employers and schools. As immigrant communities continue to mobilize for their rights, on May 1 and beyond, we will support their right and choice to express themselves.

We pledge to increase public education efforts and the building and mobilization of meaningful alliances, and we will encourage and support immigrant community leadership to advance real immigration reform. We call upon Congress and the Administration to heed the voices of immigrant communities demanding genuine immigration reforms: real legalization, equitable inclusion in our society, justice, and respect for human rights." □

PRRAC Update

- PRRAC Board members **Florence Roisman** and **Olati Johnson** have new academic appointments: Florence will spend Fall Semester 2006 as the J. Skelly Wright Fellow at Yale Law School; Olati has been appointed Associate Professor at Columbia Law School.

- PRRAC Board member **Darrell Armstrong** has been appointed director of the Div. of Child Abuse Prevention & Community Partnerships at the NJ Dept. of Human Services; he will remain pastor of Trenton's Shiloh Baptist Church.

- PRRAC Board member **Anthony Sarmiento** was one of four distinguished panelists at the April 14 event, "Filipino American Activism & the American Labor Movement," part of the Smithsonian Institution's 2006 Filipino American Centennial Commemoration (1906 was the year the first signifi-

cant numbers of Filipino immigrants arrived in Hawai'i to work on the island's sugar plantations).

- We welcome PRRAC's two new summer law interns: **Tamica Daniel** of Georgetown Law Center and **Alanna Buchanan** of Harvard Law School.

- We are grateful to the following for their recent financial contributions to PRRAC (in several instances via the Combined Federal Campaign): ACLU of Ohio, Roger Borgenicht/Kate Lambert, Kenon Burns, Jim Campen/Phyllis Ewen, David Casey/Nancy Newman, Dessie Diamond, Deborah Dills, John W. Edwards, Demetrius Genwright, John Hayden, Angel Houston, Jeffrey Little, Robert Moore, Alan/Andrea Rabinowitz, Eddie Rhone, Cecelia Williams, Dr. Reginald Wilson, Thomas/Lauren Winkler.

decisive to Martin Luther King's evolution as a national leader for social justice. As his leading biographers, David Garrow and Taylor Branch, have shown, King's encounter with the slums and racial inequality in Chicago propelled him to agitate for more searching reform and to focus on the need to eliminate poverty throughout the country.

There is also a strong argument to be made for the centrality of the Chicago Freedom Movement in the overall trajectory of the broader Civil Rights Movement and contemporary American race relations. Over 20 years ago, Allen Matusow placed the Chicago Freedom Movement at the center of his history of the 1960s. In *The Unraveling of America*, Matusow pointed to the uneven record of accomplishment of the Chicago movement, but, more significantly, he viewed its unfolding as illustrative of the challenge of confronting Northern racial inequality. "Civil Rights in the North," he wrote, "was a drama in three parts—schools, housing, and jobs—played out in Chicago and featuring Mayor Richard J. Daley, Lyndon Johnson, and Martin Luther King."

The Chicago Freedom Movement was more, however, than an illuminating transitional episode. It also produced substantial achievements, achievements that have become more evident with the passage of time. The focus of the Movement's direct action campaign—housing discrimination—was an eleventh-hour decision and was initially questioned by many activists and observers. But over time, the presence of this focus has become clearer. As Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton have argued in *American Apartheid*, housing segregation is at the heart of inequality in contemporary America. Where one lives is highly determinative of one's quality of life. The poor in America—especially those of color—too often find themselves confined to bleak settings,

isolated from the country's currents of opportunity and prosperity.

The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, the one long-lasting product of the Summit Agreement [but see Box, p. 17], was a pioneer for four decades in developing new strategies to open up housing opportunities for all. Because of its work and that of other fair-housing groups, residential segregation—while still severe—is not as rigid as it might have been if housing discrimination had not been challenged over the past 40 years.

The Chicago Freedom Movement also recognized that good jobs were essential to the fortunes of all Chicagoans. The Chicago chapter of Op-

The Chicago project was decisive to Martin Luther King's evolution as a national leader.

eration Breadbasket, established in 1966 with Jesse Jackson at its helm, turned to selective buying campaigns in order to break racial barriers in employment. For the past four decades, Jackson and his supporters—subsequently as Operation PUSH and today as the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition—have fought to open up the American economy to minorities.

Non-Violence

The Chicago Freedom Movement is increasingly seen as a critical stage in the application of nonviolent direct action to promoting social change. The Chicago movement represented the first time a nonviolent campaign was launched in a sprawling metropolis. The city of Selma, Alabama, consisted of roughly 30,000 residents in 1965; Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 numbered only about 300,000. Chicago, with three million residents in the city proper, dwarfed them. To this day, two of the leading architects of

the Chicago Freedom Movement, James Bevel and Bernard LaFayette, view the Chicago campaign as a decisive episode in the history of nonviolence. Bill Moyer, a member of the staff of the American Friends Service Committee and the original formulator of the open-housing strategy in 1966, and David Jehnsen, a staffer with the West Side Christian Parish in the mid-1960s, drew from the lessons learned during the Chicago Freedom Movement in spreading the message of the power of nonviolent movements in subsequent years. And there are others—veterans of the Chicago campaign—who have continued to promote the nonviolent way. Any contemporary history of nonviolence should acknowledge the radiating influence of the Chicago Freedom Movement.

Finally, the Chicago Freedom Movement—more than any Southern civil rights campaign—speaks directly to the importance of developing a broad coalition in confronting injustice. The Chicago open-housing marches, which were contemporaneous with the rising influence of Black Power, were interracial and represented a wide range of social classes. Moreover, the Chicago movement saw the limitations of viewing race relations through a binary lens. In its demands, it sought equal opportunities for "whites, Negroes, and Latin Americans." In this sense, it prefigured Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign and Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition." The Chicago Freedom Movement, then, went beyond the black/white orientation of Southern campaigns for civil rights. It envisioned a multicultural future.

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Success and the Chicago Freedom Movement

by Mary Lou Finley

Housing segregation still persists in Chicago, and by some measures poverty has even worsened in the 40 years since Martin Luther King, Jr. moved into a slum apartment on Chicago's West Side in January 1966 as a profound statement of support for the poor. Yet to conclude that the movement was, as one historian characterized it, "defeat in Chicago" is to miss much about the significance of this movement.

To see that significance, we need to trace the forces of change set in motion by the Chicago Freedom Movement and follow those energies forward through the years, even decades, to see what changes emerged over time. In this, its 40th anniversary year, we can begin to do just that.

The Chicago Freedom Movement was multi-faceted. However, it can largely be characterized as two interwoven movements: first, the concluding chapter of a decade-long nonviolent movement against racial segregation which began with the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and concluded with the open housing marches opposing housing segregation in Chicago in the Summer of 1966; and secondly, the beginning stages of an anti-poverty/economic justice movement. We need to follow the threads of both of these efforts if we are to understand the outcomes of the Chicago movement.

Activist Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan (MAP) model of social movements, developed to help organizers better understand their movements and strategize more effectively, can provide a useful framework in our efforts to assess the impact of the Chicago Freedom Movement.

The MAP model suggests that successful social movements pass through eight stages: (1) Normal Times; (2) Proving the Failure of Existing Institutions; (3) Ripening Conditions; (4) Movement Take-off; (5) Perception of Failure—a movement detour; (6)

Building Majority Public Support; (7) Success; and (8) Continuing the Struggle. Moyer also suggests that when victories have been won on many issues within a larger movement, it is easier to win on the next issue within that frame, as both the public and powerholders have already made commitments to change and the movement's message has begun to resonate widely. (For example, it was

The Chicago Freedom Movement was multi-faceted.

easier to win the integration of swimming pools and theaters in a town after the integration of restaurants had already been won.)

The Open Housing Campaign

Using the MAP lens, I would suggest that by the Spring of 1966, the open housing issue was ripe for movement take-off. Earlier successes in Southern desegregation campaigns had brought segregation into the public spotlight and convinced many—although far from everyone—that segregation was wrong. Significant groundwork had been done in fair housing organizing in Chicago during the previous decade, largely by the American Friends Service Committee. Chicago had passed a fair housing ordinance in 1963, but tests of real estate offices by black and white prospective buyers had proved the ordinance ineffective (propelling this movement through Stage 2, Proving the Failure of Existing Institutions). Nonviolent tactics for confronting the real estate industry, such as picketing real estate offices known to discriminate against black homebuyers or renters, had been developed and tried on a small scale.

