

Poverty & Race

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Is Integration Possible? - Round II

We continue with a second set of commentaries on the excerpt we ran in the November/December issue from *By the Color of Our Skin: The Illusion of Integration and the Reality of Race*, by American Univ. professors Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown. (New subscribers and those who missed that issue can send us a SASE with 55¢ postage for a copy of the book excerpt and the commentaries, by Jerome Scott/Walda Katz-Fishman, Herbert Gans, John Calmore, Eric Mann, Richard Kahlenberg, Howard Winant and Robert Jensen.) My own view of the situation tends toward the pessimistic, I'm sorry to say. A recent poll, co-sponsored by the NAACP and Zogby International (reported in the Aug. 17, 1999, Minneapolis Star), had slightly over half of the 1001 randomly selected young adults (18-29) surveyed saying that racial separation is all right "as long as everyone has equal opportunity" (Plessy lives!) – and people tend to answer polls on racial attitudes more positively than they really feel and act on (as Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown emphasize). - CH

Today's Integration Challenge

by Angela E. Oh

Americans are confronted with the fact that we are a multi-racial, multi-cultural society that has yet to define a new vision, strategy or language that allows for the kind of transformation that integration once symbolized. A thorough and relevant assessment of our challenges in connection with race relations and integration today requires an analysis that moves beyond our temptation to resort to the traditional duality (black/white). We are in dire need of models that can allow Americans to continue to hold hope for the future and make use of what has happened in the realm of race relations in the past three decades. Conversations such as the one shared by Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown do not allow us to make use of the intelligence we have gathered through organizing and advocacy efforts aimed at interracial justice. The experiences, insights and analyses of those who are neither black nor white have added far more tex-

ture to what has been described as the "dilemma [of integration] facing America's democracy." In this respect, the discussion in *By the Color of Our Skin* falls short.

Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown provide us with yet another well-documented, accessible and clear example of how the conversation between black and white can go on, ad infinitum – without getting any closer to breaking new ground. Theirs is a conversation that is familiar in that it celebrates the victories won when the politics of protest were effectively used to dismantle racial segregation and discrimination. It provides an analysis of how the lack of bold political leadership essentially missed an opportunity to transform American society, and ultimately it concedes the fact that most Americans are reluctant to sacrifice even a modest measure of personal choice for a greater good – in this case, integra-

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tion. It is yet another good citation that can be used by those who wish to write about the black/white divide and the not-so-new revelation that blacks and whites see things differently in this society.

When it comes to the question of integration, however, we can no longer describe our dilemma as one that is black and white. Without diminishing the importance of the reports done by those who contributed to the work of the Kerner Commission and the McCone Commission in California, our current circumstances have developed well beyond what the analysts and policy experts in the 1960s ever imagined. Today's greatest challenges lie in divides that are inter-generational and intra-racial (not just between youth/elders but also between native and foreign-born). And these divides are made more complicated by the lack of progress in taking care of historical wrongs and by the rapidity with which this society has realized advances in the realms of telecommunications, technology and media. Advancing the concept of integration in America and the goal of creating a truly color-blind society has just gotten tougher.

People of conscience, of all races, are looking for ways to create relationships that are productive and meaning-

ful, not just integrated. Perhaps this is why integration has failed. Maybe it has less to do with resistance and the lack of trust among black people, white people and other people in America and much more to do with the fact that we do not understand what "greater good" will be fulfilled by integrating. (This is where the lack of vision is glaringly clear.) A common understanding about the benefits of integration is absent. It has been almost four decades, and what we have learned is that integration sets up new patterns of migration. We have seen that integration has created new conflicts in old places like neighborhoods, schools and workplaces. We have noted that those who integrate may ultimately assimilate – a concept that has in itself been debated so vigorously that the word, for many, is a pejorative. And if these are the lessons that have come from integration efforts to date, what makes us believe that integration in itself advances the interests of democracy?

We should open ourselves up to possibilities by examining the insights of those who offer a unique perspective on what a "color-blind" democracy in America may have to offer. This may mean looking for concepts, models, and values that do not reside in today's black/white world. In his new book *Interracial Justice*, Eric Yamamoto offers substance and a methodology by which fundamental and persistent race-based problems of inequality and conflict can be addressed from four dimensions that he describes as recognition, responsibility, recon-

struction and reparation. The concepts take into consideration both the historical and contemporary ways in which racial groups harm one another, take affirmative steps to redress justice grievances and restructure current relations. Examining integration, utilizing this approach and these concepts, could produce options that have yet to be considered.

The work of Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown can be appreciated as an important source of data and historical analysis concerning one aspect of this nation's experiences with integration. By no means has America reached any conclusions about the issue of integration and how it may reshape our democracy. To the contrary, the hardest questions we have ever had to confront are now emerging, and it will take principled, courageous and creative individuals to introduce new concepts, dismantle old myths and set new examples in order for answers to be found.

