

# Poverty & Race

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## Racial/Ethnic Categories: Do They Matter?

The July 25, 1994 New Yorker carried a very important article, by staff writer Lawrence Wright, titled "One Drop of Blood," discussing the meaning and utility of racial and ethnic categories, particularly as these are defined by the US government, as they are used in data collection efforts, and as various advocacy groups view them. With Mr. Wright's permission, we present a considerably shortened, descriptive version of his essay, quoting from and paraphrasing it liberally (quotes not attributed to anyone else are Wright's). Those who want a complete copy of the 8-page Wright article should send us a SASE.

Given the importance and topicality of this issue, we will present a Symposium

on the subject in our January/February issue. Per our usual practice, we will be asking several social scientists and activists to submit their comments; and, again as usual, we will be happy to consider other, unsolicited commentaries from P&R readers.

Last fall, the House Subcommittee on Census, Statistics and Postal Personnel, chaired by Rep. Thomas Sawyer (D-OH), held a series of hearings on modification of the existing racial categories used by the Census and on the larger question of whether it is proper for the government to classify people according to arbitrary distinctions of skin color and ancestry. The issue is of deep interest to

scientists, government agencies that collect data, and, of course, to advocacy groups in the various minority communities concerned with group entitlements.

Census statistics are crucial for so many reasons. "Congressional districts rise and fall with the shifting demographics of the country," as Wright notes. And program funding of all sorts is a function of how many people are placed in each category—"the numbers drive the dollars," as Sawyer puts it.

The government agency responsible for determining standard classifications of racial and ethnic data is the Office of Management & Budget. OMB's 1977 Statistical Directive 15, which controls

(Please turn to page 2)

### HELP !!!

PRRAC's 501(c)(3)—tax exempt—status is up for renewal at the end of this year, following IRS's 5-year advance ruling period. To meet the IRS's regulations about funding diversification, we need to increase the proportion of "public money" in our budget. Only a portion of our foundation grants counts as "public money," but every dollar of your contributions is golden for that purpose. Almost all of you have received our recent Big Mailing, with the PRRAC Network Directory, the Sept./Oct. issue of *Poverty & Race*, and our funding appeal. If you haven't already done so, please consider sending us a tax-deductible donation before December 31—in time to claim it as a 1994 deduction, in time to support PRRAC's IRS renewal application. PRRAC is an important institution, providing valuable services to our Network, as your letters and comments let us know. We now urgently need some material demonstration of that regard—\$25 would be very helpful. Thanks in advance.

Chester Hartman  
Executive Director

### CONTENTS:

<b>Racial/Ethnic Categories</b>	1
<b>Reparations Symposium:</b>	
Theodore M. Shaw	3
Jeanne Mirer	4
John Y. Tatisshi	5
Ronald L. Trosper	6
John A. Powell	7
<b>Advocacy Reports</b>	10
<b>Glass Ceilings</b>	11
<b>PRRAC Update</b>	13
<b>Resources</b>	14

these categories for all federal forms and statistics, recognizes four general racial groups in the US: American Indian or Alaskan Native; Asian or Pacific Islander; Black; and White. With regard to ethnicity, Directive 15 also recognizes Hispanic Origin and Not of Hispanic Origin. "The categories," as Wright notes, "ask that every American fit himself or herself into one racial and one ethnic box."

Rep. Sawyer makes this trenchant observation: "We are unique in this country in the way we describe and define race and ascribe to it characteristics that other cultures view very differently." Noting the various immigration waves the country has experienced, including the current streams, Sawyer goes on to say that the racial categories and distinctions used "inevitably reflect the temporal bias of every age. That becomes a problem when the nation itself is undergoing deep and historic diversification."

## Multiracialism

One obvious problem with the existing classification system is mixed-race persons, whose numbers are vast but not precisely known. There have been proposals to add a "Multiracial" category to the Census. The proportion of people who now check the Black box but could, because of mixed genetic heritage, check Multiracial, is at least 75% and may be as high as 90%. This proposed new cate-

gory, Wright observes, "threatens to undermine the concept of racial classification altogether."

Some, of course, argue that would be no "threat" at all. "Multiracialism has the potential for undermining the very basis of racism, which is its categories," asserts G. Reginald Daniel of UCLA. But the impact on present programs could be catastrophic. School desegregation plans would be thrown into the air. Legislative districts would have to be redrawn. "The entire civil rights regulatory program concerning housing, employment and education," Wright notes, "would have to be reassessed . . . Those who are

## Nearly every census since 1790 has measured race differently.

charged with enforcing civil rights laws see the Multiracial box as a wrecking ball aimed at affirmative action." While no one knows how many multiracial persons in fact would opt for that new category, "merely placing such an option on the Census invites people to consider choosing it," says Wright. He notes that when the Census listed "Cajun" as one of several examples under the ancestry question, the number of Cajuns jumped nearly 2,000%.

Multiracialism, of course, is the story of America ever since Columbus and his men stepped on our shores. Clearly, slavery fueled the process, as white slave-owners, in order to enlarge the slave population (as well as gratify their own lust) fathered tens of thousands of mixed-race "Negroes."

Census categories have constantly confused and been confused about race. "How unsettled this country has always been about its racial categories is evident in that fact that nearly every census since [the original 1790 Census] has measured race differently." With regard to the most volatile racial category, until recently we had "that peculiar American institution known informally as the 'one-drop rule,'" which defined as Black a person who had as little as a single drop of that mythical substance, "Black blood." The measure

applied only to people of African descent. And it is, of course, a racist rule, no two-way street: one did not jump over to the white community by virtue of having "white blood." (Wright notes that the rule may still be the law of the land, according to a 1986 Supreme Court decision.)

America, to be sure, has always had "Black" leaders who were to some extent "white"—Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Lani Guinier, Douglas Wilder and Louis Farrakhan are a few of the more prominent names. Both whites and Blacks acceded in defining such persons as Black.

What would be the consequences of moving toward recognizing the true extent of multiracialism in the US? How, for example, would an affirmative action program be implemented? "Suppose," posits Wright, "a court orders a city to hire additional Black police officers to make up for past discrimination. Will mixed-race officers count? Will they count wholly or in part?" And the multiracial category obviously leads to even greater fractionalization, as the children of multiracial unions further subdivide. As more and more people, from all racial and ethnic groups, marry outside their group, this phenomenon intensifies. "The continual modulation of racial differences in America is increasing the jumble created by centuries of ethnic intermarriage," notes Wright.

The following examples illustrate the political-scientific jumble: "At times," notes Wright, "we have counted as 'races' different national groups, such as Mexicans and Filipinos. Some Asian Indians were counted as members of a 'Hindu' race in the censuses from 1920 to 1940; then they became white for three decades.

. . . Canada dropped the race question from its census in 1951 and has so far resisted all attempts to reinstitute it." In the US, the American Civil Liberties Union tried to get the race question dropped from the 1960 Census, and New Jersey stopped entering race information on birth and death certificates in 1962 and 1963. But beginning in 1964, the Civil Rights era laws, notably the 1965

(Please turn to page 8)

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## Reparations: A Symposium (Part 3)

*We offer five additional commentaries on the reparations issue. In our July/August issue we published, as our lead article, an interview with economist Richard America, who has written about and advocated widely for reparations to the Black community for the historical injustice and long-term disadvantaging effects of slavery. A supportive commentary by Congressman John Conyers (whose bill, H.R. 40, calls for a study of slavery's legacy and recommendation of remedies) and a "friendly dissent" by Temple University sociologist Howard Winant accompanied the interview. We then, in our September/October issue, published commentaries by Wilson Riles, Jr., of the American Friends Service Committee, Joe Feagin/Hernan Vera of the University of Florida, Sharon Park of the Union Institute, Kalonji Olusegun of N'COBRA, David McReynolds of the War Resisters League, Billy Tidwell of the National Urban League, and Herbert Gans of Columbia University.*

*Here we are presenting a final set of commentaries, by PRRAC Board members Theodore Shaw of the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund and John Powell of the University of Minnesota Law School, Jeanne Mirer of the National Lawyers Guild, John Tateishi, a key player in the successful Japanese-American reparations campaign, and Ronald Trosper of the National Indian Policy Center at George Washington University.*

*If you are receiving P&R for the first time and want a copy of the earlier reparations articles, send us a SASE (\$2 postage).*

*One additional item: At an October 17-18 University of Minnesota Humphrey Institute conference on "Race Relations & Civil Rights in the Post Reagan-Bush Era," PRRAC Executive Director Chester Hartman moderated a panel on remedies, at which University of North Carolina economist William Darity presented an eloquent defense of the reparations concept; a copy of the text he read from may be available from Prof. Darity at the Economics Dept., UNC, Chapel Hill, NC 27599.*

## Apology/Acknowledgement Is Imperative

by Theodore M. Shaw

One hundred and thirty years after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed, the issue of reparations for the descendants of slaves is a subject of discussion in some quarters. Some argue that the United States' failure to compensate African Americans for the wrongs of slavery leaves unfinished business on the national agenda. Others maintain that the issue lacks legitimacy because of the passage of time and the fact that those who were part of the system of slavery are now long dead. Congressman John Conyers of Michigan has introduced a bill that would establish a commission to study the issue of reparations for slavery; the bill did not reach the floor of the House of Representatives. (The October 10, 1994 *New York Times* reported that the IRS received over 20,000 claims from African Americans for tax rebates for reparations. Recently, thousands of African Americans have been encouraged to file for tax refunds as reparations, at the urging of unidentified individuals circulating application forms in black churches and other community organizations, supposedly on behalf of a group calling itself "the Legal Defense Fund." The NAACP Legal Defense and Educa-

tional Fund has warned people not to act in reliance on this information.)

The virtue of the reparations discussion does not have anything to do with the question of whether African-American descendants of slaves ever receive money from the federal government. Following the Civil War, President Andrew Johnson vetoed civil rights legislation that would have facilitated land ownership by former slaves. It was the debate on this proposal that coined the expression "forty acres and a mule."

Compensation for those who had actually been held in bondage and whose labor had been exploited may have made a significant difference in the lives of former slaves. Moreover, property wealth is transferred intergenerationally; the descendants of slaves may have had significant family resources that would have produced a vastly different scenario from the black-white gap in household financial worth that exists today. In other words, the legacy of slavery continues to have present-day effects. Whatever the merits of this matter, however, it is probably unrealistic to think that African American descendants of slaves will be compensated in 1994 for the

wrongs of slavery when former slaves were denied compensation in 1866. Besides, the practical problem of administering such an effort is mind-boggling.