The open housing marches served as the "trigger event" that sparked a Stage 4 take-off of the movement against housing segregation. The drama of the nonviolent marches themselves, the violent neighborhood response and the presence of Martin Luther King, Jr. prompted a city-wide crisis in Chicago and brought national and international attention. Housing segregation was placed in the national spotlight, and the clear violation of the rights of African Americans to equal treatment was made startlingly visible. A fair housing bill was introduced in Congress. The Summit Agreement reached by negotiations between the movement and Mayor Richard J. Daley ended the marches and committed Chicago institutions to make changes. However, it was viewed by many—both then and now—as weak.

If we view the open housing marches through the lens of the MAP model, we see that movement victories are seldom won at the end of Stage 4, Movement Take-off. Rather, they come later, as the forces set in motion by the movement engage a wide range of community members in the sometimes slow and deliberate work of propelling each movement issue forward to victory over time. Political scientist Sidney Tarrow, in his book *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, noted a similar pattern: "Cycles of contention are a season for sowing, but the reaping is often done in periods of demobilization that follow, by latecomers to the cause, by elites and authorities." While Tarrow seemed to view this process as rather mysterious, the MAP model provides clues as to how this next chapter of a movement's life unfolds.

In Stage 6, Building Majority Public Support, movement work shifts from protest to quieter, protracted struggle, utilizing educational efforts to deepen and broaden public support, and, as public support grows, to work through legislative, legal and commu-

nity channels to institutionalize change, propelling the movement, issue by issue, to Stage 7, Success. Protests may also occur, but they tend to be smaller and localized, either directed at specific local targets or prompted by “re-trigger events” which again pull movement issues into the public spotlight. (Cindy Sheehan’s decision to camp out in Crawford, Texas outside

President Bush’s home in August 2005 was such an event in the movement against the Iraq war. Multitudinous vigils supporting her sprung up across the U.S. in less than a week.)

How did this Stage 6 work, Building Majority Public Support, unfold, then, in the months and years following the Summer 1966 open housing marches? This story is yet to be fully

told, but I can at least cite a few examples, many of which address the original 1966 demands posted by Martin Luther King, Jr. on the door of Chicago’s City Hall.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968, with provisions for fair housing, was passed by Congress in April 1968, shortly after Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination. It was further strengthened in 1988. The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, established by the 1966 Summit Agreement, for 40 years continued to support thousands of African Americans moving into predominantly white neighborhoods in the city and its suburbs. [But see Box, p. 17] The noisy, virulent and sometimes violent opposition to these move-ins which had been a characteristic of race relations in Chicago since the early 20th century were, by the mid-1990s, virtually ended. An anti-redlining movement against discrimination in mortgage-lending, which spread across the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s, was rooted in Chicago and led by Chicagoans such as Gail Cincotta, Director of National Peoples Action. The Community Reinvestment Act passed by Congress in 1977 guaranteed equality in bank-lending and required bank investment in communities with bank branches. The Gautreaux case against the Chicago Housing Authority, led by Alex Polikoff and described in his compelling new book, *Waiting for Gautreaux*, won a 1976 Supreme Court ruling that required CHA to house African Americans in predominantly white neighborhoods. This case was intertwined with the Chicago Freedom Movement’s work in significant ways: Dorothy Gautreaux was active in the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, and others in the American Civil Liberties Union—which engaged Polikoff in this project—were quietly supporting the Chicago Freedom Movement. The Contract Buyers League, which emerged from organizing out of Presentation Catholic Church on the West Side in the late 1960s fought for the rights of homeowners who had been

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PRRAC’s Edith Witt Internships

We are pleased to announce our 2006 award, to the Idaho Community Action Network (in Boise) and their intern, Fernando Mejia. Their project, Idaho DREAM in Motion, DREAM in Action, focuses on developing youth leadership teams across the state and coordinating campus/community campaigns in support of the DREAM Act, an in-state tuition bill in Idaho, and comprehensive immigration reform. Mr. Mejia, born in Mexico, is a political science major at Boise State Univ. A subsequent issue of *Poverty & Race* will report on their work.

Below is the report of Katie Yue-Sum Li, the 2005 Edith Witt intern, and her work for Teaching for Change (our partner organization in publishing *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching*):

Katie Li’s Edith Witt Fellowship has supported her work with Teaching for Change’s curriculum development for the National Equity Center Civil Rights Institutes. The National Equity Center will hold two Summer Civil Rights Activist Institutes—one for college students (in Los Angeles) and one for high school students (in DC). The mission of these two unprecedented institutes is to mentor, guide and train the next generation of leaders to fight in the movement for social justice. Understanding that new leaders must gain a deep knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement from a people’s perspective as well as develop leadership and advocacy skills, the NEC has partnered with Teaching for Change to write the curriculum for their two institutes. The curriculum draws in part from the Teaching for Change/PRRAC publication, *Putting the Movement Back into Civil Rights Teaching*.

Over the course of the last few months, I have coordinated, written and gathered resources and curricula for the high school institute. This curriculum focuses on the history of the Civil Rights Movement as a people’s movement, leadership and advocacy skills, media and communications training, and site visits to organizations and community groups that are contemporary examples of people fighting in the movement for social justice today. Specifically, I have had the opportunity to write a curriculum emphasizing alliance-building and intergroup community-building.

In addition, I have served as the communication liaison between Teaching for Change and the high school institute faculty. This role has included tasks such as coordinating meeting times, facilitating conference calls, soliciting feedback, and revising the curriculum after receiving suggestions. The critical experience I have gained writing and editing the NEC curriculum for TfC has broadened my knowledge about social justice resources and networks as well as deepened my skills for writing and reviewing a social justice and popular education curriculum.

(FINLEY: Continued from page 9)

unable to get conventional bank mortgages.

Moyer's MAP model suggests that "reformers" who carry movement issues on to victory through legislative and legal channels and patient community work in the later stages of a movement, as described above, are often different individuals or groups from the "rebels" who organized the initial protests and brought the issue to public attention. Activists involved in these different roles may even be unaware of each other's contributions to the overall movement effort. Yet, Moyer contends, all are critical for a movement's ultimate success, and all of this work needs to be seen as a part of the larger movement whole.

The "End the Slums" and Economic Justice Campaigns

The "End the Slums" campaign had a dual focus: organizing tenants around

improved housing conditions; and secondly, a more general anti-poverty effort to bring to public consciousness the indignities of poverty, the systemic, institutionalized nature of poverty, and the immorality of a society which allows poverty to persist in the midst of wealth. Operation Breadbasket, led by Rev. Jesse Jackson and a group of black ministers, conducted a

The open housing marches served as the "trigger event." Housing segregation was placed in the national spotlight.

focused economic justice campaign aimed at more jobs and economic empowerment for African Americans.

Both the tenants' rights movement and the general anti-poverty movement were in their very early stages in 1965-67. It was a time for experimenting with ways of framing issues and developing organizing strategies, but the

MAP model suggests that we would not expect massive mobilizations during these early stages.

Jesse Gray's organizing of tenant councils and rent strikes in New York City was known to Freedom Movement organizers and served as an inspiration. Martin Luther King's decision to move into a slum apartment himself brought widespread public attention to poor housing conditions in the black community. Bernard Lafayette's work on a lead poisoning campaign with neighborhood youth highlighted the very real health dangers of slum housing while teaching youth strategies for bringing change in their community. Southern Christian Leadership Conference Project Director Rev. James Bevel proposed the development of tenant unions, in which tenants would seek collective bargaining agreements with landlords; this formed the basis of the tenant organizing work.

Tenant union organizing efforts brought an important victory a few days after the rally at Soldier's Field kicking off the summer campaign. On July 13, 1966, East Garfield Park slumlords John Condor and Louis Costallis agreed to sign a collective bargaining agreement with their tenants allowing rent withholding if buildings were in dangerous states of disrepair. The importance of this work was swallowed up at the time in preparations for the open housing marches, and its innovative potential seems to have been overlooked by many movement observers. Yet it is the type of victory the MAP model would lead us to anticipate when a movement is in its early stages; it is small and local and, at the same time, a creative new approach, full of potential.

Tenant organizing continued in Chicago, but it was not until the 1980s that the tenants' rights movement reached take-off. In the mid-1980s, the 40-group Coalition for Tenants Rights formed and in 1986 won a Chicago city ordinance offering new tenant protections, including a "repair and deduct" provision which, according to Gregory Squires and his colleagues (see the accompanying Resources Box,

New Report on Race and Subprime Lending

The National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC), along with The Opportunity Agenda and PRRAC, have jointly published *Homeownership and Wealth Building Impeded: Continuing Lending Disparities for Minorities and Emerging Obstacles for Middle-Income and Female Borrowers of all Races*. The study reveals that home loan lending inequities break down not only along racial and gender lines, but follow the ethnic make-up of neighborhoods as well. Based on the new 2004 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data, NCRC found that minorities and immigrants receive strikingly high numbers of high-cost—or subprime—loans independent of their economic status. In addition, women—regardless of ethnic or racial make-up—received over 32% of subprime loans made to all Americans even though females comprise only 29% of the nation's households; by contrast, women received only 24% of the prime rate home purchase loans.