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Half Full? Half Empty?

by James W. Loewen

We all stare at the half-full glass of integration and racial justice. We all wish it were full. Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown and some others emphasize the empty top half, singling out neighborhoods and schools that have resegregated and stressing that white ethnic groups — "the Italian, Jews, Poles, and Russians" — have all assimilated, "except for blacks." This

strategy offers ideological payoffs: social scientists can feel more honorable than those who admit to some satisfaction with the gains that have been achieved, can identify with militants who deny that any basic change has taken place, and can assure themselves that their expertise will be required until some distant future to help things get better or explain why they won't.

Three key problems still maintain America's racial hierarchy, almost without change. First, all-white or nearly all-white towns like Darien, Connecticut, still sit atop the social status hierarchy and pose as a goal for the rest of white America.

Second, schooling for the elite, whether at private schools or affluent suburban high schools like Darien, is far better than schooling for the poor, especially poor people of color. Race plays an important role in addition to class, because differential expectations are laid on the groups that John Ogbu calls "caste minorities" — African Americans, Mexican Americans and Native Americans. These expectations afflict the performance of these groups within desegregated schools, as well as across schools and school districts, and to some degree have been internalized by the oppressed groups themselves.

Third, our social curriculum, by which I mean how we understand our country and our history — not just in school but also as written in bronze and stone on our landscape and as celebrated or discussed in our public rhetoric — still largely derives from the "nadir of race relations." During that vicious era, from 1890 to about 1920, lynchings reigned, and not just in the South; white clubs expelled Jews; Northern universities sequestered their black students; Major League baseball banished black players; the Kentucky Derby eliminated black jockeys; and Woodrow Wilson segregated the entire federal workforce. As my new book *Lies Across America* shows, the legacy of this period is still visible even at John Brown's gravesite. Tentacles from this era still clutch at the minds of every child growing up in America, pulling ideas and beliefs toward white supremacy.

We must deal with each of these problems, which have proven intractable down to now.

At the same time, in at least three key areas, segregation and even racism are clearly on the run. One is the racial makeup of higher education and of workplace institutions. From the

armed forces to, yes, Denny's, African Americans and other caste minorities are now hired to positions denied them before about 1960.

Second, and here we return to the glass metaphor, many neighborhoods and schools across America are desegregated. By 1990, according to research by Reynolds Farley and William Frey, many U.S. cities showed black/white residential segregation indexes from 32 to 50, not much higher than Italian/non-Italian residential segregation indexes (on a scale where 0 = totally equal dispersal and 100 = total apartheid). Nor were all these cities "new" ones like Anchorage and Honolulu and San Jose — also included were Jacksonville and Fayetteville, North Carolina. Other towns like Lincoln, Nebraska, and Bangor, Maine, hovered around 50. Yes, Chicago and Philadelphia and some Florida cities remain in the 80's, but even these show small declines in segregation levels.

Attitudes have changed to accompany this behavioral change. In the early 1960s, 60% of whites agreed with the sentence, "White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and blacks should respect that right." By 1990, only 20% agreed. Of course, part of this change is hypocritical: elite whites especially know that giving the desegregated reply conveys status, just as living in a segregated neighborhood conveys status. However, there is a self-fulfilling aspect here: if most whites feel or at least say they feel that whites do not have

the right to keep blacks out, it becomes difficult to mobilize the quick white response required to do it.

Herbert Gans (in his response in the November/December *P&R*) pointed out the third success: the rising level of intermarriage. Not only do interracial couples show that segregation has waned, they also prompt further waning. Their very existence challenges the system of white supremacy, just as their children challenge the system of racial classification in the Census.

A critical current battle ties one of the problems, unequal schooling, with one of the successes, college admissions. As affirmative action gets attacked, judicially and by voters, showing again that the glass is half empty, some whites are nominating "standardized" tests like the SAT as an allegedly racially neutral alternative. These tests are not racially neutral, partly owing to unequal schooling; and if they determine college admissions, they will largely destroy the progress made in this area.

It is critical, therefore, that we all keep our eyes on those areas in American life where the glass is largely empty or where reactionary forces threaten to empty it, rather than waste our time analyzing whether overall it is half full or half empty.

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Needed: An Antiwhite Movement

by Noel Ignatiev

Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown are right to conclude that integration of black and white must forever remain an illusion. Integration, in the sense they use the term, is incompatible with the existence of white and black as social categories. The society they envision requires not integration of white and black but *dis-*

integration of the white race. My purpose in engaging in this word play is to move the discussion away from the ground on which whites are most comfortable — individual attitudes — and relocate it in social reality: the measurable whiteness gap that exists in every aspect of life.

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Any attempt to treat whites as a legitimate group with valid interests runs counter to the goal of transcending race. This is true whether the effort is made on traditional “racial” or on currently fashionable cultural grounds. The white race is neither a biological nor an ethnic group but a hereditary aristocracy; without the privileges attached to white skin, it would not exist.