Is the issue of reparations, then, a useless discussion? It is not. Its value may be in the light it sheds on the way we as a nation have dealt with the issue of race, and how we continue to deal with it. When a wrong has been committed, the first step in "righting" it is acknowledgement. Only then can those involved move to heal the effects of the injury. This is no less true for groups than it is for individuals. Thus, after the Holocaust, Germany compensated Jewish survivors. The United States recently compensated Japanese Americans wrongfully interned in prison camps during the Second World War. The money was not significant beyond its symbolic value; mere money could not heal the scars of those experiences. The true value of reparations is in the acknowledgement of the wrong.

The United States government and the state governments that sanctioned the practice of slavery have never formally apologized to African Americans for

(Please turn to page 4)

## H.R. 40: If Not Now, When?

by Jeanne Mirer

slavery or acknowledged that it was wrong. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were enacted to put black Americans on equal footing with white citizens; however, nowhere do they acknowledge the wrongs of slavery. Nineteenth and Twentieth Century civil rights legislation aimed to enforce the Civil War Amendments and eliminate continuing racial discrimination, but nowhere do these statutes contain an official apology. While individual legislators and government officials have acknowledged the wrongs of the past, there has been no official recognition or apology. Thus, a great psychological wound remains unhealed, haunting our national psyche.

Our history is open to ambiguous interpretation. We had slavery and *de jure* discrimination; we ended it. Currently, a number of books and articles on the black-white I.Q. gap suggest that genetically based intelligence difference should dictate a change in public policies, such as abandonment of affirmative action and early childhood education. In a nation that has never officially apologized for the wrong of slavery and repudiated its philosophical and pseudo-scientific underpinnings, this discourse on black intellectual inferiority has a peculiar resonance.

The reparations discussion is valuable not because of any expectation it creates with respect to monetary compensation. Its real value is that it places America's discourse about race in a different context—one in which affirmative action is a modest remedy and in which the ahistorical disconnection of present-day disparities in black and white achievement, wealth and status from America's undeniable history of racial discrimination will be impossible to maintain.

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In 1977, I had to fly to a city in the Midwest. The cabdriver who picked me up at the airport got chatty and asked me where I was from. When I said "Detroit," he asked, "which suburb?" I said, "I live in the city." He then said to me, "How do you stand it? There are so many niggers there." Obviously, because I was white, the cab driver believed he had the license to use the "n" word to me. My response was, "Evidently you do not realize that the wealth of this nation was accumulated on the backs of the free labor of black people." He did not know this history.

We cannot address reparations, and H.R. 40, without remembering our history. Our history also includes the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision. In that opinion, Chief Justice Taney said: "It is axiomatic in law and morals that black people have no rights that white people are bound to respect." He relied for this "axiom" on theories of white superiority and black inferiority commonly used to justify slavery. The Court further found support for the theory of black inferiority in the existence of the laws in the North and free states that severely restricted black access to jobs, housing and education. After the Civil War, the Freedmen's Acts provided some form of reparation to newly freed slaves. The Freedmen's Bureau, however, had scarce resources and came to an early end—the promises of reparation broken.

Although the legality of slavery was overruled by the 13th Amendment, the Supreme Court has never issued an opinion overruling the theory of racial inferiority contained in *Dred Scott*. In not one opinion, not even *Brown v. Board of Education*, did the Justices directly state, "We explicitly overrule the statements of racial inferiority we articulated in *Dred Scott* because that theory is wrong; no race is superior or inferior to any other." Never has there been a formal apology by any government official for slavery or a recognition of the indescribable and despicable horrors

that the institution of slavery visited on the lives of slaves.

We have an uncanny ability in this country when it comes to matters of race to dodge, deny, or just plain lie.

Dodging takes the form of employers saying, "We can't solve the problems created by years of forced segregation. We have to wait for the next generation."

Denial and lying is illustrated in the 1883 *Civil Rights Cases*. In 1883, the Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, stating:

When a man has emerged from slavery and by the aid of beneficent legislation has shaken off inseparable commitments of that state, there must be some stage in the process of his elevation when he takes the rank of a mere citizen and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws . . .

In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, when the black plaintiffs argued that forcing them to sit in segregated railroad cars put a "stamp of inferiority" on them, the Court denied it, saying, in essence, "If that is what they thought, it was only their perception."

At some point we have to say enough denial, dodging and lying. It is time to formally apologize (as F.W. De Klerk did for apartheid in South Africa), and officially repudiate at every level of government all notions of racial inferiority and superiority. It is time we recognized that damages were done to a race of people for which there is a need for repair.

The institution of slavery has deformed social and economic relations in the United States for everyone. Until the legacy of slavery is overcome, we will continue to experience these deformations and the social and economic divisions these deformations promote.

The lessons of the Bosnians and Rwandans, and those in other places where ethnic rivalries have turned to genocide and fratricide, should be learned; unless there is a repairing, unless there is a healing, dodging, denial and lying will only make matters worse.

long as we refuse to face the debt owed, the interest on the debt will grow larger and larger, and it will eventually come due.

Often the reparations debate gets detracked on questions of feasibility. Even lawyers, who routinely go to court and seek damages for people injured by the negligence of others, have a blind spot when it comes to seeing how reparation of any sort, whether in damages or suitable remedies, could be made available to the descendants of slaves. We routinely apply for all sorts of

government-sponsored programs. We know how to do it. Administrative agencies handle all sorts of complicated laws and pay out billions of dollars in benefits each year. Somehow, when it comes to addressing how we could implement recommendations coming from a study commission set up pursuant H.R. 40, we become idiots and cannot fathom how to do it. Another artful dodge.

I submit that the question for discussion should not be whether some form of reparations is owed, but how can we

get about the business of determining what form reparations should take, and how they can be most easily administered.

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## Japanese American Redress

by John Y. Tateishi

The Japanese American redress campaign was predicated on a basic principle: that the Constitutional rights of American citizens and legal resident aliens of Japanese ancestry were violated when, at the outbreak of World War II, the United States government forcibly expelled Japanese Americans from their homes and placed them into involuntary internment without the benefit of due process. Some 35 years later, efforts were undertaken to rectify the injustices that befallen Japanese Americans of their properties, their livelihoods, and their identity as Americans.

It was a singular moment in the constitutional history of the United States: it was the only instance in which American citizens and legal residents were denied en masse the assumption of innocence and the Constitutional rights of freedom. The basic guarantees of individual protections sanctified by the Bill of Rights were denied to Japanese Americans during WWII, setting the stage for a battle 35 years later to rectify the injustices of the internment.

The strategies for the effort were based on these facts and developed in the early stages of the public campaign. It was decided that a legislative campaign would best serve the goals of reparations, primarily because it was felt that the Congress would be more amenable to providing compensatory redress than would the

courts, regardless of the fact of a conservative President in the White House and Republican control of the Senate.

A legislative campaign, it was recognized, could be fought in the media and the public arena, where a carefully designed grassroots effort could be launched across the country. The strategy in the first two years was to mount both a legislative and educational campaign designed to establish a public debate through the media, while gaining legislative support through the network of national civil rights coalitions and by establishing a grassroots effort. This early strategy was critical because Japanese Americans lacked both political clout and numbers. If the campaign could not be fought in the media, there appeared little hope to gain public support and legislative approval.

Rather than attempt compensatory legislation at the outset, the campaign was designed around a two-phased approach. We sought legislation to establish a federal commission whose mandate was to investigate the events surrounding the WWII internment and provide the Congress with its findings and recommendations. The second phase sought compensatory legislation based on the findings and recommendations of the commission. The thinking behind this strategy was that a federal commission would provide an unbiased and

objective fact-finding investigation. Japanese Americans knew that they were the victims of an injustice during WWII, but the majority of Americans were either ignorant about the incident or were convinced that the internment was justified. The commission's responsibility was to make a determination based on facts. It was less than a calculated risk, for we were convinced uncovering the facts could lead to only one conclusion. Just as important, it was clear that public hearings conducted by the commission would draw attention to the WWII internment, furthering both the educational and legislative goals of the campaign.

The findings of the commission were, as expected, unequivocal in its condemnation of the government's actions, which the commission stated were based on race, prejudice, and a lack of political leadership. The commission recommended reparations of \$20,000 per surviving victim, which became the basis for the compensatory legislation introduced in Congress in 1982 and approved by the President in 1988. The stunning success of the campaign in the face of formidable opposition both by the public and in Congress was the result of the efforts of thousands of Japanese Americans who would not relent in their conviction that the injustice committed

*(Please turn to page 6)*

## American Indian Reparations

by Ronald L. Trosper

against them was a betrayal of the very principles for which they were fighting. For them, the fight was not for money. Instead, it was to set right an injustice left uncorrected, and it was for their sense of place in America.

The lessons drawn from the Japanese American redress issue are varied and numerous. Whether those lessons can serve African American reparations remains to be seen. The WWII internment was a singular event at a given moment in the history of this nation, and while the victims were traumatized by their dishonoring as Americans, they somehow found the means to put the episode aside and get on with their lives.

One is inevitably left wondering how African American reparations can possibly rectify the inhumanity of slavery and the legacy of injustice left in its wake. For Japanese Americans, the symbolic payment of \$20,000 for the loss of freedom precludes forever any future claims for redressing the wrongs of the internment. The damage done to African Americans over many generations cannot be swept away by a simple clearing of the collective conscience of a nation. Promises are too easily broken, and promises will no longer suffice to address the profundity and lasting effects of slavery.

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us items for our  
Resources Section.**

The experience of American Indians in obtaining reparations from the federal government should interest those who seek similar actions with respect to Black Americans. American Indians have received three types of reparations: (1) cash payments, through the operation of the Indian Claims Commission and the U.S. Court of Claims; (2) land, through an occasional action of Congress to return control over land to particular tribes; and (3) tribal recognition, by either Congress or the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The first of these has been the least satisfactory, measured by long-term impact on Indian communities. The second was more satisfactory, but has been experienced by very few tribes. The third, which is in process now, has had the best results.

The settlement of claims for lands unjustly taken was a widespread demand of Indians in the 1920s and 1930s. When the federal government began to accept suits—as a sovereign, the federal government must consent to be sued—limitations were placed on the awards. Congress, in the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, forbade award of lands. Proof had to be presented to the Indian Claims Commission regarding ownership; litigation that started in the 1950s lasted until 1978. The Supreme Court developed a distinction between aboriginal title and recognized title; interest could not be earned on awards based on aboriginal title. The federal government paid \$5 million in 1975 for lands worth \$5 million in 1865.

The majority of tribes that received payments distributed them on a per capita basis among the members enrolled in the tribe at the time of the award. This dissipation of jointly held capital to one generation of recipients has meant that their descendants' benefits depend solely on the private action of parents to their children and grandchildren. In many cases, people on welfare had their welfare payments suspended until they had used up their per capita share of the tribal

award. Some tribes developed traditions of per capita payments, which continue to inhibit community development.