We are grateful for the generous assistance Prof. Greg Squires, chair of the George Washington Univ. Sociology Dept. and a member of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board, provided for this report. The report, authored primarily by NCRC research director Josh Silver, is available on the websites of the three participating organizations (all sites worth visiting in their own right): www.ncrc.org, www.opportunityagenda.org and www.prrac.org.

p. 15), “allows tenants to make repairs that are necessary for health or safety reasons and deduct the cost from the rent,” paralleling the Freedom Movement’s original tenant-landlord collective bargaining agreement. Meanwhile, the National Low Income Housing Coalition was formed in 1974, “dedicated to ending America’s affordable housing crisis,” and tenant organizations emerged in other cities to protect tenants’ rights.

Operation Breadbasket won its first victory in April 1966, gaining commitments for jobs for African Americans in companies through its strategy of selective buying campaigns, taking on one dairy, soft drink company, grocery chain at a time. This approach to improving job opportunities—which itself paralleled earlier “don’t shop where you can’t work” campaigns in Chicago dating back to the 1930s—provided early practical and conceptual support for affirmative action, with its goals and timetables for hiring minorities, ordered by the Supreme Court in 1971.

Breadbasket also expanded rapidly in its first year to include broader economic empowerment goals, winning campaigns for increased deposits in black-owned banks, marketing assistance for black businessmen and other efforts to strengthen the black community’s economic base. Rev. Jesse Jackson and others have continued this highly successful work for the last 40 years, continuing to organize in support of new economic opportunities for African Americans and for African-American-owned businesses. This organization became independent of SCLC in 1971 and now operates as Rainbow/PUSH.

As Paul Street’s new report for the Chicago Urban League (see Box, p. 15) documents, there has been a very substantial expansion of the black middle class, upper middle class and upper class since the 1970s. For example, he notes: “Between 1970 and 2000 the number of African American Chicagoans receiving an income ...of \$75,000 and above [according to]..the 2000 census increased by 13%,” while “the comparable increase

for all Chicagoans was only 1%.” The efforts of Breadbasket/PUSH, combined with nationally-mandated anti-discrimination and affirmative action programs in colleges and universities as well as workplaces, have no doubt contributed significantly to this expansion of the African-American middle and upper classes. These are important victories.

Anti-Poverty Efforts

The same cannot be said, however, of anti-poverty efforts. The Chicago Freedom Movement developed an analysis of the slum as an exploited community, a community from which resources were drained, a victim of an “internal colonialism”; the Union to

The Chicago Freedom Movement developed an analysis of the slum as an exploited community, a victim of an “internal colonialism.”

End Slums was an effort to organize around this analysis. Yet it did not go far. Specific anti-poverty provisions were included in the Summer 1966 demands, such as a call for an increase in the minimum wage and improvements in the administration of the welfare system, as well as institution of fair employment practices. The movement did not—at this point—succeed in developing viable strategies and tactics for tackling the issue of poverty. However, Martin Luther King’s speeches framing poverty as an issue of economic justice are an important legacy of that time.

After Chicago, anti-poverty movements were increasingly Dr. King’s focus, and, when he was assassinated in April of 1968, he was deeply engaged in two such campaigns: the Poor Peoples Campaign, a multiracial non-violent action campaign to bring poor people from across the country to the seat of power in the nation’s capital to demand that poverty be abolished; and

the Memphis garbage workers’ strike. Both of these campaigns represented strategic innovations that provided more powerful vehicles for raising the issue of poverty in the public arena. Yet this work was cut short by Dr. King’s tragic assassination.

Former SCLC staffers Dorothy Wright Tillman—now alderman for a Chicago South Side ward—and Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of a South Side church, have continued to address the needs of the poor in Chicago over the intervening decades. When Rev. Jesse Jackson ran for President in 1984 and 1988, he brought the issues of economic justice and poverty to national political debates.

While the other issues raised by the Chicago movement are by no means completely resolved, I would suggest that the battle against poverty is the great unfinished work of that time.

Yet this cannot be seen just as a movement failure. Anti-poverty movements in Chicago and other Northern cities continued to build in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 a great backlash took hold. Reagan cut social spending, refused to raise the minimum wage, reduced taxes for the rich and, with his attack on mythical “welfare queens,” began a decades-long ideological battle to label the poor as “unworthy,” and undercut the framing of poverty as an issue of justice. The deindustrialization begun in the 1970s and the continued outsourcing of well-paying jobs have also made the escape from poverty ever more difficult.

Only in the last decade have we begun to see the serious revival of an economic justice movement. Living-wage ordinances have been adopted by over 100 cities and counties, and there have been successful state-level initiatives to raise the minimum wage, most recently in Florida and Nevada. Labor efforts to organize the unorganized, particularly in the service industry, are revitalizing the labor movement and bringing hope to workers. Hurricane Katrina brought persistent poverty back into the public spotlight

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The End-the-Slums Movement

by Bernard LaFayette, Jr.

and broke through the Reaganesque caricatures of the poor, reviving widespread empathy for mothers with hungry children and others who are suffering.

Perhaps the anti-poverty/economic justice movement will, finally, take off and we will begin to work together as a nation to address this painful legacy of untended public business.

In conclusion, I would suggest that the Chicago Freedom Movement did its work, the work that could be done, at that moment in history. It brought the housing segregation movement to take-off and succeeded in framing anti-poverty efforts as a matter of economic justice. Its tenant union organizing helped the nascent tenant movement to grow. The economic empowerment work begun by Operation Breadbasket has borne fruit for the last 40 years. All of these undertakings were furthered, often by others, in the decades that followed, and, over the years, there were many successes. Yet there is still much to be done.

As we commemorate the Chicago Freedom Movement's 40th anniversary this year, a call will be issued inviting everyone to join in the unfinished work.

Mary Lou Finley (mlfinley@antiochsea.edu) was on the SCLC staff in Chicago in 1965-66, where she served as secretary for Project Director Rev. James Bevel. She is a member of the faculty at Antioch University Seattle and a co-author of Doing Democracy: the MAP Model for Organizing Social Movement, with primary author Bill Moyer (now deceased), who was a collaborator in the initial thinking on these issues. □

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Although the most well-publicized focus of the Chicago Freedom Movement was the Open Housing Campaign, a parallel "End-the-Slums" campaign raised the issue of housing and health in a combined research and advocacy campaign.

This campaign focused on the condition of slum housing in the area, where people of color lived. In addition to the lack of trash pick-up and unswept streets, the physical housing was in disrepair: broken windows, busted door locks, unpainted surfaces, crumbling steps, and of most concern was the lead-based paint peeling from the walls.

Tony Henry, who directed the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) Pre-Adolescent Enrichment Program, initiated the idea of organizing a union of the tenants that would include dues check-off and formal representatives for the tenants. In the process of organizing the tenants, we discovered that young children were experiencing severe health problems. Young children suffered from swollen stomachs, blindness, damaged internal organs, vomiting and paralysis due to ingestion of peeling lead-based paint chips from the interior walls of the slum housing. The peeling paint chips fell from the interior walls of the ceiling onto the floors and sometimes even in the babies' cribs. The walking toddlers sometimes gnawed on the window sills as they peered out the windows. The lead from the paint caused irreversible damage to the children's brain cells, which led to a permanent physiological impairment.

Rather than organize a protest march to address the problem, which is always an appropriate method after gathering the information, educating the constituents, and preparing oneself for the campaign, we decided to address the problem directly.

While we were organizing the tenants, we were organizing the youth in

the community under the leadership of Clarence James, a local high school student. The organization was named SOUL (Students Organization for Urban Leadership).

Dr. David Elwyn, a university chemistry professor, developed a litmus test to detect high contents of elements in the urine, which is an indicator of disproportional presence of lead in the body. The high school students were trained to properly collect urine samples from the small children who lived in housing where peeling paint was discovered. These samples were taken to a make-shift laboratory in the basement of the AFSC Project House on the west side of Chicago.