But if whites cannot be absorbed into the common race of humankind, perhaps former whites can. There are more than two hundred million people in this country “passing,” claiming to be white in order to improve their chances. Why should they renounce something that gives them an edge in the rat race? The answer is, it costs more than it is worth. It is a question of class: like every modern society, the U.S. is divided into masters and slaves. The problem here is that many of the slaves identify with the masters because they consider themselves

white. And that habit prevents them from acting consistently to build a new world. While there is a great deal of rebellion in the U.S., there is very little real class politics, and what there is appears largely in a black face and is unrecognized as such by whites: e.g. the Rodney King riots.

Class politics are not bi- or multi-racial; they are non-racial. In America, non-racialism demands an assault on whiteness. Can the majority of oppressed whites be won to non-racial politics? In the ordinary course of events, probably not. Too many of their daily survival strategies depend on whiteness for them to imagine a world without it.

But abolishing the white race does not depend on winning over a majority of whites. What is needed is a band of people, including some nominally classified as white, who are determined to challenge, disrupt and eventually break up the institutions that reproduce whiteness: the school system (including teachers’ unions), the labor market, the criminal justice sys-

tem (including the PBA), the welfare and health care systems, etc. The aim is not to win over individuals to secede from the white club (although that is great when it happens) but to make it impossible for anyone to be white. There are already enough “antiracists” to do the job. The antislavery movement gave rise to movements for women’s rights and against the Mexican War. The Civil Rights movement stimulated new movements of women and youth, and a movement against the Vietnam War. Nothing offers so great a possibility of transforming the political climate of this country as an anti-white movement.

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Is Integration Possible? Of Course . . .

by Florence Wagman Roisman

Not only possible, but absolutely essential.

Here are the “top 6” reasons for acknowledging that we cannot do without “racial” integration – and rejecting its opposite, segregation:

1. Racial segregation is inconsistent with civil democracy. The polity to which we aspire is premised on the equal worth of each human being. Putting ourselves or other people into categories based on the color of their skin — or the color of some ancestor’s skin – negates that fundamental principle.

2. Racial segregation is intellectually insupportable. As Audrey Smedley writes in *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*: “Biological anthropologists, geneticists, and human biologists ... no longer accept ‘race’ as

having any validity in the biological sciences.” The concept of “race” was “fabricated out of social and political realities” to impose “on conquered and enslaved peoples an identity as the lowest status groups in society.” As we reject the goals of conquest and enslavement, we must reject also the tool by which they were achieved – the construction of “racial” identity.

3. Racial segregation is silly. It is ludicrous to consider that one knows anything about another human being when all one knows is the color of someone’s skin — or the color of the skin of an ancestor of that person. As Benjamin Franklin wrote in *A Narrative of the Late Massacres*, protesting the wholesale killing of friendly Indians: “[S]hould any Man, with a freckled Face and red Hair, kill a Wife or Child of mine, [would] it...be right

for me to revenge it, by killing all the freckled red-haired Men, Women and Children, I could afterwards anywhere meet with[?]”

4. Racial segregation is wasteful of human resources. One consequence of racial segregation is that the people who are considered “inferior” are confined to particular geographic areas, where schools, jobs, transportation, recreation, public facilities and other opportunities are degraded. Among those who are so confined, and so deprived of opportunities to develop their full human potential, are people who could discover cures for cancer, compose great symphonies, develop computers that do not crash, and make manifold other immense contributions to human good. By cheating people of those opportunities, we cheat ourselves of what those opportunities could produce.

5. Racial segregation is wasteful of other natural resources. Racial prejudice is a principal cause of the abandonment of the cities and the push ever outward to the suburbs and beyond (see John Powell's article, "Achieving Racial Justice: What's Sprawl Got To Do With It?" in the September/October *P&R*). And the race-driven "urban sprawl" imposes immense costs in new highway development, with its destruction of farmland, dangers to biodiversity, increased air pollution (exacerbating respiratory illness and promoting climactic change) and social costs.

6. Racial segregation is dangerous. The likelihood is that dreams deferred will not, in Langston Hughes' words, "dry up like ... raisin[s] in the sun." They will explode. The riots of past years will seem tame compared to any of the new millennium. As the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation recently reminded us, the number of firearms in the United States "has just doubled to nearly 200 million — many of them high-powered, easily concealed models 'with no other logical function than to kill humans.'" The Foundation's report notes that violent crime is exacerbated by a "vast and shameful inequality in income, wealth and opportunity...." (See its report "To Establish Justice, to Insure Domestic Tranquility: A 30-Year Update of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.")

We have no basis for concluding that integration is not possible. The material set out by Steinhorn & Diggs-Brown establishes not that integration is impossible but that it is difficult and time-consuming. No one should have thought otherwise.

The racial and ethnic stereotypes — and the notion of white supremacy — that divide us from one another were created over a long period of time and have been buttressed by powerful societal forces. We did not begin seriously to undermine those societal forces and to root out the stereotypes until the 1960's, and our efforts have been sporadic since then. We've relied on under-funded, inconsistent programs and volunteer efforts to turn around a

massive propaganda machine that serves potent institutions.