Some tribes have refused to accept money for land. Other tribes, through extraordinary action, have received land. The Taos Pueblo is the best known example; they acquired U.S. Forest Service land. The Hopi received land; but Navajos were removed. No tribe has received land that required white people to leave their homes.

Recognition of tribal sovereignty and the implementation of self-government have achieved the most significant results. Economic development tends to follow assertion of governing powers. The creation of casinos is the best known example of this phenomenon; but the success of casinos over the long term is not assured. While other tribes have established economic development with other industries, many tribes have not yet been able to assert enough sovereignty to build solid economies.

What are the analogies to tribal self-government among Black Americans? Perhaps the Marshall Plan for cities has an element of political institution-building similar to the reconstruction of tribal governments. The narrow definition of reparations as investment in human and business capital does not. The Native American example would recommend investment in political capital, in institutions of community organization similar to tribal governments. Money cannot buy such institutions, and some kinds of reparation payments undermine them.

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# Who Really Can Claim Innocence?

by john a. powell

*...ain't nobody paid for slavery yet, about  
my forty acres and a mule.*

— Oscar Brown, Jr.

The question of whether African Americans should receive reparations, raised a number of times in the past, has been criticized, rejected, or simply ignored. It may be time to raise the issue again.

However, if we are to raise again the question of whether African Americans should be awarded reparations, it is important to reframe the issue of reparations so as not to focus solely on slavery. In discussing reparations, we must also examine the aftermath of slavery and the institutions and distributional structures it created, including an analysis of the numerous ways in which the American government and the larger society have economically subordinated and disenfranchised African Americans.

Reparations, in and of itself, may not produce the forty acres and a mule promised to freed slaves, nor may it compensate for the trillions of dollars African Americans may be owed for their exploited labor and cultural uprooting. Nonetheless, these cannot be reasons not to consider seriously reparations. Nor is the argument that all former slaves are dead and therefore will not themselves receive compensation a reason not to consider reparations. The structure that creates and distributes wealth in the United States continues to be based on a racial hierarchy that was established by the slave system.

Consider that most wealth held by African Americans is in the homes they own. However, for the last 50 years in particular, the mortgage lending and real estate markets have been permeated by rampant racism, sponsored by the federal government and its finance branches and by private banking, lending, and real estate interests. The government introduced redlining to the lending industry and explicitly required racially segregated neighborhoods. Only recently have such initiatives as redlining been ferreted out

as industry norms. The federal law ordering segregated neighborhoods to open their borders to African Americans did not pass the Congress until 1968, and almost all experts agree it has been ineffective in altering the segregative housing pattern in our society.

Nonetheless, the wealth distribution by now is well established. Prime rates extended to veterans, for instance, after World War II, coupled with redlining, settled many whites into secure home investments and homogeneous segregated neighborhoods. Playing fair now is not enough to put African Americans in comparable position to accumulate wealth today. Acknowledgement of wrongs such as redlining is also not going to allow African Americans to begin to accumulate wealth in homeownership. The structure is already set, and it is set

## ***Playing fair now is not enough.***

decidedly against African Americans and in favor of whites. The wealth structure of this society does not just affect individuals, it affects groups and communities. It rings hollow for opponents of reparations to suggest that after years of excluding African Americans based on their group membership it now is acceptable to claim that any benefits accorded to African Americans cannot be based on their group membership.

All the writers on reparations seem to recognize that mainstream approaches, such as affirmative action, will not, regardless of how well they are applied, begin to address the underlying inequalities confronting African Americans in our dominant white society. Even so, these plans are being attacked daily as being special treatment for undeserving African Americans, awarded at the cost of so-called "innocent whites." However, who really can claim innocence?

White society may decline to pay for

slavery and its aftermath. My guess is that it probably will. Just raising the claim that African Americans should receive reparations will anger some whites. Even without raising reparations, conservative whites have been able to generate racial hostility and polarization. For the most part, at least on the level of individual operation of daily interactions with African Americans, many whites are not explicitly racially exclusionary or supremacist. They are in a sense "innocent." However, on a deeper level, reliance on this narrow concept of innocence is fraudulent and moves the debate away from analysis of the distributional structure that drives our society. It allows for a debate as to whether individual whites or individual African Americans are morally superior or morally blameworthy. It also creates a disjuncture between seeing how the country has benefitted from slavery and how individuals still benefit from the structure. It allows whites to admit that discrimination is wrong, but in the same breath argue for the continuing benefit of this wrong.

Unfortunately, racism and race as a central organizing and structural principle are not things of the past. This is my point. Even if whites, as individuals and as living today, did not themselves create the structure of slavery—surely a defensible and sensible position, given that slavery was formally abolished over 100 years ago—or descend directly from slave owners, they still benefit from the distributional structure it set up and, I believe, they must acknowledge that they continue to derive substantial benefits and privileges from it, especially in terms of economic and social resource allocation.

This is where reparations can serve a legitimate purpose: it forces whites to acknowledge that the current system of economic and social resource distribution enhances their position and that this distributional system is derived in part, possibly in large part, from the structure of racial superiority and system of slavery and racial exclusion created and devel-

*(Please turn to page 14)*

Voting Rights Act, required such race data, and "the census soon acquired a political importance that it had never had in the past."

## Vested Interests

OMB's 1977 Directive 15 was ostensibly an attempt "to provide a way for Americans to describe themselves," but in fact "the categories actually began to shape those identities. The categories became political entities, with their own constituencies, lobbies and vested interests." But "what was even more significant, they caused people to think of themselves in new ways—as members of 'races' that were little more than statistical devices." Asian or Pacific Islanders, probably the fastest growing racial group, due to immigration, are, according to Wright, a "racial" group in the US. . . . that in all likelihood exists nowhere else in the world." The American Indian group has seen a demographically impossible 259% growth between 1960 and 1990, due in part to improved census-taking procedures, but also to the fact that "Native Americans had become fashionable, and people now wished to identify with them."

"Whatever the word 'race' may mean elsewhere in the world, or to the world of science," Wright concludes about this stew, "it is clear in America the categories are arbitrary, confused and hopelessly intermingled." Among the more startling findings: A National Center for Health Statistics study found that 6% of the people who called themselves Black were seen as white by a census interviewer; nearly a third of the people self-identifying as Asian and 70% of those self-identifying as American Indian were classified as white or Black by independent observers. A Centers for Disease Control & Prevention epidemiologist who analyzed deaths of infants from 1983 through 1985 found that in an astounding number of cases the infant's race was different on the birth and death certificates. (This finding led to staggering increases in infant mortality rates: 47% greater for American Indians, 79% for Filipinos.)

## The Utility of Racial Data

Racial statistics serve an important purpose in monitoring and enforcing civil rights laws, and "indeed," as Wright notes, "that has become the main justification for such data." Credit and insurance redlining issues and enforcement of the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act are one clear example of the key importance of racial data collection. "Hiring practices, jury selection, discriminatory housing patterns, apportionment of political power—in all these areas and more," Wright notes, "the government patrols society, armed with little more than statistical information to insure equal and fair treatment." He quotes the CDCP epidemiologist referred to above as saying, "We need these categories essentially to get rid of them."

## A multiracial category threatens to undermine the concept of racial classification altogether.

This leads into the heavy and controversial political question of targeted vs. universal approaches to remedying racial injustice [not unrelated to the discussion of reparations for slavery in this and the past two issues of *Poverty & Race*]. "The unwanted corollary of slotting people by race," says Wright, "is that such officially sanctioned classifications may actually worsen racial strife. By creating social welfare programs based on race rather than on need, the government sets citizens against one another precisely because of perceived racial differences."

A big question, then: Does the use of racial statistics create, or exacerbate, a reality of racial divisions, which then require resolutions, such as busing, affirmative action and multicultural education, "all of which are bound to fail, because they heighten the racial awareness that leads to contention?" Relatedly: would creation of a Multiracial category merely reinforce the concept of race in the first place? California State Univ.-LA sociologist Yehudi Webster says this

actually might be a good move, "another leap into absurdity," a continuation of the "one-drop" principle. "Anybody can say, 'I've got one drop of *something*—I must be multiracial.' It may be a good thing. It may finally convince Americans of the absurdity of racial classification."

Another political issue is what happens within the Black community if multiracialism is acknowledged statistically. *Los Angeles Times* writer Itabai Njeri maintains that the social and economic gap between light- and dark-skinned Blacks is as great as the gap between Blacks and whites in America. "If people of more obviously mixed backgrounds were to migrate to a Multiracial box, she says, they would be politically abandoning their former allies and the people who need their help the most." This, of course, parallels the phenomenon of middle-class Blacks moving to the suburbs, leaving few role models in inner-city communities, one of the alleged causes of the growing "underclass."

## What's Next?

The OMB, which recently held a set of hearings on the subject, is giving some thought to eliminating racial categories altogether. Political considerations apart, mixed-race children and their parents express great anguish about having to deny part of their heritage or fit themselves into obviously erroneous categories. The National Academy of Sciences will be issuing a study and report on the subject early next year.

But, asks Wright, "is it any accident that racial and ethnic categories should come under attack now, when being a member of a minority group brings certain advantages? . . . The nonwhite population of America has historically been subjugated and treated as second-class citizens by the white majority. It is to redress the social and economic inequalities of our history that we have civil rights laws and affirmative action plans in the first place. Advocates of various racial and ethnic groups point out that many of the people now calling for a race-blind society are political conservatives, who may have an interest in undermining the advancement of nonwhites in our society. Suddenly, the conservatives



have adopted the language of integration, it seems, and the left-leaning racial-identity advocates have adopted the language of separatism. It amounts to a polar reversal of political rhetoric." UNC professor Jon Michael Spencer, writing in *The Black Scholar*, asserts: "To relinquish the notion of race—even though it's a cruel hoax—at this particular time is to relinquish our fortress against the powers and principalities that still try to undermine us." Most important, he writes, is the "need to galvanize peoples around the racial idea of Black."

Congressman Sawyer concludes: "We wind up with precise counts of everybody in the country, and they are precisely wrong. They don't reflect who we are as a people. To be effective, the concepts of individual and group identity need to reflect not only who we have been but who we are becoming. The more these categories distort our perception of reality, the less useful they are. We act as if we knew what we're talking about when we talk about race, and we don't."