Once the test results showed that a high content of elements existed in a urine sample—which indicated a high presence of lead in the child's body—the parents were notified and the child was taken to Presbyterian St. Luke Hospital for a more precise blood level test. The child was consequently hospitalized for treatment.

This model served as an example of how the human resources of a community can be used to address the problem directly, which strengthened our demand that the city and state take responsibility to properly address the problem in a systematic way. The high school students who participated consequently saw improvement in their grades, specifically in the areas of science. Some of these students even went on to become medical professionals.

The City of Chicago consequently employed service workers to implement our Lead Poisoning Project. We were able to show the relationship between slum housing and environmental health problems in children.

Bernard LaFayette, Jr. (doc@uri.edu), a leader of the Nashville Movement and Freedom Rider, co-founded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He is Director of the Center for Nonviolence and Peace Studies at the Univ. of Rhode Island. □

Forty Years of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago

by Dick Simpson

Forty years ago, the civil rights marches burst upon the scene in Chicago. Within a year, there was a summit agreement of sorts between Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mayor Richard J. Daley. Many at the time saw the agreement as a sham and simply a way for Dr. King to leave town and take the movement other places where there would be more success. Others note today that the gap between poor Blacks and rich Whites in the Chicago Metropolitan region is greater than in Dr. King's time. Yet, to claim that nothing was gained then or now is to miss significant changes that have occurred.

For most of the 1960s, African Americans were represented in the City Council of Chicago by the "Silent Six" Black aldermen. In this period, African Americans were best represented by a White alderman, 5th Ward Alderman Leon Despres, who was described by novelist Ronald Fair as the "only 'Negro' in city government" and by David Llorens in the *Negro Digest* in 1966 as the "lone 'Negro' spokesman in Chicago's City Council."

In 1967, demographer Pierre de Vise wrote *The Widening Color Gap*, in which he contrasted the 10 richest White areas of the metropolitan region and the 10 poorest Black communities. Unfortunately, the "color gap" between rich Whites and poor Blacks continued to grow even after the Civil Rights Act and the War on Poverty were implemented by the national government. William Julius Wilson, when studying some of the same Black ghettos, declared that the ghettos grew only worse and were the breeding ground of a "permanent underclass."

Sixty years ago, the law in the South and the practice in the North was segregation. In Chicago, progress has been slow but steady. It may not seem like much to have gone from a segregation index of 94% to 86% (the percent of people who would have to move to have each community have

the same racial profile as the metropolitan region as a whole). But despite itself, Chicago is moving toward more integration and shared power and wealth between the races.

Since the 1960s, there have been advances in racial justice and power-sharing. The Chicago City Council has replaced the "Silent Six" Black aldermen with 20 African-American aldermen who are prepared, at least on clear racial issues, to vote the views and needs of their constituents. Unfortu-

The high water mark of black power, of course, was Harold Washington's mayoralty from 1983-1987.

nately, they are also part of a White, Black, and Latino rubber stamp City Council which goes along with Mayor Richard M. Daley far too often. They don't have Dr. King's courage or vision (with a few notable exceptions). Even so, they are a manifestation of Black power in practice—as are the Black state legislators, judges and

Congressmen Chicago voters regularly elect. In social science language, Blacks have been incorporated into the ruling elite governing the city.

The high water mark of Black power, of course, was Harold Washington's mayoralty from 1983-1987. He began programs of affirmative action in city jobs and contracts which have brought thousands of government jobs and millions of dollars in city contracts to the Black community. He not only empowered Blacks, but also Latinos, Asians, women, gays and progressive Whites. As his supporters like to say, with justification, he raised the floor of city government. Since his death, the programs of affirmative action in jobs and contracts, minorities in key cabinet positions and city leadership roles have continued. But this was a plateau from which Blacks have not advanced further, even as other minorities have made significant gains in the Richard M. Daley era.

Mayor Richard M. Daley's cabinet contains seven African Americans (17%), 24 Whites (59%), 7 Hispanics (17%) and 3 Asians (7%). So Whites continue to vastly outnumber every-

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Chicago 1966

"Fulfilling the Dream: The Chicago Freedom Movement, 40th Anniversary, 1966-2006" is a collaborative effort commemorating the history of the Chicago Freedom Movement. Coordinated by the Center for Urban Research and Learning at Loyola University Chicago, this project will focus on the history of the Movement as well as its impact on current life in Chicago. Co-sponsoring organizations include the Chicago Historical Museum, Community Renewal Society, DuSable Museum, Chicago Urban League, Newberry Library, and the Jewish Community Council on Urban Affairs. The keynote event, a citywide and national conference, is scheduled for July 23-25. For more information, contact Prof. Kale Williams at kwili5@luc.edu or visit <http://www.cfm40.org>.

In coordination with this conference, PRRAC has produced an interactive chronology of that pivotal summer which launched the modern fair housing movement, including contemporary newspaper accounts, maps, photographs and first-person recollections of the events: www.prrac.org/projects/chicago1966.php.

(SIMPSON: Continued from page 13)

one else, but Blacks and Latinos are represented in the highest positions.

More telling are city jobs and contracts. During Mayor Richard M. Daley's reign, despite having roughly 36% of the population and 40% City Council membership, and providing an increasing level of electoral support for the mayor, African Americans have averaged only 12% of the city contracts throughout his term, and in the last year, dropped to an all-time low since 1987 of 9%. While Blacks have increased their vote for Daley from 10% in 1989 to 57% in 2003, Black jobs have dropped slightly, from 33.25% to 32%.

So in city jobs and contracts Blacks have stood still, while by contrast Latinos have made substantial gains. Although with 28% of Chicago's population, Latinos are underrepresented in the Chicago City Council with eight Latino aldermen (16%), they have made remarkable gains in jobs and contracts. Under Mayor Washington, they received for the first time 4% of city contracts and 5% of city jobs by 1987. They have increased under Mayor Richard M. Daley to 14% of contracts and 11% of jobs. Partially, this is a reward for the more than 80% of their votes which they give Mayor Daley every election. A White/Latino coalition now governs the city, al-

though Latinos are distinctly the junior partners in the arrangement.

To make any final assessment of the impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago, it is critical to realize that it has gone beyond the bounds of the African-American community. Women, Latinos, gays and Asians have all benefitted from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and all the years since. Immigrants are the newest members of the movement. As civil rights leader Reverend Jesse Jackson wrote in his *Sun-Times* op-ed column on May 2, 2006, the day after 700,000 immigrants and their support-

Civil rights is now the rallying cry not just of Blacks, but of all groups that are oppressed and mistreated in our society.

ers marched to demand their rights in Chicago, "immigrants and their human rights supporters took to the streets, reigniting this era's civil rights struggle. . . . As I see it, their rally cry—'Si se puede'—is Spanish for 'We shall overcome'." Civil rights is now the rallying cry not just of Blacks, but of all groups that are oppressed and mistreated in our society.

Have we made it to the promised

land since the marches began in Chicago 40 years ago? No, we haven't. There have been many setbacks and many failings. With a conservative President and Congress, progress is slower than many of us would like.

But there are still clear signs of progress. Overt discrimination is against the law, and Blacks, like other minorities, have been incorporated into the mainstream of corporate Chicago and political Chicago. To make further progress requires rebuilding a rainbow coalition of Blacks, Whites, Latinos and Asians; of women and men; of straights and gays; and of new immigrants and American-born. The strongest force for change is in fact new movements, rightful successors of the decades-old civil rights marches—the Anti-Iraq War Movement, the Women Rights, the Gay Rights and the brand-new Immigrant Rights Movement. Only together can we make further progress towards social justice.

Dick Simpson (simpson@uic.edu) is Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He is a former Chicago Alderman (1971-79) and participated in the Civil Rights Movement demonstrations in Texas during the early 1960s. His best known books on Chicago are Winning Elections and Rogues, Rebels and Rubber Stamps: The Political History of the Chicago City Council from 1863 to the Present. □

Overall, Things Are Not Good

by Salim Muwakkil

Martin Luther King's publicity-savvy Southern Christian Leadership Conference arrived in Chicago with a campaign to attack racial biases and improve the quality of life in the city's notoriously squalid black ghettos. The SCLC-Coordinating Council of Community Organizations collaboration was particularly focused on housing discrimination, but it targeted an array of race-based urban ills. After the

Southern campaign's success prodding the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, movement strategists thought a Northern strategy could also prompt legislative action.

The flagrantly racist resistance of Southern whites to the SCLC's Southern campaigns garnered national sympathy. But the Chicago demonstrations for open housing and education equal-

ity attracted much less national support. What's more, the violent uprisings in Harlem, New York in 1964 and Watts, California in 1965 had triggered a growing white backlash.