The foolish thing that many of us did in the 60's was to think that the problems of racism and poverty would be solved in that decade. Many of us now recognize that they may not be solved in our lifetimes. But — for all the inadequacy of the remedies — considerable progress has been made, and more will be made if we determine to do it.

Howard Zinn, interviewed by Susan Stenberg on NPR in early December, said that the idea of the 20th century that will last into the 21st is "the idea of non-violent direct action" — "precisely because it's been such a century of violence." In the same spirit, I maintain that the 20th century has demonstrated that racial separation is unacceptable: racial integration is the mandate of the 21st century.

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PRRAC is initiating a project on school mobility: high classroom turnover (especially among low-income, minority and farm-worker students) that negatively affects the learning environment for the mobile students, the entire classroom and teachers. We plan a small working conference and production of a handbook on how to reduce such mobility (most of which is a function of housing instability) and how best to deal with it. If you have relevant information or want to learn more about this project, contact Sandy Paik at our office (spaik@prrac.org).

ber, is an Associate Professor at the Indiana University School of Law-Indianapolis, where she teaches, among other subjects, a course on Housing Discrimination & Segregation. For many years, she was an attorney with the National Housing Law Project. □

What is the Question: Integration or Defeat of Racism?

by James Early

Research, principled discussion and debate about how to address the racial reality of the nation should always be welcomed, as they help focus public attention and politics on what Peter Drucker identifies as "the basic American problem, race relations between white and black." A fundamental contemporary issue which he locates historically and qualifies in importance is his projection that "...the legacy of the sin of slavery has been the central American challenge for a hundred and fifty years and is likely to remain the central American challenge for at least another fifty or hundred years."

The Steinhorn/Diggs-Brown excerpt connects to this important topic by reexamining one of the enduring philosophical and strategic attempts to define the nature of the problem, identify specific goals to be pursued and

tactics to be employed. Integration, although a debated philosophy and strategy, inspired literally millions of people across racial and class backgrounds from the 50s through the 60s to actively enter in the watershed struggle to defeat American Apartheid. And so the integration philosophy and strategy played a critically important political role in confronting and defeating the reigning social, economic and cultural forms of racial power that permeated every private and public aspect of national life. Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown acknowledge the social and transformative power embodied in the integration philosophy of that era as it galvanized a broad and diverse body of citizens to shatter social, legal, religious and economic conventions.

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However, their analysis and evaluation of integration and racial realities constitutes a rather “thin-skinned” treatment of the systemic nature of racism, and of the protracted struggle and varied strategies required to defeat it. Despite useful critical reflections about the miscalculations in the positive hopes and expectations many placed on integration, the authors’ own faulty understanding of America’s racial dilemma and how to address it is further compounded with their personal defeatist conclusion that integration can never be achieved. Their personal lament that integration will not be achieved in their lifetime is a diversion from their more important conclusion that continued devotion to the integration/assimilation strategy avoids a real reckoning on race.

The authors do appropriately challenge us to forthrightly consider that emphasis on stated idealistic hopes for “tolerance,” “racial harmony,” “color-blindness” and the contradictory life-ways of whites provides little depth of understanding of the substantive realities of today’s “America’s racial dilemma.” Shared values and ideals about integration among Blacks, whites and other ethnic groups alike, important as they are to what racial progress has been achieved, nevertheless do not in and of themselves translate into concrete plans and actions required to resolve the ongoing nature and present forms of the social, po-

litical, economic and cultural dimensions of race and racism in the United States (e.g., presumed innate racial and cultural superiority, educational inequities, job discrimination in private industry and government, redlining, police brutality and unjust incarceration, discrimination in access to capital, health care and insurance, etc).

The authors also make an important contribution by noting the stubborn nature of African-American exclusion in relation to recent Hispanic and Asian immigrants who are assimilating in ways that Blacks have never been able to integrate. Little surprise to some of us who understand that the essentials of racism are historically evolved from white oppression and exploitation of Blacks. Thus, Black struggle became a crucible of American democracy on many fronts (and continues today) — an under-recognized factor in how other people of color are treated and what access they achieve. This history and ongoing particularity of white/Black relations sets the bases for the still dominant white/Black national social psychology, and underscores the centrality of African-American struggles to the future of American democracy.

That we are trapped in an illusion of integration (a debatable conclusion certainly among the most discriminated) is less the issue than the fact that systemic racism, despite much racial progress, is alive, virulent and destructive in American social life,

corporations, local and Federal governments, sports, the media and even in liberal and left circles and institutions.

What then are we to do? Debate the ideals of an integrated society? Or work out the social and philosophical constructs as we confront and defeat racism in practice, building the social organization of the new society as we go. As an African-American, I am more concerned with fairness, justice and equality than the efficacy of one or another personal philosophy or defeatist conclusion. We will never be a color-blind nation. We can, however, through honest confrontation with racism, lower the negative valence attached to social constructions of race and physical characteristics. In doing so we will take a major step to becoming a new nation of diverse cultures who along the way construct new dominant values about the social individual and the social role of the state in public life.