*The Sawyer Subcommittee hearings, "Review of Federal Measurements of Race & Ethnicity" (April 14, June 30, July 29, Nov. 3, 1993), are available from subcommittee staff member Chris Collins, 515 O'Neill House Office Bldg., Wash., DC 20515, 202/226-7523. The subcommittee at this point is awaiting OMB recommendations before deciding whether to submit legislation.*

*OMB held three 1994 hearings (Boston, July 7; Denver, July 11; SF, July 14) on the racial and ethnic categories used by the Federal agencies. The Federal Register notice of these hearings had useful background on the history of Directive 15, the suggested changes and criticisms, how federal agencies use racial and ethnic data, as well as the text of the directive. We'll send a copy of these 5 pages with a SASE. The public comments submitted to OMB in response to the Federal Register notice may be reviewed at OMB's Public Reading Room, 25 15th St. NW, Wash., DC; phone, 202/395-6880. Further information on OMB's plans are available from Suzann Winger, 202/395-3093.*

*Finally, the Committee on National*

*Statistics of the National Academy of Sciences held a workshop last February, at OMB's request, to hear the views of various government agencies and social scientists. Among those participating in the workshop were Leo Estrada, Reynolds Farley, Robert Hauser, Charles Kamasaki, Michael Omi and David Williams. The Committee will issue its report early next year, and OMB pre-*

*sumably will await this report (which will contain no recommendations, only findings) before deciding whether to make any revisions in the existing categories. To get on the mailing list for the Committee's report, or obtain further information about the study, contact Barry Edmonston at the Committee, 2101 Constitution Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20418, 202/334-2550.* □

## Additional Race & Poverty Syllabi Available

Listed below are nine more syllabi on race & poverty courses, added to the 16 we have listed in previous issues of *P&R*. They are of varying length, so the least complicated procedure is to send us a mailing label and \$1 for each syllabus ordered, to cover copying and postage costs. Feel free to make a larger contribution to keep PRRAC's newsletter and other activities alive (see box, p. 1). PLEASE ORDER SYLLABI BY ITEM NUMBER. We will reprint the full list in a subsequent issue.

17. "The Changing Racial Landscape of the American City," Sandhya Shukla, Yale Univ. American Studies
18. "Race and Poverty Law: Some Constitutional Dimensions," John Charles Boger, Univ. of N. Carolina Law School
19. "Critical Race Theory Seminar," Adrienne Davis, Wash. College of Law (Amer. Univ.)
20. "The Black Freedom Movement in Perspective," Michael Honey, Univ. of Wash.-Tacoma.
21. "Environmental Justice: Race, Poverty & the Environment," Michael Dorsey & Lisa Bardwell, Univ. of Michigan School of Natural Resources & the Environment (a 329-page reader prepared for the course may still be available through Dorsey at the SNRE, Univ. Mich., Ann Arbor, MI 48109, 313/764-1014).
22. "Environmental Politics & Latinos' Response to Environmental Injustice," Maby Velez, Univ. of Michigan Latino Studies Prog.
23. "Environmental Equity: Issues of Race, Class & Ethnicity," Paul Mohai et al., Univ. of Michigan
24. "Race, Poverty & Environment," Carl Anthony, Univ. of Calif.-Berkeley
25. "Environmental Justice," Rory Snow-Arrow Fausett, Univ. of Michigan Native American Studies

# PRRAC Grantees' Advocacy Reports

**Labor/Community Strategy Center**  
3780 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 1200  
Los Angeles, CA 90010  
213/387-2800  
Contact: Eric Mann

Continuing earlier PRRAC-funded work, the Labor/Community Strategy Center has conducted research over the past two years on air quality issues in Los Angeles and challenges to official health risk assessment methodologies. The disproportionate health risk posed to people of color and low-income, working-class people through their exposure to industrial and auto emissions is essential to the Strategy Center's work.

Research by Chicago-based Dr. Robert Ginsburg, who has been retained by the Center for his expertise in toxicology, indicates that proposed administrative changes in risk assessment for Los Angeles-area communities exposed to toxins would disguise the actual health risks posed. The changes include use of a formula that would yield misleadingly small numbers of predicted illness cases. The Center has used this research to conduct a campaign for enforcement of a 1987 statute (the "Community Right to Know Law"), which calls for the South Coast Air Quality Management District (AQMD) to disclose to Los Angeles communities the toxins and emission levels to which they are exposed on a daily basis. The Center's advocacy agenda includes litigation as well as community organizing. Since the AQMD has refused to enforce the law, the Center has waged a campaign calling for closure of the AQMD. It has testified at and monitored virtually every AQMD meeting over the past four years and has mobilized individuals from the community to attend these meetings. The Center has also continued to devote attention to exposing the extent to which toxic emissions at a Texaco plant in Wilmington, California, have affected the local community, especially in light of the plant's 1992 chemical explosion.

**Public Law Center/Orange County Health Organizing and Action Project**  
300 W. Romneya Dr.  
Anaheim, CA 92801  
714/774-9831

Contact: Dr. Howard Waitzkin

In 1992, with PRRAC support, the Public Law Center and the Orange County Health Organizing and Action Project conducted research documenting barriers and lack of access to health care for the County's indigent and low-income populations. Despite having one of the highest per capita income statistics in the nation, Orange County residents also include many low-income and multi-racial communities—many of which are multi-lingual and/or limited-English speaking.

The research revealed that there is a paucity of information regarding the County's Medical Services for the Indigent (MSI) Program, and that demand for mechanisms designed to increase access and information about the program (e.g., information phone lines and services) far outstripped their availability. Research also indicated that eligibility processing was cumbersome and exhaustive; needed medical services required excessive waiting times; patient co-payments, deposits and entry fees were often prohibitive; the range of medical services was narrow; there were a number of language and cultural barriers; and there were few participating MSI providers.

The Project has prepared a range of advocacy activities to dismantle these barriers, from packets for service providers and advocates containing information about the program to case-by-case litigation geared toward achieving administrative changes regulating the program. The Project is working with a coalition of other community-based groups coordinated by the local United Way as part of a concerted effort to push progressive changes in the delivery of health care services to Orange County's

poor and indigent. The Project has also been contacted by community groups in Texas and Oregon for assistance in developing strategies to address similar issues in those states.

**The Seattle Displacement Coalition**  
4759 15th Street NE  
Seattle, WA 98105  
206/523-2569  
Contact: John Fox

The Seattle Displacement Coalition, with support from PRRAC, has been conducting research since 1992 on Washington State's Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program. In particular, the Coalition has been examining its effectiveness and the degree to which it meets the goal of serving low-income people and communities of color.

Preliminary results indicate that the program often falls short of serving communities of color and most low-income people. Under the program's requirements, units set aside for low-income people may be offered at rent levels as high as what is affordable to people earning 50 or 60% of the area's median income. This means that most low-income households (those whose earnings are below 40% of the area median) cannot afford to rent these units or they move in and pay over half of their limited income as rent. Also, in many parts of Washington State, the rent on these "set-aside" units actually is higher than the average or market rent for that area. In addition, an increasing number of developers receiving tax credits are setting minimum income requirements that preclude most low-income people from even applying. For example, in some projects, tenants with an income that is less than three times the rent may not apply for a low-income unit.

Preliminary results also indicate that many developers charge excessive up-front fees (first and last month rent, large damage deposits, credit check, pet and

*(Please turn to page 14)*

# PRRAC Researchers Report

## Glass Ceilings and Bottomless Pits: Making Welfare a Women's Issue

by Randy Albelda and Chris Tilly

**W**hy hasn't welfare become more of a women's issue? Welfare, or more formally Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which supports single mothers and their children, is under attack as never before. In the last few years, growing numbers of state governments have imposed or proposed restrictions including:

- Workfare, requiring recipients to work off their grants
- Time-limited benefits (Massachusetts Governor Weld is pushing a draconian 60-day time limit)
- "Learnfare," reducing the welfare grant when children have unexcused school absences
- "Bridefare," rewarding recipients for getting married
- "Family caps" that block any increase in the grant for children born while the mother is receiving AFDC
- Incentives to have the Norplant contraceptive implanted.

At the federal level, President Clinton has promised to "end welfare as we know it," proposing among other things that welfare recipients be compelled to go to work after two years (though there are some more positive proposals mixed in with the "get-tough" rhetoric). On top of two decades of tightened eligibility requirements and reduced benefit levels, these new proposals threaten to turn AFDC into a program that spends money primarily to punish poor women and children, not to support them.

It's not surprising that those advocating punitive welfare "reform" use implicit or explicit racial stereotypes to fuel their arguments, despite the fact that women of color make up a minority of the AFDC population. In Massachusetts, where non-Latino white women are 52% of those receiving AFDC, one legislator

condemned the "plantation mentality" of welfare recipients. Nor is it surprising to hear legislators complain about the unaffordability of AFDC, despite the fact that it claims less than 1% of the federal budget, and a tiny percentage of state budgets as well (3% in Massachusetts). As in the debates over crime or the federal deficit, reality matters less than perception.

### ***Women of color make up a minority of the AFDC population.***

But what is surprising is that women's groups have not rallied more vigorously to the defense of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. AFDC places a dollar value on the "women's work" of raising children; it provides a safety net so that women need not depend on men. The handicaps that face welfare recipients seeking to enter the labor market are the same ones that confront all mothers: the time and money demands of child care, and the lower wages available to women. Several of the proposed modifications in AFDC restrict reproductive rights. Nonetheless, most women's organizations have remained silent on the issue.

### **The Study**

In Massachusetts, a pair of affiliated organizations, the Women's Statewide Legislative Network (WSLN, the educational arm) and the Women's Statewide Legislative Alliance (WSLA, the advocacy and lobbying arm) approached us in 1992 with the goal of breaking this

silence. They had already conducted training sessions on the budget crisis for over 400 women—both leaders and community members. They had also pulled together a coalition of women's groups to challenge Governor Weld's cuts in social programs. However, they saw a critical need for additional Massachusetts-specific educational materials to bolster a sustained mobilization of women's groups and their constituencies around the issue of poverty.

The result of our collaboration with WSLN was *Glass Ceilings and Bottomless Pits: Women, Income, and Poverty in Massachusetts*, a popularly written research report completed in Summer 1994, with partial funding from PRRAC. The report draws on computer data from the U.S. Current Population Survey (a sample survey of about one U.S. household in 1,000), as well as data from a variety of secondary sources—notably, data on employment opportunities from the state's Division of Employment and Training. Since it is designed to be an educational document, we wrote and revised it in close consultation with the Network and Alliance, and with the Massachusetts Law Reform Institute, another advocacy organization that has done important work on welfare.