Chicago was an urban area with easily identified ills: Housing and job discrimination were among the most pressing problems for the city's African-American population. But the issue of education generated the most

street heat among blacks in the Windy City. The failure to address school overcrowding and other issues of educational neglect in the city's black communities sparked many angry protests. Al Raby, the man who led CCCO and importuned King and company to come to Chicago, was himself a former teacher drawn into the movement through the education issue.

During the Summer of 1965, the city experienced one of the most sustained periods of protests in Chicago history. This protest infuriated the administration of Mayor Richard J. Daley, which denied it could do much to address educational issues, even as it offered conciliatory rhetoric. His response presaged the administration's reaction to the Chicago Freedom Movement's later charges of housing discrimination and slum-like conditions. During 1966, the Movement organized several large marches dedicated to housing issues. King was hit

with a rock during a march through one of the city's most racially hostile neighborhoods, and that incident came to symbolize the Movement's failure. King's foray into the wilds of the Windy City is retrospectively judged as an overreach that mistakenly applied Southern-born tactics to Northern realities.

There is some truth to that assessment, but there's more. The Chicago Freedom Movement certainly failed to end slums; that was only a rhetorical goal. But it also failed to revitalize any

The 1965 protest infuriated the Daley administration.

single neighborhood. In fact, with its focus on open housing in other neighborhoods, it may have helped devitalize the very communities King hoped to save. Some research (especially that

of William Julius Wilson) suggests many black neighborhoods were hurt by the exodus of middle-class African Americans who had served as stabilizing factors. Ultimately, even those fleeing middle-class blacks wound up in racially-segregated neighborhoods.

Changes in the City's Racial Landscape

However, the Chicago Freedom Movement did provoke some serious changes in the city's racial landscape; it shot some adrenalin into the city's activist community. Al Raby and other Movement leaders intentionally employed some gang members as protection on marches through dangerous neighborhoods. Many youths were radicalized by that contact, and they helped form the basis of a vital Black Panther chapter in the city. Chronic

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National Fair Housing Alliance
<http://www.nationalfairhousing.org>

National Low Income Housing Coalition
<http://www.nlihc.org/>

police harassment of militant black organizations and the brazen assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark help spark an independent political movement that led eventually to the 1983 election of Harold Washington as the city's first African-American mayor.

Signs of Success Are Rare

But 40 years after that promising attempt to connect the Southern Civil Rights Movement to the Northern freedom struggle, signs of success are rare. The "slums" that King targeted evolved into "ghettos," and now those "inner-city" neighborhoods offer graphic testimony that semantics make little difference to residents' quality of life. The state of black Chicago in 2006 displays little of what was promised 40 years ago.

There have been some bright spots. The electoral realm, for example, has seen an explosion of African-American representation, including the mayoral elections of Harold Washington in 1983 and 1987; the 1992 election of Carol Moseley Braun as the first black female US Senator; the 2004 election and growing prominence of US Senator Barack Obama, only the third black US Senator since Reconstruction. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who was one of King's lieutenants, is now leader of the Rainbow/PUSH organization and the father of Cong. Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D-IL). And there are many other tales of black political triumph in the city.

But overall things are not good. According to a recent Urban League study, "Still Separate, Unequal: Race, Place, Policy and the State of Black Chicago," the city remains "deeply in the thrall of racial separation and racial inequality." Among the figures noted in the 2005 report is that the average black Chicagoan lives in a census tract where about four of every five residents are African-American; the

average white lives in a tract where less than 1 of every 10 residents is black. Within Chicago, the average black K-12 public school student attends a school that is 86% African-American. Black students are less exposed to other groups than any other ethnic/racial group in the city. This state of virtual apartheid has not changed in any significant way since King's movement left town, and the other racial disparities remain largely unchanged.

These imbalances are in income, education, employment, poverty rates, economic vitality, etc. In income, for example, black households are disproportionately low earners. The median income of the average black neighborhood was \$36,298 in 2004 (the latest year for which there are figures—many experts estimate that figure dropped a

This state of virtual apartheid has not significantly changed since King's movement left town.

bit in 2006), \$61,952 in predominantly white neighborhoods.

Education has remained a potent issue as study after study confirms the dismal state of schools in the city's black communities. Drop-out rates remain high. In fact, the Urban League study reveals that only 38% of black males have graduated high school since 1995. An analyses of jobless data found that in 2004, more than 50% of so-called "unattached youth" ages 16-24 were dangerously disconnected from both the labor market and the educational system. Of the city's 15 poorest neighborhoods, 14 were disproportionately black and 11 were more than 94% black. In 15 of the city's 77 community areas in 2004, more than 28% of the children lived in "deep poverty," and 14 of these neighborhoods were in predominantly black areas of Chicago's south and west sides.

And this is where inadequate education and poverty connect: Of the city's 293 predominantly black schools, fully two-thirds (170) report 90% or more of their students as "low-income," and low-income has been closely correlated with poor academic performance. Nearly six in ten African-American ninth graders do not graduate with a regular high school degree within four years. Black males are significantly absent in the Chicago region's institutions of higher education. They have very little presence at the area's most competitive colleges and universities. In fact, black males are becoming less visible in many aspects of American life (but that's another problem, perhaps for another time).

One of the fallouts from this educational failure is the destructive incarceration epidemic that found nearly 23,000 more black males in the Illinois state prison system than enrolled in the state's public universities in 2004. Sixty-six percent of the state's roughly 45,000 prisoners and 63% of its 34,000 parolees in 2004 were African-American. In 2004, the state's incarceration rate for African Americans was more than ten times the rate for whites.

Forty years since the Chicago Freedom Movement, there are signs of progress as well: Black poverty rates fell, black employment rose, black median family income and college enrollment also rose. As in the rest of America, there is a "best of times, worst of times" quality to black life in Chicago. Unfortunately, the worst times are getting even worse, and the best are declining.

Salim Muwakkil (Salim4X@aol.com) is a senior editor at In These Times magazine and a contributing Op-Ed columnist for The Chicago Tribune. He is a member of the editorial board of the Madison-based Progressive Media Project, an advisory board member of Free Press, and a 2000 Media Fellow of the Soros Open Society Institute. □

Farewell to the Leadership Council

One of the concrete outcomes of the Chicago Freedom Movement was the founding of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in 1966. The organization was created as part of the final agreement reached on August 26, 1966, between the Movement and the City of Chicago. Now, four decades later, the Leadership Council is closing its doors for good.

As one of the country's first fair housing advocacy organizations, LCMOC set a national example with its mix of training, testing, advocacy, policy research and direct service. Its successful administration of the Gautreaux housing mobility program helped over 7,000 families move to higher-opportunity areas throughout the Chicago region, setting an example for mobility programs in many other cities. For those of us who continue to work to promote housing choice and desegregation, the Leadership Council has been a source of inspiration. Here is an excerpt from the group's official closing statement:

It is with sadness that we report that one of the oldest and largest fair housing organizations in the country, the Leadership Council, will close operations after 40 years, effective June 2, 2006. At the May board meeting the Board of Directors...voted to cease operations. Connie Lindsey, Board Chairperson..., said "all options were thoroughly explored, it was a very difficult decision for the whole board. Also, the current funding environment made it difficult to raise the necessary funds to continue important fair housing, mobility, advocacy and legal programs."

Today, more choices are available to minorities in Chicago and the region (although income tends to be a factor in that equation). However, discrimination still exists. In 2006, discrimination is subtle and sophisticated. Discrimination occurs through racial steering to various communities and

mortgage products, omission of information, linguistic profiling and other invisible means.

Yet there has been progress. Much of that progress directly ties to the programs of the Leadership Council. The 40-year legacy of the Council includes landmark lawsuits, advocacy for affirmative public policies, an engagement with the housing industry, and the nationally recognized Gautreaux mobility program. Together, these actions actively increased integration and housing choice in the region.

Today's segregation is a segregation of opportunity. Minorities and low- to moderate-income persons, especially those of color, are largely housed in neighborhoods and commu-

nities that have few employment opportunities, poor schools, crumbling infrastructures, shrinking tax bases due in large measure to the disinvestments associated with the racial composition of the community, and limited transportation networks. Meanwhile, whites and middle- and upper-income persons enjoy plentiful job growth, good schools, steady investment and more abundant transportation choices.