There is no predetermined route or panacea to an integrated society. Nor is the path (or goal) merely integration of the excluded into the existing paradigm — a point the authors seem unable to consider.

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Education and Incentives to Actualize Integration

by Don DeMarco

The interracial team of Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown tell us that the integration glass is virtually empty. It’s hard to argue against that, except by citing Shaker Heights, Ohio, Oak Park, Illinois, South Orange/Maplewood, New Jersey, Philadelphia’s West Mt. Airy neighborhood and the few other important exceptions to the rule of segregation. When they abandon integration as unattainable

because it requires more engineering than they believe will be acceptable, that’s where I part company totally. What’s acceptable changes over time. We are not at the end of history.

By laissez faire, color-blind means, racial integration may well be impossible, given the inertial force anchoring segregation. Neo-conservative policy will doom us to market segmentation by race and all the apatness

derived from it.

Neo-liberal policy is no better. Funding minority and low- and-moderate income folks to form place-based community development organizations providing for their own kind in their own areas perpetuates, accommodates and exacerbates separate and unequal living, even when done with a warm heart.

Racial integration in local school

markets, housing markets and civic life is possible and even likely, but not without pushing aside both liberal and conservative policies in favor of pro-integrative policy – that is, policy decisions informed by integration/segregation impact analysis and interracial commitment to favor options that will attract the race which is underrepresented, whether white or of color.

Whites tend to see racial balance where majorities and minorities are buying in numbers reflective of their regional presence and buying power. Blacks and Hispanics tend to see balance when their group is approximately half of the neighborhood population, school enrollment or civic organization. These “what it’s becoming” and “what it is” perceptions of balance beg for reconciling, not for being accepted as the end of history. Given these disparate inclinations and little or no education or incentive programs to foster compromise, it ought to be patently obvious that segregation has Big Mo(mentum) on its side, even without the actionable discrimination that is still with us.

In the near term, national housing policy is likely to continue favoring a diversity of racial ghettos – some white, others black or brown, some gritty and others glitzy, some long-established while others are just becoming. Devolution, local control, empowerment zones for people of color and sprawl for whites have a firm grip on both for-profit conservatives and non-profit liberals. But more and bigger islands of integration in the seas of segregation can be had right now. It takes an interracial commitment to pro-integrative principle and intentional effort for the indefinite future.

Economic and social rewards (e.g., wealth accumulation, mutual under-

standing, acceptance and friendship) of integration are great, especially compared to re-segregation. Some communities make the commitment while they have the human, financial and time resources. The fact that long-term racially balanced living is relatively rare and never perfect is no reason to think it impossible or to devalue it.

Desegregation and tolerance are necessary preconditions on the way toward integration and acceptance. To disrespect the former, as Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown tend to do, is to thwart progress toward the latter. If we want choices beyond one sort of ethnic enclave or another, those who claim to

value broader choice must be challenged to develop a pro-integrative mindset and make personal, professional and business choices that model pro-integrative behaviors. More leadership to supplant a culture of segregation with a culture of integration and a new interracial equilibrium is what we need now.

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Should Racial Integration Be Pursued As the Only Goal?

by Joe Feagin and Yvonne Combs

In practice, racial desegregation has often become a game of numbers, a game that does not serve well the basic needs and interests of the black community. Clearly, the end of legal segregation has meant some increased housing, job and education options for black Americans, especially those in the middle class. There has been some societal desegregation in many areas.

Yet, a token number of blacks in formerly all-white neighborhoods, schools and workplaces has signaled to many whites that conditions for blacks are now the same as for whites, if not better.

However, what the omnipresent numbers on desegregation fail to show is the quality of this social change in everyday life. Many black Americans have not benefited much from racial desegregation.

They got some increased opportunities here and there, but they remain informally segregated and racially targeted across most institutions in the society. Moreover, the quality of life for blacks in desegregated institutions is often negative and filled with racist obstacles. So-called integrated institutions have mostly incorporated blacks and other people of color in limited

numbers without changing their white-washed character and culture; most are still run by white men according to the rules and norms long ago established in the white interest. Much research shows that today a majority of whites are still quite racist in their thinking about black Americans and that a majority will still sometimes discriminate – in areas like housing or promotions – when given the chance. Today, the white majority still gives the ideal of racial equality only lip-service.

Given the failure to achieve large-scale integration and continuing white racism in all major institutions, many black Americans have shown a growing interest in community control and self-development strategies. In the mid-1990s, *New York Times* reporter Isabel Wilkerson interviewed several dozen middle-class blacks in LA and found them angry over police brutality and other racism issues. As a result, many were becoming more committed to black businesses and greater black community solidarity and separation from whites. In his important book, *Integration or Separation?*, leading black legal scholar Roy Brooks – formerly a dedicated integrationist

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— shows the defects in the integration strategy. As he sees it now, black Americans should keep integration as a strategy but couple it with strong community-focused strategies necessary for their short-term and long-term well-being. Working in the tradition of Malcolm X and W. E. B. DuBois, numerous scholars and community leaders have reiterated the importance of African values and understandings for African Americans in building stronger communities and community control strategies.