Many of our findings will be familiar to poverty researchers and advocates. Massachusetts women are far more likely than men to live in poverty, and children are the most vulnerable of all. Black Massachusetts residents are nearly four times as likely to be poor as whites, Latinos almost five times as likely. It's not just being female, but single motherhood in particular that puts women at risk for poverty. Half of single-mother families are poor, far above the average

(Please turn to page 12)

rate of 13%. And the single mothers who end up receiving AFDC are those who face added obstacles. Compared to single mothers who do not receive AFDC, they are:

- More often high school dropouts
- Younger, and more likely to have a child aged less than 6
- More likely to be Latino
- More likely to live in central cities or rural areas than suburbs
- More likely to never have been married

In addition to documenting these patterns, we tried to place them in the context of broader trends affecting the lives of women. Across the country, fewer women are getting or staying married, and more are working for pay—but their pay has only inched up to 70¢ to a man's dollar on average, barely above the ratio prevailing in the 1950s. Racial disparities add to the gap: in Massachusetts, an unmarried black woman with children earns only 46% as much per hour as a married white man with children. And mothers face a time squeeze as well; even mothers with jobs report that they spend an average of 37 hours per week caring for children—another full-time job. Employers have done little to accommodate the family responsibilities that women (and increasingly, men) bring with them into the workforce. Instead, to a large extent businesses have created two kinds of jobs: what we call “jobs with wives” (“good” jobs that demand an open-ended time commitment, assuming there's a “wife” at home to take care of things), and “jobs for wives” (jobs that offer part-time hours or flexibility, but often at the expense of decent pay and benefits).

Families piece together their income from four major sources: earnings, inter-family transfers (chiefly child support and alimony), government assistance and property income (such as interest, rent, or dividends). Earnings dwarf the other three sources, constituting 80% of total family income. Consequently, it's not surprising to find that single mothers get left out in the cold. In terms of earnings, they face a triple whammy: they have

children (placing a demand on the parent's time, plus creating greater income needs); they have only one adult to handle both child care and any paid work; and that adult is a woman, with the earnings penalty that implies. For most single mothers, the assistance they get from an absent father or from the government simply does not provide enough to offset these disadvantages.

While our research covered some familiar ground, we also encountered some surprises. For example, we found that government transfers (including Social Security, unemployment insurance, and other programs as well as AFDC) have a built-in gender bias—against women living without men—in whom they lift out of poverty. Of Massachusetts families who would have fallen

### **Government transfers have built-in gender bias.**

below the poverty line without government assistance, about half are pulled out of poverty by that assistance. But this proportion varies widely by type of family. Among those who would have been poor without assistance, government transfers boost three-quarters of elder-headed families out of poverty, but only one-sixth of women living alone, and only *one-tenth* of single mother families. In contrast, government aid raises one-third of two-parent families with kids above the poverty line.

### **Welfare “Reform”**

As we finished *Glass Ceilings and Bottomless Pits*, a discouraging series of debates on welfare rocked the Massachusetts State House. Despite the best efforts of advocates, legislative leaders and the governor sought to outdo each other in adding punitive measures to a new welfare bill; ironically, the governor finally vetoed the legislature's bill as not being sufficiently “tough,” pushing the question over to the next legislative session. We included in our report—which was sent to every legislator as the debate proceeded—a series of recom-

mendations for *real* welfare reform, including raising benefit levels, which currently leave families at about 2/3 of the poverty line; reducing the earnings penalty that cuts the welfare grant nearly dollar for dollar of wages after four months at work; expanding opportunities for women on welfare to get formal education, and so on. But in keeping with our broader focus, we also outlined a more sweeping agenda for supporting low-wage workers and easing work-family conflicts.

In the months since *Glass Ceilings* appeared, we, along with WSLN/A Director Kelly Bates and other staff, have conducted a speaking tour of Massachusetts (six cities as of early October, with more to come). The forums primarily reach people already sympathetic to our message, but nonetheless serve a useful purpose for the audience, for the Network and Alliance, and for us as researchers.

Our audience has been comprised mostly of leaders and rank-and-file members of women's advocacy and service provider groups across the state. It is helpful to have two economic professors confirm what audience members already now, offer added information and an analytical framework, and suggest a relatively ambitious policy agenda that extends beyond immediate reform issues. (“So there *are* solutions to these problems,” one struggling single mother/student commented.) For the WSLN/A, the forums offer media exposure (amplified as well by other media coverage, such as a cable TV talk show one of us took part in) and face-to-face contact with leaders and members from a wide range of organizations across the state. A wide range of women's and anti-

### **Resources Feedback**

We'd love to get some feedback about use of the Resources Section. If you listed something, please let us know the response. If you are a consumer, let us know periodically how many items you request. Thank you.

# PRRAC Update

**BOARD NEWS:** We lose another one to the Administration. President Clinton has nominated **Bob Greenstein** to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management & Budget. While a search is on for his replacement as head of the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, Iris Lav and Isaac Shapiro (the latter back from his stint at the Department of Labor) will be Acting Co-Directors. **Cathi Tactquin** has left her position as National Director of the National Network of Immigrant & Refugee Rights to join the staff of the Applied Research Center as a colleague of our Board member Gary Delgado.

**SEATTLE MEETING:** We held the 7th in our series of local all-day meetings of race and poverty researchers and activists in Seattle on October 7. Some 55 people attended, from the Seattle area, as well as Portland and Eastern Washington. As with earlier sessions (held in SF, LA, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and Boston) we hope the meeting will trigger ongoing work and rela-

tionships, including initiation of some research projects identified by local activists.

**FEDERAL DATA RECONNAISSANCE PROJECT:** The four surveys we commissioned—on housing, education, health and income maintenance—are now completed, carried out, respectively, by Anne Shlay of Temple, Jim McPartland/Nettie Legters of Johns Hopkins, Carol Korenbrot Dana Hughes/Ayesha Gill of the Institute for Health Policy Studies, University of California—San Francisco, and Brett Brown/Nancy Snyder/Kristin Moore of Child Trends. Each is a reconnaissance of existing data sources on the impact of federal programs in the designated area on poor and minority recipients: what data exist, how good and accessible they are, what legal requirements for data collection exist and how they are being met, what researchers and advocates say they need in the way of usable data. We plan on making available an Executive Summary of the four reports, after an

early November release date. Please contact Joe Lucero at PRRAC if you would like to receive a copy of the summary when released.

The Project now moves into its advocacy phase. On October 27 the researchers and several PRRAC Board members will meet with the Compliance & Enforcement Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, joined by representatives of major anti-poverty groups (Children's Defense Fund, Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, National Low Income Housing Coalition, Center for Law & Education, etc.), to discuss the research and begin to lay out an advocacy agenda that will include work with the relevant federal administrative agencies (HUD, Education, HHS, OMB, etc.), as well as Congress, to ensure creation and maintenance of a data collection system that can enable advocates to carry out efforts leading to improved programs and program administration. The Project also will include a public education campaign on the need for good data. We'll keep you informed of our progress. □

(CEILINGS: Continued from page 12)

poverty organizations—for example, local YWCAs and 9to5 chapters, the Spanish American Union (Springfield), the Martin Luther King Community Center (Springfield), and Amigas Latinas en Acción por Salud (Boston), among many others—have signed on as drum co-sponsors. Interestingly, activists from the anti-battering movement have had a strong presence, and have been quick to point out that AFDC offers an essential escape route for battered women. For us as researchers, direct contact with welfare recipients, advocates, and other activists provides information, ideas, provocative questions, and—not least—the energy that comes from finding that our work resonates with women's lives.

We have not yet turned around the legislative juggernaut that aims to gut welfare in Massachusetts, but we have helped to build the coalitions that can take on this challenge.

*Randy Albelda is a professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts at Boston; Chris Tilly is a professor of policy and planning at the University of Massachusetts at Lowell. Both are members of the editorial collective of Dollars and Sense magazine. Copies of the complete 48-page report, Glass Ceilings and Bottomless Pits, are available for \$10 (inquire about bulk rates and low-income prices) from the Women's Statewide Legislative Network, 37 Temple Pl., 3rd floor, Boston, MA 02111, 617/426-1878. □*

## For Those Receiving Poverty & Race for the First Time . . .

Persons on our database as of August 1 were included in the *PRRAC Network Directory*, which was mailed out in late September, along with the September/October issue of *P&R* (and a funding appeal). You will shortly receive your copy of the *Directory* (and the September/October issue as long as our supply lasts).

(REPORTS: Continued from page 10)

application fees). Many on-site managers are not knowledgeable about program requirements and their obligations under the program, may deny they offer low-income units in their building, and are not required to conform to any uniform marketing requirements to fill vacancies. Low-income people often have no way of knowing there is a Low Income Housing Tax Credit building located in their community.

The Coalition has been working with other groups, including area nonprofit housing developers, to secure administrative changes in the project preference system of the LIHTC program. A preliminary report on the research was released, outlining their finding; a press conference was held; and other actions were taken to force changes in the program. This led the Washington State Housing Commission, which oversees administration of the tax credit program and determines what projects will receive these subsidies, to conduct its own study of the program's effectiveness. Ultimately, the Coalition's efforts led to revisions in the Finance Commission's project preference system, enforcement

rules and marketing requirements. Today, a greater share of the state's tax credits are awarded to nonprofit developers serving extremely low-income populations. Nonprofits also generally do a better job of serving people of color. □

(INNOCENCE: Continued from page 7)

oped over the last 400 years in this country.

We should not, then, focus the award of reparations on the harm it exacts on innocent whites, but should use it to expose and acknowledge the distributional and structural advantages enjoyed by whites as a result of slavery and its aftermath. The debate cannot center on an empirical evaluation of whether whites today are individually responsible for the ills suffered by African Americans today. It must center instead on exposing how the wrongs exacted by whites in the past continue to privilege and benefit whites today and how those structures that benefit whites still operate to disadvantage persons of color. When one looks seriously at how racial hierarchy has distributed resources, it becomes apparent

that non-racism (color-blindness) or even affirmative action is insufficient to the task of addressing the inequities of the post-slavery structure. Instead, we must be *anti-racist* and structurally oriented.

I have heard the argument that African Americans have by now achieved equality in terms of their place in our present distributional structure. I do not buy that argument. If it happened, I would like to know when. Slavery might have ended in 1865, but it was replaced with an exploitative sharecrop farming system, forced residential segregation and educational segregation, and complete disenfranchisement from the voting process. At some point it may be necessary to forget the past, but not until we have remembered. I believe that far too many have forgotten without ever remembering.

In the meantime, *ain't nobody paid for slavery yet.*

*John A. Powell, Secretary of PRRAC's Board of Directors, is professor of law at the University of Minnesota Law School (229 19th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55455); he formerly was National Legal Director for the American Civil Liberties Union.* □

## Resources

*SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (29¢ unless otherwise indicated). Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items are often free.*

### Race/Racism

• **All-White Realty Ads** are the target of Chicago's Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities. The focus is on ads that show, in high school yearbook style, stacked rows of head shot photos of a firm's agents, all of whom usually are white, which communicate a clear message. The campaign is similar to

efforts in other cities to stop home sale display ads that give similar racial steering messages by virtue of who is depicted in the ad. Inf. from John Lukehart of the Council, 53 W. Jackson #557, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/427-4457.