Dr. King's mission, left to us, has yet to be completed. We still need to make this an open region because it's right, it's practical and it's sound economics. We still need to ensure that no one is humiliated or disadvantaged through limitations based upon race or income. □

Greensboro Truth & Reconciliation Commission

A follow-up to our lead story in the Jan./Feb. *P&R*: The Commission, culminating nearly two years of work by seven volunteer Commissioners and the Commission's paid staff, released its 300+-page final report on May 25 at a ceremony held at Bennett College for Women in Greensboro (whose president is Johnnetta Cole). Speaking at the ceremony was Dr. Peter Storey, former president of the South African Council of Churches and former prison chaplain to Nelson Mandela.

The report analyzed police performance; police/community relations; the history of Ku Klux Klan, the Communist Workers Party and federal law enforcement agencies; the history of the black power movement and multicultural organizing efforts in Greensboro; labor and labor organizing history; and judicial system issues. Included as well are recommendations for future implementation in areas including community acknowledgement and institutional reform.

The May 26 *NY Times* story was headed, "Report Blames Police for Deaths at a '79 Rally in North Carolina," and noted that "Despite having a paid informer among the Klansmen, the police 'showed a stunning lack of curiosity in planning for the safety of the event'."

At the ceremony, the Commission ceased to exist, and the continuing community reconciliation work will fall to the Report Receivers — a variety of local and national religious, civic and other community groups — and to the Greensboro and Community Reconciliation Project. In keeping with the 2003 Declaration of Intent, the Project will engage in 6-12 months of follow-up discussions in the community.

Other communities in the South and elsewhere have followed the GTRC's work. Success in Greensboro offers promise that the truth-seeking model previously used in South Africa, Peru and elsewhere can be effective in US communities.

The full report & an exec. summary are available on line at www.greensborotrc.org; further information from 336/275-5953, joya@greensborotrc.org.

New PRRAC Research/Advocacy Grants

We are pleased to announce the following PRRAC grants made possible by generous support from the Annie E. Casey Foundation. A descriptive listing of the 100+ such grants we've made in the past appears on our website, www.prrac.org:

Parenting and Schooling in Diverse Families: Prof. Amy Lutz, Syracuse Univ. Dept. of Sociology and Prof. Pamela Bennett, Johns Hopkins Univ. Dept. of Sociology.

Racial Disparities in Massachusetts' Mandatory Minimum School Zone Law: Peter Wagner, Prison Policy Initiative.

Racial Disparities & Disturbing Discipline Practices in Our Middle Schools: Dan Losen, Harvard Civil Rights Project and Prof. Russell Skiba, Ctr. For Evaluation & Educ. Policy, Indiana Univ. School of Education.

A Survey of the Acceptance of Voucher Holders in Suburban Cook County [IL]: Lawyers Comm. for Better Housing.

The Effects of School & Classroom Racial Composition on Educational Outcomes: Prof. Roslyn Mickelson, UNC-Charlotte Dept. of Sociology.

Are States using the LIHTC Program to Enable Families with Children to Live in Low-Poverty and Racially Integrated Neighborhoods?: Jill Khadduri, Larry Buron and Carissa Climaco, Abt Associates. (This research is also supported by the National Fair Housing Alliance.)

In addition, thanks to a generous grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation to support PRRAC's research and advocacy on health disparities, we are pleased to announce these additional research/advocacy projects:

Reducing Occupational Injuries & Illnesses Among Latino Poultry Workers in No. Carolina: Prof. Sara Quandt, Wake Forest Univ. School of Medicine Dept. of Epidemiology & Prevention and Francisco Risso, Western No. Carolina Workers Center.

Food, Justice and Community: Motivations & Obstacles to Food Security in West Oakland, CA: Alison Hope Alkon, Univ. Calif.-Davis and Dana Harvey, Environmental Justice Inst.

Reports on the research supported by our grants and the followup advocacy work aided by this research will appear in later issues of *Poverty & Race*. Further details about and contact inf. for these projects is available from us on request (chartman@prrac.org).

Resources

Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website: www.prrac.org. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (39¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Race/Racism

- ***My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations***, by Mary Frances Berry (314 pp., 2005, \$26.95), has been published by Alfred Knopf. [9760]

- **Call for Papers on racial impact of Hurricane Katrina on African-American life, culture & political standing:** *Souls*, a quarterly interdisciplinary journal edited by Manning Marable (Columbia Univ.), is soliciting papers for a special issue. Aug. 1 deadline. Ca. 300-word abstract/proposal to him, 758 Schermerhorn Ext., Mail Code 5512, NYC, NY 10027, or to Guest

Please drop us a line letting us know how useful our Resources Section is to you, as both a lister and requester of items. We hear good things, but only sporadically. Having a more complete sense of the effectiveness of this networking function will help us greatly in foundation fundraising work (and is awfully good for our morale). Drop us a short note, letting us know if it has been/is useful to you (how many requests you get when you list an item, how many items you send away for, etc.) Thank you.

Ed. Kristen Clarke-Avery, kclarke@post.harvard.edu [9764]

- ***July '64*** (54 mins., 2006) looks at the underlying causes of the riots/urban insurrections that swept through Black communities that summer and in the years since. Focus is on Rochester. Available from Calif.

Newsreel, 500 Third St., #505, SF, CA 94107, 877/811-7495, <http://www.newsreel.org/> [9779]

- ***African American Perspectives*** is a 2006 catalog of Calif. Newsreel films. Free from 877/811-7495, <http://www.newsreel.org/> [9780]

- **“In the Eye of the Storm: How the Government and Private Responses to Hurricane Katrina Failed Latinos”** (2006) is available from Natl. Council of La Raza, 1126 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/785-1670, jmurguia@nclr.org, <http://www.nclr.org/> [9781]

- ***Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia***, by Matthew Countryman (2005), has been published by Univ. of Penn. Press — it won the 2006 Liberty Legacy Fdn. Award for the best book on any historical aspect of the struggle for civil rights in the US. [9813]

- ***Understanding Diversity: An Introduction to Class, Race, Gender & Sexual Orientation***, by Fred Pincus (169 pp., 2006, \$19.95), has been published by Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1800 30th St., #314, Boulder, CO 80301-1026, 303/444-6684. [9814]

- ***Freedom’s Call***, a 2006 documentary directed by Prof. Richard Breyer of Syracuse University, “revisits the civil rights struggle through the eyes of two veteran journalists [Dorothy Gilliam of *The Washington Post* and photographer Ernest Withers.] Inf. from 202/726-4515, www.whartongroupinc.com.

- **2006 Statistical Portrait of the Nation’s Asian and Pacific Islander Populations** is available from the UCLA Asian American Studies Center (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). Contact Prof. Nakanishi at 310/825-2974, dtu@ucla.edu, www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc.

- **“The State of Opportunity in America: Executive Summary”** (32 pp., n.d. [2006]), “A report on the nation’s progress toward protecting and expanding opportunity for all,” is available (possibly free) from The Opportunity Agenda, 568 Broadway, #302, NYC, NY 10012, 212/334-5977, www.opportunityagenda.org.

- **The National Policy Alliance** is a new entity, convened by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, designed to give voice to the 9,500 African-American elected officials and more than 3 million African-American government employees. Participating organizations are Blacks in Government, Congressional Black Caucus, Judicial Council of the Natl. Bar Assn., Natl. Assn. of Black County Officials, Natl. Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, Natl. Black Caucus of State Legislators, Natl. Caucus of Black School Board Members, Natl. Conf. of Black Mayors, and World Conf. of Mayors. Contact Mike Wenger, mwenger@jointcenter.org.

- **The African American Museum & Library** in Oakland has just opened. Its opening exhibit, “Paul Robeson: The Tallest Tree in the Forest,” will be there until July 8. 510/637-0200.