In short, it is possible today to have safe neighborhoods, healthy homes, good economic activity and successful school experiences within predominantly black communities. Mere proximity to whites does not insure socioeconomic security or advancement. It is possible for African Americans to develop greater community control and a more independent infrastructure.

Consider, for example, the little-

known story of the prosperous “Black Wall Street” of Tulsa, Oklahoma, in the early 20th century. Destroyed by white rioting and arson in 1921 [see “Unearthing a Riot” by Brent Staples, in the Dec. 19, 1999 *N.Y. Times Magazine*], this center of black prosperity is a possible prototype for greater economic independence. The money made in the community there, and in many other cities at that time, tended to stay in those communities.

As John S. Butler has made clear in his research, that so many strong black communities existed on the heels of slavery clearly points to the ability of blacks to set their own agenda outside the confines of white society. A vicious war against these communities in the 1920s and 1930s — by whites at all class levels — and the impact of the Great Depression wiped out much of this black-controlled prosperity.

Some improvement in material circumstances for many black Americans, coupled with official desegregation of schools and neighborhoods, has failed

to close the gap between black and white living standards. Indeed, in many ways the socioeconomic gap now seems to be widening. And racial discrimination remains widespread.

In the long run, hopefully, the strategy of thorough-going racial desegregation and integration may still make sense for African Americans and for the larger society. However, it is an ideal still rejected in practice by most whites, who have the greatest power to implement it. In the meantime, one clear recommendation of a growing number of black voices is for black Americans to embrace the opportunity to develop greater solidarity and community control within black communities.

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Progress in Integration HAS Been Made

by George C. Galster

Professors Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown analyze contemporary American racial attitudes, behaviors, symbols and politics and come to the pessimistic conclusion that black-white integration is impossible during our lifetimes. There is no doubt that the challenges of moving toward a racially integrated society are immense and long-standing. But there are trends in our metropolitan areas overall, and especially in certain communities, that suggest a less pessimistic future. Racial residential segregation is falling and integration is rising among black and white households.

Part of the picture is painted by trends in residential segregation indices provided by Professors Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton in *American Apartheid*. For example, in 18 Northern and Western metropolitan areas with the largest black populations, the mean dissimilarity index fell

8%, from 84.5 in 1970 to 77.8 in 1990. Similarly, in 12 Southern metropolitan areas with the largest black populations, the mean dissimilarity index fell 12%, from 75.3 in 1970 to 66.5 in 1990.

Professor Ingrid Gould Ellen provides a more detailed view, based on data from 34 large metro areas with black populations greater than 5% and Hispanic populations less than 30% in 1990. She notes several encouraging trends from 1970 to 1990:

- The percentage of the white population living in census tracts having less than 1% black population fell from 62.6 to 35.6
- The percentage of the white population living in census tracts having between 10 and 50% black population rose from 10.5 to 15.6
- The percentage of the white population living in census tracts where non-whites comprised at least 10%

of the population rose from 25.0 to 35.1

- The percentage of the black population living in census tracts having between 10 and 50% black population rose from 25.7 to 32.4
- The percentage of the black population living in census tracts having greater than 50% black population fell from 67.1 to 53.9

Moreover, Prof. Ellen finds that the stability of racially mixed tracts has risen since 1970. During 1980-1990, the average loss of whites from tracts with more than 10% black residents was 10.5 percentage points, versus 18 percentage points during the prior decade. Between 1980 and 1990, 76.4% of the mixed tracts remained so, whereas only 61% remained so during the 1970s. Finally, the proportion of mixed tracts that did not lose whites between 1980 and 1990 was

53.3%, compared to 44.5% a decade earlier.

The causes for this increase in stable, racially diverse neighborhoods are undoubtedly multi-faceted. But, one clearly is the efforts by many non-profit organizations, localities and a few states to enact pro-integrative policies, which attempt to adjust racial patterns of demand for their communities in a way that diversity is encouraged and maintained. Many of these activities are documented in Juliet Saltman's book, *A Fragile Movement*.

Professors Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown may dismiss these efforts as wildly unpopular because they represent, in their words, "social engineering, ... government authority, ... and a willingness by citizens to relinquish at least some personal choice for the greater good." Yet, the aforementioned pro-integrative policies are overwhelmingly the results of municipalities, school boards and neighborhood groups democratically fulfilling the wishes of their constituents. Most pro-integrative practices, like affirmative marketing and financial incentives, do not constrict freedoms. Far from constraining choices, such policies are the only means of providing a choice that many Americans clearly want — by words and actions: a stable, racially diverse community in which a high quality of life is maintained.

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Unillusioned

by S.M. Miller

How one evaluates the last four decades largely depends on one's expectations. My outlook in the '60's was that an untroubled, clear, upward progression to real, full integration of African Americans would not occur. "Cost-free liberalism" was the somewhat caustic term that I applied to the liberal confidence that economic growth would make everyone better off, alleviate strain, with the result that great social change would occur "on the (economic and political) cheap" with little disruption. I did not share that optimism.