• **"Black Discontent: The Preliminary Report on the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study,"** by Michael C. Dawson of the Univ. of Chicago (12 pp., + tables, April, 1994), reports on a 45-minute telephone interview of over 1200 randomly selected African Americans. Try writing Dawson at Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637 (there's no more specific address on the

copy we have)--if that doesn't work, contact us and we'll arrange to get you a copy.

• **Civil Rights/Liberties Video Histories:** Calif. Newsreel has produced videos on "3 lawyers who changed America": "The Road to Brown," featuring Charles Hamilton Houston, chief counsel to the NAACP, dean of the Howard Law School and the first Black editor of the *Harvard Law Review*; "Doing Justice," on "people's lawyer" Arthur Kinoy; and "Super Chief: The Life & Legacy of Earl Warren." They are 58, 51 and 88 mins., respectively, and each is \$75 to rent, \$195 to buy (\$295 to buy all 3). Contact Calif.

Newsreel, 149 9th St. #420, SF, CA 94103, 415/621-6196.

• **"Facing Racial and Cultural Conflict: Tools for Rebuilding Community"** is a newly revised handbook available (\$24) from the Program for Community Problem Solving, 915 15th St. NW #600, Wash., DC 20005, 202/783-2961.

• **"Mount Pleasant: The Roots of a Rebellion"** is a film-in-progress, by Farzin Illich & Martha Sipple, on the 1991 Latino riots in the Adams Morgan/Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of Washington, DC. Information from the filmmakers, 202/332-0600.



• **"News Watch: A Critical Look at Coverage of People of Color"** (53 pp., 1994) is available (free, but \$2.25 for postage) from the Ctr. for Integration & Improvement of Journalism, SF State Univ., 1600 Holloway Ave., SF, CA 94132, 415/338-2083. The project was co-sponsored by the Asian-Am. Journalists Assn., Natl. Assn. of Black Journalists, Natl. Assn. of Hispanic Journalists & Native Amer. Journalists Assn.

• **"Race"** is the theme of the Fall, 1994 issue of *Hungry Mind Review*, a Midwestern book review. The 76-page issue contains essays by Michael Dorris ("Mixed Blood"), PRRAC Board member John Powell ("Talking Race"), Gerald Early ("The Almost-Last Essay on Race in America"), an interview with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and responses to HMR's race questionnaire. The issue is distributed free in Twin City bookstores; contact them for information on how to receive a mailed copy: 1648 Grant Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105, fax: 612/699-0970.

• **"Speaking Out Loud: Conversations with Young Puerto Rican Men,"** by Sonia Pérez & Steven Cruz (69 pp., August 1994), dealing with the transition from school to work, training or higher education, is available (\$7.50) from the Natl. Council of La Raza, 810 First St. NE #300, Wash., DC 20002, 202/289-1380.

• **Survey Forms Assessing An Individual's Level of Racism:** Pat Boozer (164 Lombard St., New Haven, CT 06513, 203/782-444) is developing such a form, and would like to see models of similar efforts.

• **The Chicano/Latino Policy Project** has a publications list of Working Papers. Sample titles: "Undocumented Immigrants' Impact on the US Labor Market," by Roger Martinez; "Compatriots or Competitors? A Study of Job Competition between Foreign-Born & Native Los Angeles, 1970-80," by Abel Valenzuela. Contact the project at the Inst. for Social Change, UC-Berkeley, 2420

Bowditch St., Berkeley, CA 94720, 510/642-6903.

• **The NAACP:** Two recent *NY Times* op-eds struck us as right on the mark regarding the troubles of this venerable civil rights organization: "Ben Chavis Wasn't the Problem," by UNC Professor Michael Eric Dyson (Sept. 1), and "Now or Never for the NAACP," by George Mason Univ. Prof. (and nephew of Roy) Roger Wilkins (Oct. 12). If you missed one or both, we'll be glad to send a copy with a SASE.

• **United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities,** eds. Wilma Rule & Joseph Zimmerman (Praeger, 1992, \$16.95), has sections on Congress, state legislators and judges, and local representatives.

• **"Building Personal & Professional Competence in a Multicultural Society,"** 2- and 4-day training courses, sponsored by the Natl. Multicultural Inst., will be held Feb. 2-5 in DC. Inf. from the Inst., 3000 Conn. Ave. NW #438, Wash., DC 20008, 202/483-0700.

## Poverty/Welfare

• **"A Study of General Assistance in Norwich, Connecticut,"** by Irene Glasser (80 pp., June 1994), is available (no price listed) from Prof. Glasser, Dept. of Soc./Anthrop., E. Conn. St. Univ., Willimantic, CT 06226, 203/465-5227.

• **Geographic Variations in Poverty Levels:** The GAO has issued a report (GAO/HEHS-94-165, May, 1994), "Federal Aid: Revising Poverty Statistics Affects Fairness of Allocation Formulas," on the impact of revising counts of people in poverty by adjusting the official poverty line for geographic differences in the cost of living. Available (free) from USGAO, PO Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20884-6015.

• **"Living at the Bottom: An Analysis of 1994 AFDC Benefit Levels"** (43 pp., June 1994) is available (\$10) from the Ctr. on Social Welfare Policy & Law,

275 Seventh Ave., 6th fl., NYC, NY 10001-6708, 212/633-6967.

• **Stewardship for Public Life: Domestic Poverty & Human Needs** is the quarterly newsletter of the Presbyterian Church Wash. Office, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20002, 202/543-1126. No price listed.

• **"Symposium: Poverty Law and Policy"** is the 400-page, June 1993 issue of *The Georgetown Law Journal*. The 6 articles are by Peter Edelman, Fran Ansley, Peter Pitegoff, Lucie White, Lynn Stout, and E. Douglass Williams/Richard Sander, accompanied by several student contributions. The issue is \$19, from William Hein & Co., 800/828-7571.

• **Understanding the Nature of Poverty in Urban America,** by James Jennings (209 pp., 1994), has just been published by Praeger.

• **"Welfare Policy & Practice"** is the special issue (vol. 16, no. 4) of *Practicing Anthropology*. \$5 indiv., \$7 inst. from SFAA Business Office, PO Box 24083, Oklahoma City, OK 73124, 405/843-5113.

## Community Organizing

• **Building Community Capacity: The Potential of Community Foundations,** by Steven E. Mayer (222 pp., 1994), is available (\$20.50) from Rainbow Research, 621 W. Lake St., Mpls., MN 55408, 612/824-0724.

• **"Community-Based Public Health Research Principles and Application Procedures"** is a 7-page document devised to "facilitate the design and implementation of research which is grounded in, and relevant to, local communities." It was developed by the Detroit-Genesee County Community-Based Public Health Consortium. Copies are available (free) from Renee Bayer, M4140 SPH II, 1420 Washington Hts., Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2029, 313/936-0932.

• **Computers for Social Change and Community Organizing,** eds. John Downing, Robert Fasano, Patricia Friedland, Michael McCullogh, Terry Mizrahi & Jeremy Shapiro (145 pp., May 1991), is available (text edition \$16.95) from Haworth Press, 10 Alice St., Binghamton, NY 13904-1580, 800/342-9678. Also, *Community Organization and Social Administration,* eds. Terry Mizrahi & John Morrison (265 pp., 1993), text edition \$17.95, from Haworth.

• **SALSA** is the Social Action & Leadership School for Activists of the Washington, DC-based Inst. for Policy Studies. Its Fall Session includes one-time evening classes on the media (writing op-eds, working with the press, editing, writing, investigative reporting, newsletters, video production, radio speaking, etc.), the information highway, direct action & civil disobedience, creating single-issue coalitions, researching the government and corporations, Washington lobbying, whistleblower protection, and many other relevant subjects. Instructors include Scott Armstrong, Jefferson Morley, David Corn, Edwin Rothschild, Michael Shuman, Cathy Hurwitz, Peter Kornbluh & John Cavanagh. For catalogue, contact IPS, 1601 Conn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20009, 202/234-9382.

## Criminal Justice

• **"Americans Behind Bars: The International Use of Incarceration, 1992-1993,"** by Marc Mauer (27 pp., Sept. 1994), is available (no price listed) from The Sentencing Project (a PRRAC grantee), 918 F St. NW #501, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871. The study reports that the US, with 1.3 million persons behind bars, has the 2nd highest rate of incarceration among the 52 nations studied, and that the US rate (519/100,000) has risen 22% since 1988 and is 5-8 times the rate of most industrialized nations. The African-American incarceration rate is more than 6 times that of whites, and Black males are incarcerated at more

than 4 times the rate of Black males in S. Africa. The 583,000 African-American males in prison and jails exceeds the number of African-American males enrolled in higher education (537,000).

- **Anti-Violence Publications:** "Confronting Violence in Our Communities: A Guide for Involving Citizens in Public Dialogue & Problem Solving" and "The Busy Citizen's Discussion Guide: Violence in Our Communities" are available (\$5 and \$1, respectively) from the Study Circles Resource Ctr., PO Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258, 203/928-2616.

- **"Policing the Ghetto Underclass: The Politics of Law & Law Enforcement,"** by (PRRAC grantee) William Chambliss, is a 18-page article from vol. 42, no. 2 (May 1994) of *Social Problems*. Contact Prof. Chambliss, Dept. Sociology, George Washington Univ., 2129 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20052 for reprints.

- **"Racial Disparities in the Charging of Los Angeles County's Third 'Strike' Cases,"** by Vincent Schiraldi & Michael Godfrey (3 pp., Oct. 1994), and "The Undue Influence of California's Prison Guards' Union: California's Correctional-Industrial Complex," by Vincent Schiraldi (4 pp., Oct. 1994), are "In Briefs," available (no price listed) from the Ctr. on Juvenile & Criminal Justice, 1622 Folsom St., 2nd fl., SF. CA 94103, 415/621-5661.

- **"For a Safe Community: A Citizens' Conference to Stop Gun Violence,"** sponsored by the Coal. to Stop Gun Violence, the Episcopal Diocese of Wash. and the Wash. Natl. Cathedral, will be held Nov. 11-13 in DC. Inf. from the Conf., 3421 1/2 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/338-2422.

- **The Campaign for an Effective Crime Policy** is holding a national conference, Dec. 1-3 in Arlington, VA. The Campaign has issued "A Call for a Rational Debate on Crime and Punishment," which emphasizes community-based alternatives to

incarceration and the creation of opportunities for offenders to repay their victims and their communities. Contact Gayle Hebron at the Campaign, 918 F St. NW #505, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871.