Poverty/ Welfare

- ***Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain***, eds. Christina Pantazis, David Gordon & Ruth Levitas (488 pp., 2006, \$39.95), has been published by

The Policy Press, 503/287-3093, info@isbs.com [9759]

- **“Thriving Communities: Working Together to Move from Poverty to Prosperity for All,”** a 40-page, 2006 “guide for public dialogue & problem solving,” is available, likely free (Spanish language edition as well), from Study Circles Resource Ctr., 697 Pomfret St., Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258-0203, srcr.studycircles.org. Downloadable at <http://www.studycircles.org/> [9767]

- **“Stalling the Dream”** is a May 2006 report from United for a Fair Economy, on the low car ownership rate for people — particularly, African Americans & Latinos/Hispanics— living in hurricane zones. The focus is on 11 major cities hit by 5+ hurricanes in the last 100 yrs.: New Orleans, Houston, Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, Orlando, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, Tampa, NYC, Providence, Boston). Ufe is at 29 Winter St., Boston, MA 02108, 617/423-2148, x113, www.faireconomy.org/Stalling/index.html [9775]

- **The Welfare Law Center** has changed its name to the National Center for Law and Economic Justice, <http://www.nclaj.org/> [9777]

- **“The Pillars of a Federal Antipoverty Strategy,”** a special *Clearinghouse Review* issue discussion with Deepak Bhargava (Ctr. for Comm. Change and a former PRRAC Bd. member), John Bouman (Shriver Natl. Ctr. on Poverty Law), Cecilia Munoz (Natl. Council of

La Raza), William Spriggs (Howard U.) & James Weill (Food Research & Action Ctr. and a former PRRAC Bd. member), is available from Rita McLennon at the Shriver Ctr., 50 E. Washington St., #500, Chicago, IL 60602, 312/368-2001, ritamclennon@povertylaw.org [9782]

- **“Asset-Building as a Response to Wealth Inequality: Drawing Implications from the Homestead Act,”** by Trina R. Williams (9 pp. + tables, 2003), is a working paper available (possibly free) from the Ctr. for Social Dev., Washington Univ. School of Social Work, One Brookings Dr., Campus Box 1196, St. Louis, MO 63130, 314/935-7433, csd@gwbmail@wustl.edu, gwbwcb.wustl.edu/csd [9787]

- **“NCRC-Rainbow/PUSH Coalition White Paper on Discrimination and Concentrated Poverty”** (35 pp., Jan. 2006) is available through the organizations’ websites: www.ncrc.org and www.rainbowpush.org.

- **“The EU We Want: Views from those fighting poverty and social exclusion on the future development of the EU”** is a 112-page, 2006 publication of the European Anti-poverty Network. Downloadable at http://eapn.horus.be/module/module_page/images/pdf/pdf_publications/EAPN%20Publications/book/Livre3-EN.pdf.

- **“What Is the Federal Government’s Role in Redressing Poverty?”** a telephone conference hosted by the Sargent Shriver National Center

on Poverty Law, will be held **June 20, 2006, noon (Central time)**. The 90-min. session will feature panelists Gary Bass and Adam Hughes of OMB Watch, Mark Greenberg of the Center for American Progress and John Bouman of the Shriver Center. Inf. from Crystal Ashley, 312/263-3830, x230, crystalashley@povertylaw.org.

Criminal Justice

- **“The Power of Work: The Center for Employment Opportunities Prisoner Reentry Program”** (27 pp., March 2006) is available (possibly free) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org/> [9768]

- **“Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry: Research Findings from the Urban Institute’s Prisoner Reentry Portfolio,”** by Amy L. Solomon, Christy Visher, Nancy G. La Vigne & Jenny Osborne (2006), is available from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709

Education

- **“American Higher Education: How Does It Measure Up for the 21st Century?”** by James B. Hunt, Jr. & Thomas J. Tierney (13 pp., May 2006, no price listed), is available from the Natl. Ctr. for Public Policy & Higher Education, 152 N. 3rd St., #705, San Jose, CA 95112, 408/271-2699, center@highereducation.org, <http://www.>

highereducation.org/ [9766]

- **“State Policymaking for Improving College Readiness & Success,”** by Patrick M. Callan, Joni E. Finney, Michael W. Kirst, Michael Usdan & Andrea Venezia (37 pp., 2006), is available (no price listed) from the Natl. Ctr. for Public Policy & Higher Education, 152 N. 3rd St., #705, San Jose, CA 95112, 408/271-2699, center@highereducation.org, www.highereducation.org [9770]

- **“Improving Educational Outcomes”** was a March 9-10, 2006 Alliance for Excellent Education symposium focusing on the importance of data to closing the achievement gap and successfully reforming schools. Audio & visual of the event available at www.all4ed.org/events/DataSymposium.html [9773]

- **“The Silent Epidemic: Perspectives of High School Dropouts”** (March 2006), from Civil Enterprises, is available at www.civicerprises.net/pdfs/thesilentepidemic3-06.pdf [9788]

- **“Reading Between the Lines: What the ACT Reveals About College Readiness in Reading”** (2006), from ACT, is available at www.act.org/path/policy/reports/reading.html [9789]

- ***We Can’t Teach What We Don’t Know: White Teachers, Multiracial Schools***, by Gary R. Howard (2nd ed., 192 pp., 2006, \$19.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9792]

- ***What If All the Kids***

Are White? Anti-Bias Multicultural Education with Young Children & Families, by Louise Derman-Sparks (208 pp., 2006, \$24.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9793]

- ***Education Research in the Public Interest: Social Justice, Action & Policy***, by Gloria Ladson-Billings & William F. Tate (168 pp., 2005, \$21.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9794]

- ***Learning Power: Organizing for Education & Justice***, by Jeannie Oakes, John Rogers & Martin Lipton (216 pp., 2006, \$19.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9795]

- ***Multicultural Strategies for Education & Social Change***, by Arnetha F. Ball (208 pp., 2006, \$27.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9796]

- ***Urban Teaching: The Essentials***, by Lois Weiner (rev. ed., 112 pp., 2006, \$15.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9797]

- ***“To Remain an Indian”: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native America Education***, by K. Tsianina Lomawaima & Teresa L. McCarty (240 pp., 2006, \$29.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9798]

- ***Serving the Community: Guidelines for Setting Up a Service-Learning Program***, by Phyllis Tasklik & Cathy Tomaszewski (48 pp.,

2006, \$29.95 — including a DVD), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9799]

- ***What Was It Like? Teaching History & Culture Through Young Adult Literature***, by Linda J. Rice (216 pp., 2006, \$23.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9801]

- ***Inquiry in Action: Teaching Columbus***, by Avram Barlowe (64 pp., 2006, \$15.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9802]

- ***Asian Americans in Class: Charting the Achievement Gap Among Korean American Youth***, by Jamie Lew (144 pp., 2006, \$23.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9803]

- ***Visionary Middle Schools: Signature Practices & the Power of Local Invention***, by Catherine Cobb Morocco, Nancy Brigham & Cynthia Mata Aguilar (192 pp., 2006, \$23.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566. [9804]

- **“Open to the Public: Speaking Out on No Child Left Behind”** is the Public Education Network’s 2nd annual report (2006) that gives voice to community, parent & student concerns about the federal legislation. Hearings were held in CA, FL, IL, MA, MI, NY, OH, PA & TX. Downloadable at <http://www.publiceducation.org/> [9810]

- **“Ready for College and Ready for Work: Same or Different?”** is a

2006 policy brief from ACT, available at <http://www.act.org/path/policy/pdf/ReadinessBrief.pdf>.

- **“Meeting Five Critical Challenges of High School Reform: Lessons from Research on Three Reform Models,”** by Janet Quint of MDRC, is available at <http://www.mdrc.org/publications/428/overview.html>.

- **“Rethinking Schools** has published its 20th anniversary issue. Among the dozen-plus articles are an interview with Howard Zinn, Stan Karp on “What’s Next for NCLB?,” Bob Peterson’s study of the Milwaukee teachers’ union, Barbara Miner’s article on the voucher wars. Full issue can be downloaded for \$5 from www.rethinkingschools.org. Subs. to the quarterly are \$17.95, 800/669-4192.

- **“Paying for Persistence: Early Results of a Louisiana Scholarship Program for Low-Income Parents Attending Community College”** is a 2006 study, available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org>.

- **“Closing the Achievement Gap: Linking Families, Schools, and Communities,”** sponsored by the Harvard Family Research Project, will be held **Nov. 9-11, 2006** in Cambridge. Inf. from 800/545-1849, www.gse.harvard.edu/ppe.