When I went to work in 1966 at the Ford Foundation, I assigned myself the mission of moving the Foundation to broaden its civil rights activities in two ways. One direction was to support more activist organizations than the National Urban League. The other was to involve the Foundation in developing programs with Appalachian whites, Hispanics and Native Americans.

My assumption was that the War on Poverty would not maintain support if it was regarded as an economic program to aid mainly black people. It had to be seen as also benefiting non-black groups. For my view, then and now, is that the United States is a deeply conservative country politically with short liberal remissions. Race barriers are not easily overcome.

The '60's was a great positive surprise to me. Much greater change occurred than I had believed possible. Nevertheless, my belief was that a transformation in race relations would not come easily or swiftly.

Consequently, I am not disillusioned. I like to describe myself as unillusioned: I believe that enormous positive changes have emerged, while recognizing the difficult, disturbing barriers to integration that remain.

Since barriers, shortcomings and regression are now familiar, I cite the gains. Occupationally, both black men and women are less concentrated in low-paying occupations than they

were in 1960. Educationally, African American youth are graduating from high school at almost the same rate as white youth. These are not minor advances.

A more minor illustration of change is in major professional sports. In the 60's they were just really opening up to black players; today, African Americans and Latinos predominate as players. And — miracle of miracles — as these "minorities" entered basketball, football and baseball, salaries did not decline but jumped to unheard-of heights. Yes, that is due to union organization and the courts, but also somewhat to changed attitudes.

Youth and, to a lesser extent, adult pop culture is dominated by black music, performers, themes, language. (That is different from the '30's when white musicians like Benny Goodman predominated in playing black-derived music.) This is cultural integration — especially for white youth — although we don't know what to make of and do with it. But it does signify something positive in an entertainment-oriented period, not just a coloring of minstrel time.

While I do not accept as reality the General Social Survey's report that more than 50% of white respondents say that they have at least one black friend, I would not dismiss that finding as unrevealing. My interpretation is that whites feel that they "should" have African American friends. That is a big change in outlook if not in actual behavior.

This listing is not a Pollyannish desire to ignore the extent of housing and educational segregation, the subtle and not-so-subtle discrimination in employment and policing, the intolerable incidence of poverty, the deterioration and neglect of cash and non-cash services. It is an effort to have a more balanced view so as to promote decisions which are shaped less by disillusion and more by creating new possibilities.

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Two ideas of the '60's might still be useful. To combat redlining and "white flight" as blacks move into white neighborhoods, improve public and school services in these changing localities. That is often the opposite of what now occurs. A second approach would attempt to deal with the economic component of the fear propelling white flight, that housing values will decline. Changing neighborhoods could be issued insurance policies that would guarantee the current value of owner-occupied homes. That could be done by federal or state agencies or by having them insure private insurers against losses. Improved services and a guarantee against loss might improve chances of having truly integrated neighborhoods.

John Powell's efforts to affect the siting of schools and housing could be used in many areas to maintain or induce integration. (See his article in the Sept./Oct. 1999 *Poverty and Race*, "Achieving Racial Justice: What's Sprawl Got to Do With It?") A major issue is occupational concentration.

Blacks are disproportionately in low-paying occupations. This situation is accentuated by the ending of "welfare as we know it." Getting on the job market ladder is insufficient if it is broken and one is stuck at the first step. Moving up quite a few rungs to a decent-paying occupational and industrial place is crucial. Training for entry-level jobs is only a beginning. What is needed is accessible, well-designed, subsidized training that will definitely lead to better jobs, an upward mobility program. Dead-end jobs — low-paid, hard and boring work — as one's future do not encourage good work habits or motivation to act in positive ways.

Latinos and Asian Americans also experience the broken ladder, and so do the much larger number of whites who did not graduate from high school or have only a high-school diploma, an increasingly devalued credential. Cross-race coalitions for an effective job mobility program might yield results. At present, race-oriented policies are not likely to win wide support. "Going it alone" is not a wise strategy for African Americans in a

rapidly changing economy and society.

These suggestions and many others that are around will not lead to real integration. Progress has been made but much, much remains to be done. Consequently, improving areas where African Americans live is important. That is happening through asset-building efforts that promote home ownership and entrepreneurship. Neighborhood improvement associations are making a difference. But these efforts and gains should not close out efforts to build toward a greater measure of integration. Without such a push, "separate but equal" will always be prey to separate but unequal.

A two-track approach is needed: improving black neighborhoods and integrating schools and neighborhoods. We should have expected a long struggle; we still should.

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Keeping the Dream

by William L. Taylor

Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown have made an important contribution with their trenchant analysis of where matters now stand in the long struggle for equality and racial integration. Sadly, race remains a seemingly intractable problem, an (perhaps *the*) American dilemma. W.E.B. DuBois' observation that the color line would be the American problem of the 20th century is carrying over to the 21st. And one scenario offered by the authors — that some newer immigrant groups, even those of color, may be accepted and assimilated into society while black people continue to be excluded — is all too real a possibility.