## Economic/Community Development

- **"Building Communities from the Inside Out,"** by John McKnight & John Kretzmann, outlines an approach to community reinvestment that builds on strengths, what they term "asset-based community development." \$12 from Ctr. for Urban Affairs & Policy Research, Northwestern Univ., 2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208-4100, 708/491-3518.

- **"Building Hope: Community Development in America,"** the PBS documentary shown last Spring, is available (\$12.95) from the Pratt Inst. Center for Comm. & Env. Dev., 379 DeKalb Ave., 2nd fl., Brooklyn, NY 11205, 718/636-3486. The Inst. also is producing case studies on the community development corps. interviewed for their oral history project. Contact Alisa Drayton at PICCED for more inf. on this.

- ***Capital and Communities in Black and White: The Intersections of Race, Class and Uneven Development,*** by Gregory Squires (185 pp., 1994, \$17.95), is available from SUNY Press, PO Box 6525, Ithaca, NY 14851, 607/2772211.

- **"Community Development Financial Institutions: Investing in People and Communities" (?)** pp., 1994) is available (\$10 govt./univ./non-profits, \$20 for-profits) from the Woodstock Inst., 407 S. Dearborn #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070. They have also published 4 companion studies from their Community Dev. Fin. Insts. Project: descriptive leaflet available from them.

- **CON PLAN** is the shorthand for HUD's new Consolidated Plan, to replace existing planning documents for

housing, community development, homelessness and several other aid programs. It's caused lots of consternation and opposition in the advocacy community, and the official *Federal Register* comment period has now passed. For further information and materials, contact Ed Gramlich at the Ctr. for Comm. Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0567.

- **CRA Revisions:** The 4 federal banking regulators have issued for public comment their long-awaited revision to their Community Reinvestment Act reform proposal (the first iteration of which was issued last December). The full text of the revised version appears in the Oct. 7 *Federal Register*. The regulators are accepting comments through Nov. 21—they should be sent to the Communications Div., Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, 250 E St. NW, Wash., DC 20219. For further background and inf., contact Allen Fishbein or Debby Goldberg at the Ctr. for Comm. Change (see above item).

- **"Fact Finding Report"** from the Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations (163 pp., May 1994) is available (no price listed) from the Office of the Secretary, US Dept. of Labor, Wash., DC 20210.

- **"Race & Economic Development: Challenges & Prospects"** is the Spring/Summer 1994, 30-page issue of *Trotter Review*, published by the Wm. Monroe Trotter Inst. of U. Mass-Boston (100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125-3393). Subs. are \$8/yr.

- **"Redefining Success in Community Development: A New Approach for Determining & Measuring the Impact of Community Development,"** by Sherry Salway Black, is available (no price listed) from the Lincoln Filene Ctr., Tufts Univ., Medford, MA 02155, 617/627-3549.

- **The International Labor Office** has a publications list with such titles as *Comparable Worth & Gender Discrimination: An International Perspective*, by Morley Gunderson; *The Work of Strangers: A Survey of International Labour Migration*, by Peter Stalker, and *Visions of the Future of Social Justice: Essays on the Occasion of the ILO's 75th Anniversary*. Write for the catalogue: 1828 L St. NW #801, Wash., DC 20036.

- **The Social Compact** is a new initiative from the financial services industry that, among other activities, makes annual Neighborhood Nonprofit Partnership awards to further the work of effective housing/community development organizations. Contact Lynn Whiteside, Social Compact, 5335 Wisconsin Ave. NW #750, Wash., DC 20015, 202/686-9190.

- **The Natl. Comm. Reinvestment Coalition** is holding a Southwest Regional Conf., "The New CRA: Funding Community Needs into the 21st Century," Nov. 18-19 in Phoenix. Inf. from the Coal., 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #1010, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-7898.

## Education

- ***Doing Our Homework: How Schools Can Engage Hispanic Communities,*** by Andrea Bermudez (82 pp., 1994), is available (\$12) from ERIC/CRESS, PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348, 800/624-9120.

- **"Hispanic' Schooling: Risk Factors for Dropping Out & Barriers to Remaining Education"** is a GAO report (GAO/PEMD-94-24, 40 pp., July 1994), available free from USGAO, PO Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20884-6015.

- **Teaching Careers for Minority High School Students:** The Peer Research Laboratory has received a 2-year grant from the US Dept. of Education for a project, located at two NYC high schools, encouraging minority students to become

teachers Inf. from Audrey Gartner at the Lab, CUNY Grad. Ctr., 25 W. 43 St. #620, NYC, NY 10036, 212/642-2929.

## Environment

- **A Pesticide Policy Reform Network** has been organized by the Legal Environmental Assistance Foundation. Inf. from LEAF, 1115 N. Gadsden St., Tallahassee, FL 32303-6327. 904/681-2591.

- **Alternative Press** is the new newsletter of Alternatives for Community & Environment. Contact ACE, c/o Boston College Law School, 885 Centre St., Newton, MA 02159.

- **People of Color Environmental Groups Directory 1994**, compiled by Robert Bullard, is available, free, from the Charles Stewart Mott Found., 1200 Mott Found. Bldg., Flint, MI 48802, 810/766-1766.

- **"Preventing Child Exposures to Environmental Hazards: Research & Policy Issues"** is a Summary of a National Symposium held in Wash., DC March 18-19, 1994. The 64-page document is available (no price listed) from Joy Carlson, Children's Environmental Health Network, 5900 Hollis St., Suite E, Emeryville, CA 94608, 510/540-3657.

## Families/Children/Women

- **Database on Women of Color and Homelessness:** The Women of Color Resource Ctr. is developing such a database to bring to the 1995 World Conf. on Women in Beijing. Contact them with names of books, articles or other resources of information on the following topics: organizing & advocacy projects, contact inf. for activists & scholars, curricula & syllabi of relevant course work. Contact Juliette Ramirez at the Center, 2288 Fulton St. #103, Berkeley, CA 94704, 510/848-9272, E-MAIL: chisma@igc.apc.org.

- **"New Chance: Interim Findings on a Comprehensive**

Program for Disadvantaged Young Mothers & Their Children," by Janet Quint, Denise Polit, Hans Bos & George Cave (27 pp., June 1994), is available (no price listed) from Judith Greissman, Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 3 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

- **"Sexual Abuse of Children"** is the Summer/Fall 1994, 247-page issue of *The Future of Children*, a free quarterly from the David & Louise Packard Found., 300 2nd St. #102, Los Altos, CA 94022.

- **"Training the Child Advocate"** is an intensive skills program in trial advocacy for attorneys in child welfare & juvenile justice, Jan. 9-13 at the Northwestern Univ. School of Law. It's presented by the Natl. Inst. for Trial Advocacy, the ABA's Litigation Section, and the Children & Family Justice Ctr. of the Law School. Inf. from NITA, Notre Dame Law School, PO Box 6500, Notre Dame, IN 46556-6500, 800/225-6482.

- **The Women's Bureau** of the US Dept. of Labor will hold a 75th Anniversary conference May 20. Inf. from the Bureau, USDOL, 200 Constitution Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20210, 202/219-5529.

- **The National Court Appointed Special Advocate Assn.** is holding its 14th annual conf., May 20-23 in Scottsdale, AZ. Inf. from CASA, 2722 Eastlake Ave. E. #220, Seattle, WA 98102, 800/628-3233.

## Health

- **"Does Clinton's Health Care Reform Proposal Ensure (E)Qual(ity) of Health Care for Ethnic Americans and the Poor?,"** by Vernellia Randall of the Univ. of Dayton School of Law, appeared in the Spring, 1994 (vol. 60, no. 1) *Brooklyn Law Review*. Contact Prof. Randall (300 College Park, Dayton, OH 45469-1320, 513/229-3555) for reprints of the 7 l-page article.

- **Lead Poisoning:** Three articles from the July 27, 1994 *J. Amer. Medical Assn.* deal with this issue: 1) "Blood Lead Levels in the US Population: Phase I of the 3rd Natl. Health & Nutrition Examination Survey," by Debra Brody et al.; 2) "The Decline in Blood Lead Levels in the US: The National Health & Nutrition Examination Surveys," by James Pirkle et al.; 3) their editorial, "Childhood Lead Poisoning in 1994." Free reprints available as follows: #1 - Div. of Health Exam. Stats., NCHS, CDCP, 6525 Belcrest Rd., Rm. 900, Hyattsville, MD 20782; #2 - Div. Env. Health Lab. Sci., Natl. Ctr. Env. Health, CDCP, MS-F20, Atlanta, GA 30333; #3 - Dr. Lynn Goldman, USEPA, 401 M St. SW, Wash., DC 20460.

- **"Lead-Based Paint Poisoning: Children in Sec. 8 Tenant-Based Housing Are Not Adequately Protected"** is a May, 1994 GAO report (GAO/RCED-94-137), available (free), from USGAO, PO Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20884-6015.

- **"The Catholic Health Care System and National Health Care Reform"** (43 pp., 1994) is available (no price listed) from Catholics for a Free Choice, 1436 U St. NW #301, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-6093. They also publish *Conscience*, a quarterly newjournal of pro-choice Catholic opinion (\$10/yr., free to libraries).

- **"Winning the Battle: Putting Rural Health Needs First in Health Care Reform"** (56 pp.) documents studies and outlines the unique health care problems faced by rural residents. Free from Communicating for Agriculture, PO Box 677, Fergus Falls, MN 56538, 800/844-6273.

## Housing

- **American Homelessness** (2nd edition, 272 pp.), by PRRAC Board member Mary Ellen Hombs, is now out, \$35.55 + 7% s/h (s/h free with prepaid orders) from ABC/CLIO, 130 Cremona Dr., PO Box 1911, Santa Barbara, CA 93116-1911, 800/368-6868.

- **"Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights No. 6"** is the 6th compilation of cases of past and pending forced eviction throughout the world, prepared by the Centre on Housing Rights & Evictions of the Habitat International Coalition. The 56-page, Aug. 1994 document is available (\$10) from COHRE, Havikstraat 38 bis, 3514 TR Utrecht, Netherlands, phone: 31-30-73 19 76.

- **Interviews with HUD Assistant Secretaries:** PRRAC Exec. Dir. Chester Hartman, wearing his hat as an Associate Editor of *Shelterforce* magazine, has carried out lengthy interviews with Asst. Secs. Michael Siegan (PDR), Andrew Cuomo (CPD), Nicholas Retsinas (Housing, FHA), and Joseph Shuldiner (Public & Indian Housing), with Roberta Achtenberg (FHEO) next on the list. Contact Shelterforce, 439 Main St., Orange, NJ 07050, 201/678-3110, for the recent back issues containing the already published interviews.

- **"The 1993 Report on the Low-income Housing & Community Development Activities of the Federal Home Loan Bank System"** (56 pp.) is available (likely free) from the Federal Housing Financing Bd., 1777 F St. NW, Wash., DC 20006, 202 408-2500.