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“A New Approach to Low-Wage Workers & Employers,”** by Jacqueline Anderson, Linda Y. Kato & James A. Riccio (62 pp., 2006), is available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org/> [9769]

- **“On the Corner: Day Labor in the United States,”** by Abel Valenzuela, Jr., Nikolas Theodore, Edwin Melendez & Ana Luz Gonzalez (39 pp., Jan. 2006), is available at www.sscnet.ucla.edu/issr/csup/index.php [9776]

- **“A New Approach to Low-Wage Workers and Employers: Launching the Work Advancement and Support Center Demonstration”** is a 2006 report, available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org>

Families/ Women/ Children

- **“How Does Family Well-Being Vary Across Different Types of Neighborhoods?”** (2006) is available from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709. [9763]

- **“Families Struggle to Stay: Why Families are Leaving San Francisco & What Can Be Done”** (18 pp., March 2006) is available (no price listed) from Coleman Advocates for Children, 459 Vienna St., SF, CA, 415/239-0161, <http://www.colemanadvocates.org/>

colemanadvocates.org/ [9786]

- **“Forgotten Families: Ending the Growing Crisis Confronting Children & Working Parents in the Global Economy,”** by Jody Heymann (328 pp., 2006, \$27.50), has been published by Oxford U. Press, <http://www.oup.com/> [9817]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **“Hunger in America 2006,”** from America’s Second Harvest, studied over 52,000 clients served by food providers in their network, and found that 35% had to choose between paying for food and paying for rent or mortgage. Available at <http://www.hungerinamerica.org/> [9806]

Health

- **Call for Papers:** A special issue of *AIDS and Behavior* will focus on the role of housing with regard to prevention, consequences, social impact & response to HIV/AIDS. Aug. 1 deadline for original manuscripts, to Special Editor Angele Aidala, Columbia Univ. Mailman School of Public Health (issue co-editor with David Holtgrave-Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health & Martha Burt-Urban Inst.), 212/305-7023, aaal@columbia.edu [9783]

- **“Is There a Right Way to Collect Racial & Ethnic Data?”** by David W. Baker, Kenzie A. Cameron & Joseph

Feinglass (Jan. 2006), is available (possibly free) from The Commonwealth Fdn., 1 E. 75 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/606-3800, cmwf@cmwf.org [9790]

- **“Tackling Health Care Disparities Through ‘Systems Reform,’”** by Sidney Watson (Aug. 2005), is available (possibly free) from The Commonwealth Fdn., 1 E. 75 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/606-3800, cmwf@cmwf.org [9791]

- **“Why Is AIDS Ten Times Worse among Black Americans?”** is the theme of Vol. 1, No. 1 (2005) of *Black Directions*. Subs. to the bimonthly are \$36/ indivs., \$72/orgs, from the Thora Inst., PO Box 367, New Haven, CT 06513, 203/772-4418, contact@thorainstitute.com [9811]

- **“Perspectives on Health Care Disparities,”** by Vanessa Northington Gamble, Deborah Stone, Kala Ladenheim & Brian K. Gibbs (April 2006), comparing US and UK measurement of health disparities and impact of various interventions in reducing disparities, is available from The Commonwealth Fund, 1 E. 75 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/606-3800, cmwf@cmwf.org.

- **New Orleans Meeting on Health Disparities and the Rebuilding Process:** A coalition of New Orleans-based local and national racial, environmental justice, legal and health research and advocacy organizations is convening an invitational meeting on June 12 to discuss the post-Katrina rebuilding process and the city’s progress toward

safer and healthier neighborhoods. The effort is supported by the Health Policy Institute of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. For more information, contact Philip Tegeler, ptegeler@prrac.org.

Housing

- **“Racial Integration & Community Revitalization: Applying the Fair Housing Act to the Low Income Housing Tax Credit,”** by Myron Orfield, appeared in the Nov. 2005 *Vanderbilt Law Review*. [9761]
- ***Knocking on the Door: The Federal Government’s Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs*,** by Chris Bonastia (2006), has been published by Princeton Univ. Press [9765]
- **“The Rental Housing Affordability Gap: Comparison of 2001 & 2003 American Housing Surveys,”** by Danilo Pelletiere (19 pp., March 2006), is available (\$10) from the Natl. Low Income Housing Coal., 727 15th St. NW, 6th flr., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530, info@nlihc.org, http://www.nlihc.org/ [9785]
- **“Report on Housing Discrimination Against Hurricane Katrina Survivors,”** a 2006 Natl. Fair Housing Alliance study, is available at http://www.nationalfairhousing.org/ [9805]
- **“The Best Value in the Subprime Market: State Predatory Lending Reforms,”** a 2006 Center for Responsible Lending report, is available at www.responsiblelending.org/

reports/stateeffects.cfm [9807]

- **“Affordable Housing Trust Funds”** is a (2006?) Fannie Mae Fdn. Issue Brief, available at www.knowledgeplex.org/kp/new_content/policy_brief/relfiles.ahtf_brief.pdf [9812]
- **“America’s Rental Housing: Homes for a Diverse Nation”** (2006) is available (free) from the Harvard Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies, 617/495-7908, mbarnes@gsd.harvard.edu, www.jchs.harvard.edu/publications/rental/rh06_americas_rental_housing.pdf [9815]
- **“The Katrina Housing Series: How Congress Can Raise the Roof for Katrina Survivors”** is a series of June 2006 Congressional Black Caucus Braintrust Briefings. Tuesdays, 3-5 at the Capitol Bldg., Rm. HC-9. Details from Aysha House-Moshi in office of Cong. Barbara Lee, 202/225-2661, http://www.npach.org/katrina_housing_series.pdf.
- **“Opening the Door: 40 Years of Open Housing”** (8 pp., 2006?) is available (possibly free) from the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204-4533, 502/584-6858, www.metropolitanhousing.org.
- ***Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles*,** by Don Parson (289 pp., 2005, \$22.95), has been published by Univ. of Minnesota Press, 111 Third Ave. S., #290, Minneapolis, MN 55401-2520, http://www.upress.umn.edu.

Immigration

- **Children of Immigrants:** The Urban Inst. has a new (2006) fact sheet about the children of immigrants, especially those with unauthorized parents, www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=900955 [9774]
- ***The Line Between Us: Teaching about the Border & Mexican Immigration*,** by Bill Bigelow (160 pp., 2006), is available (\$16.95+s/h) from Rethinking Schools, 800/669-4192, http://www.rethinkingschools.org/ [9809]
- **“No Consensus on Immigration Problem or Proposed Fixes”** (84 pp., 2006?), from the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Hispanic Center, is available at http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=63.
- **“More Than a ‘Temporary’ Fix: The Role of Permanent Immigration in Comprehensive Reform,”** by Walter A. Ewing (8 pp., 2006), published by the American Immigration Law Foundation’s Immigration Policy Center, is available at http://www.aifl.org/ipc/infocus/2006_morethantemporary.shtml.

Rural

- **“Building Rural Communities”** is the 2005 Annual Report of the Housing Assistance Council. Available (likely free) from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, hac@ruralhome.org, http://www.ruralhome.org/ [9771]

- **“CDBG Works for Rural Communities”** is the theme of the 21-page Spring 2006 issue of *Rural Voices*, the magazine of the Housing Assistance Council. Subs. are free: HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, hac@ruralhome.org [9808]
 - ***Cesar Chavez and La Causa*,** by Dan La Botz (224 pp., 2006?, \$20), has been published by Pearson Longman, 800/947-7700, http://www.ablongman.com/ [9816]
- ## Miscellaneous
- **“In the Wake of the Storm,”** a 2006 Russell Sage Foundation report, is available at www.russellsage.org/news/katrinabulletin2/newsitem_view [9762]
 - **“Presidential Election Inequality: The Electoral College in the 21st Century”** (60 pp., 2006) is available (no price listed) from Fair Vote, 6930 Carroll Ave., #610, Takoma Park, MD 20912, 301/270-4616, http://www.fairvote.org/ [9772]
 - **“Population Displacement and Post-Katrina Politics: The New Orleans Primary,”** by John R. Logan, a report on the results of the April 22, 2006 New Orleans Primary elections, is available from Prof. Logan, 401/863-2267, John_Logan@brown.edu.
 - **Wellstone Action!** (built on the work and legacy of the late Sen. Paul Wellstone and his wife, Sheila), runs trainings (and Camp Wellstone) on voter

engagement, labor issues, violence against women, campaign strategies and techniques. info@wellstone.org.

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

• **United for a Fair Economy** is seeking a **Communications Director**. \$50s. Ltr./resume/ writing sample of a communications product to Hiring Mgr., UFE, 29 Winter St., Boston, MA 02108, [9778]

• **The Legal Assistance Corp. of Central Mass.** is seeking a **Litigation Director**. Resume to Jonathan Mannina, ED, LACCM, 405 Main St., Worcester, MA 01608-1735, 508/752-3718.

• **The Northwest Justice Project**, which provides civil legal services to low-income people throughout Washington State, is seeking an **Executive Director**. Ltr./resume/ names & contact inf. for 3 refs. (preferably by June 9) to cmetzler@themetzlergroup.com, 610/434-7550.

• **The National Low Income Housing Coalition** (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley) is hiring multiple **Outreach Staff & a Media Coordinator**. Ltr./resume to Deputy Dir., NLIHC, 727 15th St. NW, 6th flr., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530.

• **Nemours Vision Awards for Excellence in Child Health Promotion and Disease Prevention** have a June 23, 2006 deadline. Inf. from kbennett@NEMOURS.ORG.

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