- **"The Massachusetts Experience with Targeted Tenant-Based Rental Assistance for the Homeless: Lessons on Housing Policy for Socially Disfavored Groups"** is a 3-part, 79-page article, by Barbara Sard, appearing in the *Georgetown Journal on Fighting Poverty*. Contact Sard at Gtr. Boston Legal Services, 68 Essex St., Boston, MA 02111, 617/357-5757 x3997 for reprints.

- **The Suburban Racial Dilemma: Housing and Neighborhoods**, by W. Dennis Keating (274 pp., 1994), is available (\$22.95) from Temple Univ. Press, Broad & Oxford Sts., Phila., PA 19122, 215/204-8787.

● **The Housing Assistance Council** is holding a National Rural Housing Conf. Dec. 5-7 in Washington, DC. Inf. from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600.

● **HUD's Fair Housing Symposium** have been rescheduled. The new schedule: *Chicago*, Jan. 11-13; *San Antonio*, Jan. 18-20; *Boston*, Jan. 23-25; *SF*, Feb. 1-3; *Atlanta*, Feb. 7-9; *KC*, Feb. 22-24. Inf. from the Fair Housing Inf. Clearinghouse, 800/343-3442.

## Immigration

● **"Final Impacts of Undocumented Aliens: Selected Estimates for Seven States,"** by Rebecca Clark, Jeffrey Passel, Wendy Zimmerman & Michael Fix (Sept. 1994), is available (\$18.50) from the Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/857-8687. The 7 states are CA, FL, TX, NY, IL, AZ & NJ.

● **"Stop Campaigns Against Immigrant Workers"** is a 3-page Statement (including signers) drafted during an October "Beyond NAFTA" meeting at the Univ. of Wisconsin of activists & researchers from Canada, the US, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, Colombia, Brazil, Chile, the UK, S. Africa & Japan. We'll send a copy with a SASE; those who want to sign on should contact John Cavanagh at the Inst. for Policy Studies, 1601 Conn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20009, fax: 202/387-7915.

## RESOURCES FEEDBACK

We'd love to get some feedback about the use of the Resources Section. If you listed something, please let us know the response. If you are a consumer, let us know periodically how many items you request. Thank you.

● **"Proposition 187: An Effective Measure to Deter Undocumented Migration to California?,"** by Rafael Alarcón of the Univ. of Calif.-Berkeley Dept. of City & Regional Planning (40 pp., Oct. 1994)—produced under a California Community Research Initiative grant administered by PRRAC and The Applied Research Center—is available from Multicultural Education, Training & Advocacy, 524 Union St., SF, CA 94133, 415/398-1977. Send a self-addressed label and \$3 to cover reproduction/postage.

## Miscellaneous

● **"Health, Education, Employment, Social Security, Welfare, Veterans"** is a 57-page, Sept. 1994 GAO report (GAO/HEHS-94-233W), listing the GAO products and testimony on these programs during the previous 2 months, with summaries of selected key products, and a comprehensive listing of all products on these programs published in the last 2 years. Free, from GAO, PO Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20884-6015.

## Jobs/Fellowships/ Grants

● **AIDS Housing of Washington** is seeking a **Housing Development Professional** to assist cities in AIDS housing needs assessments and multi-year plans. \$42-50,000. 60% out-of-state travel. Resume to them by Nov. 30 at 2025 First Ave. #420, Seattle, WA 98121, 206/448-5242.

● **Bannerman Fellowships:** The Charles Bannerman Memorial Fellowships honor outstanding activists of color and give them an opportunity to reflect on their work. \$15,000 stipends for sabbaticals of 3 months or more are offered. Applications, due Dec. 1, from the Program, 1627 Lancaster St., Baltimore, MD 21231, 410/327-6220.

● **Impact Fund Awards:** Grants (in the \$10-25,000 range) are available to support poverty

& civil rights litigation throughout the country. Grants are made quarterly, and the next deadline is Nov. 28. "Unsolicited applications are not normally accepted," but a request to be considered for application (no more than 2 pp., describing the case, its importance and the financial necessity) may be sent to Brad Seligman, Impact Fund, 1304 Solano Ave., Albany, CA 94706, fax: 510/527-7190.

● **Local Food System Grants** are available from the Minn. Food Assn., via funding from the Kellogg Foundation. The purpose is to create capacity at the local level to monitor whether the existing network of food-related activities is adequate, and to recommend policies which support locally oriented and sustainable agriculture, processing and distribution alternatives. Inf./applications from Ken Dahlberg at the Assn., 2395 University Ave. #309, St. Paul, MN 55114, 616/387-5686.

● **Penn Center**, founded during the Civil War as the nation's first school for former slaves, is seeking a **Director** for its training program to equip community leaders with advocacy skills and technical information. The focus is on preserving the Sea Islands' fragile environment and vulnerable African-American communities. Applications to Emory Campbell, Penn Ctr., PO Box 126, St. Helena Island, SC 29920, 803/838-2432.

● **Public Interest Advocacy Internships** are available with the Advocacy Inst. (Michael Pertschuk, Kathleen Sheekey & David Cohen, co-directors). Concentration on one of the Institute's 6 main program areas: gun violence, tobacco control, transportation, stealth lobbying, training programs, development). \$1000/mo. stipend, for 3-4 months. Available year-round for graduate and undergraduate students. Contact the Inst., 1730 Rhode Island Ave. NW #600, Wash., DC 20036-3118, 202/659-8475.

● **Save the Children** is hiring a **US Program Operations**

**Director**. Cover ltr./resume to Pat Shields, Save the Children, 54 Wilton Rd., Westport, CT 06881, fax: 203/221-4077.

● **Seed Money Grants for Law-Related Public Interest Projects** are available from the Public Interest Law Foundation, NYU Law School, 240 Mercer St., NYC, NY 10012, 212/998-6572. Last Spring, 3 grants were awarded (\$15-22,000 each) for projects addressing racial violence against Southeast Asians, Central American and Latino workers' rights, and the representation of battered immigrant women in self-petitioning/deportation cases. Proposal deadline is Jan. 27; funding begins July 1.

● **The Center for Science in the Public Interest** is hiring an **Activist/Organizer** for its anti-TV campaign. Ltr./resume/writing samples to CSPI, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #300, Wash., DC 20009-5728, 202/332-9110.

● **The Center on Budget & Policy Priorities** is looking for a **Media Director**. Resume/cover ltr. to Ellen Nissenbaum at the Ctr., 777 N. Capitol St. NE #705, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080.

● **The College of Public & Community Service, U-Mass, Boston** is seeking a **Dean**, CPCS "offers a competency-based, interdisciplinary education with concentration in fields related to public and community service for 1100 undergraduate and graduate adult learners." Nominations & applications to Brad Honoroff, Law Ctr., U-Mass, 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125-3393.

● **The Oiscount Foundation** gives small grants, with primary emphasis on expanding the availability of decent housing to low-income people through community education (organizing), citizen empowerment & participation in local, regional & national coalitions. Grants only given to CT, DE, IL, IN, MD, MA, MI, NJ, NY, OH, PA, RI, WI, DC. Applications due by Dec. 31, to Susan Chinn at the Foundation, 30 Winter St., 10th fl., Boston, MA 02108-4720, 617/426-7471.

• **The Food Research & Action Ctr.** is seeking a **Policy Analyst** (high \$20s). Ltr./resume/writing sample to FSP/FRAC, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #540, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2200.

• **The Funding Exchange**, one of the country's most progressive foundations, is looking for an **Executive Director**. Contact them at 666 Broadway #500, NYC, NY 10012.

• **The Labor/Community Strategy Center** (a PRRAC grantee) seeks a **Development Coordinator**. Resume/cover ltr./salary history to Anne S. Morrison, Morrison Assoc., 1629 K St. NW #802, Wash., DC 20006, 202/223-6523.

• **The Legal Aid Society of Minneapolis** is looking for a **Supervising Attorney** & a **Staff Attorney** for its Fair Housing Project. Resume to Jeremy Lane, LAS-Mpls., 430 First Ave. N., #300, Mpls, MN 55401-1780.

• **The Military Production Network** is seeking an **Associate Director** for its work with a

network of local grassroots, regional and national groups dealing with the Dept. of Energy's nuclear weapons facilities. Ltr./3 refs./6 cc. each of resume and 3-6 pp. writing sample to Nuclear Safety Campaign, 1914 N. 34 St. #407, Seattle, WA 98103, 206/547-3175.

• **The Natl. Comm. Reinvestment Coalition** is seeking a **Project Director** to oversee and carry out a national demonstration project in 4 communities, identifying and detecting lending discrimination and developing "best practice" solutions. Resume/salary reqs. to NCRC, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #1010, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-7475.

• **The Natl. Immigrant Law Ctr.** is seeking a **Staff Attorney**. Resume/writing sample to Charles Wheeler, NILC, 1102 S. Crewshaw Blvd. #101, LA, CA 90019.

• **The Pacific SW Region of the Amer. Friends Service Comm.** is seeking a **Director**. \$40,000. Resume/cover ltr. by Dec. 9 to Lynn Brusseau,

AFSC, 980 N. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena, CA 91103, 818/791-1978.

• **The Stern Family Fund** has established a new innovative grant program to support "Public Interest Pioneers" who create cutting-edge projects to curb government and corporate abuses. Start-up grants of up to \$100,000 will be awarded. The Fund's Board includes Ralph Nader, Sidney Wolfe & Alan Morrison, and the funds come from the estate of the late great muckraker Philip Stern. Concept papers are due by Jan. 4. The Fund will also make strategic grants to projects and organizations at critical junctures in their development. Guidelines from the Fund. PO Box 1590, Arlington, VA 22210-0890, fax: 703/527-5775.

• **The Surface Transportation Policy Project** is hiring an **Asst. Director for Policy & Implementation** and a **Communications Manager**. The latter pays \$36,000. Resume/writing sample to Carmen Hunt STPP, 1400 16th St. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20036, 202/939-3470.

• **The 1994 Harry Chapin Self-Reliance Awards** are given for "innovation & creativity in the effective resolution of hunger & poverty by fostering self-reliance & empowerment." Several \$5000 grants are given. Applications must be postmarked by Dec. 31, awards are presented in June. Contact World Hunger Year, 505 8th Ave., 21st fl., NYC, NY 10018-6582, 212/629-8850.

• **The Campaign for Human Development**, a national social justice program of the US Catholic Bishops, is looking to fill a **Field Representative** position. Resume/cover ltr. by Nov. 15 to Regina Grunert, US Catholic Conf., 3211 4th St. NE, Wash., DC 20017-1194, 202/541-3210.

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