But if those of us who consider ourselves advocates for racial and social justice are to be thoughtful and strate-

gic in looking to the future, we must take into account another reality. We must understand how far we have come and how we got there. In conducting this examination, the measure should not be confined to "integration" as a narrow concept but should include the progress black people have made in becoming part of the economic, civic and political mainstream in the United States.

In my 45 years as a civil rights lawyer I have seen some astonishing changes. Here are a few:

- Black people have entered into every business and profession. These include sectors such as banking, insurance and communications in which they were once almost totally segregated, and jobs such as skilled construction work from which they

were almost totally excluded. While discrimination and tokenism remain, the progress made has led to a great expansion of the black middle class.

- Black enrollment in colleges, universities and professional schools increased greatly beginning in the late 60s and 70s, due in no small measure to the adoption of affirmative action policies. In addition to the obvious occupational and economic consequences, as William Bowen and Derek Bok have documented in *The Shape of the River*, black people who graduated from selective institutions are playing a larger role as civic leaders.
- Between 1970 and 1990, black teenagers cut the academic performance gap between themselves and white

teenagers almost in half on the widely respected National Assessment of Educational Progress. There is strong evidence that school desegregation and programs like Head Start contributed to these gains.

- Even in housing, where there is ample cause for discouragement, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, the chroniclers of *American Apartheid*, show gains in residential integration in many communities.
- Not least, the removal of voting barriers has led to political participation by blacks in regions of the nation where once they were virtually excluded.

The consequences of this accrual of political and economic power are worth pondering. In 1987, Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court was defeated in large measure because of the growth of black political power. In the 90s, while anti-affirmative action referenda have prevailed in California and Washington, a Republican-dominated Congress has several times voted down anti-affirmative action measures. Republican leaders fear that their chances of becoming and remaining a majority party will suffer if they alienate black voters. In 1999, when the NAACP protested the non-participation of blacks in television programming, heads of networks made at least some changes quickly, something that would not have happened in years past.

In short, the political and economic gains made by blacks have created a new reality which white Americans have had to accept regardless of their prejudices. It is telling that most whites feel impelled to respond to opinion polls by accepting the new norm of equality, even if, as Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown suggest, many may not mean it or live it. In fact, changes in behavior brought about by changes in law have led to some genuine reductions in biased attitudes. Racial stereotypes are continually challenged by the integration of black people into the mainstream. And even at the cosmetic

level, it is interesting that conservative groups peddling such nostrums as school vouchers feel impelled to market their solutions as beneficial to black and poor children.

No, I am not suggesting that the millennium in civil rights has arrived. In addition to the old problems there are newer ones: the growing gap between the wealthy and poor that is seemingly exacerbated by the technological revolution and the nation's general prosperity; the increasing difficulty of focusing solely on a domestic agenda in the face of global economic injustice; the rising distrust of government's capacity to solve problems; the paradoxical fact that the communications revolution is in many ways leading to a decline in community life and increased isolation; and the political use of the progress that has been made to deny the need for more effort.

These challenges call for new ideas and strategies. But many of the fundamentals remain the same. Black people were not empowered politically or economically by laws. They used the laws to empower themselves through education and community and political action. These, along with coalition-building, will remain key to future progress.

Finally, there is the importance of ultimate goals. On this I disagree with the suggestion by Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown that integration is a chimera that may have to be abandoned as a goal in order to have a "real reckoning on race." In thinking about our aspirations today, we should be informed by the experience of four decades, stripping from the goal of integration old elements of paternalism and recognizing more clearly than we have the values of diversity. That said, it would be foolish to succumb to the thinking that in the 60s told us that race riots were the result of raising the hopes and expectations of people too high. Any movement must have hopes and expectations that go beyond its current reach. No one I know has articulated the goals of racial and social justice and integration any better than Martin Luther King. His dream will have to do until a better one comes

along.

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No One Even Knows What Integration Is

by John Woodford

Our struggle is about desegregation and justice, including recompensatory and reparative measures to make up for past systematic handicapping of our socioeconomic and political rights and privileges.

The goal is not and should not be termed as "integration." No one even knows what that is. It can't be measured or defined. But desegregation and fairness are discernible and measurable. If integration is whatever happens after there is no racist repression and super-exploitation, then what will be will be. No one can say what form that will take as far as individual or group behavior may go. So it's not worth talking about, other than to say people should be free to associate however they choose.

But to declare integration "impossible," in view of the connotation the word has today, where it also implies desegregation, is really a defeatist cop-out, and such a slogan or program is an attempt to lull Afro-Americans into a defeatist and hopeless mind-set. Scholars have never been able to predict the future. But they can abuse their presumed authority to engage in psychological warfare. What you describe here is psychological warfare against Blacks.

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The Gautreaux Experience

by James E. Rosenbaum

I am puzzled by those who focus on white attitudes as the lever for changing black disadvantage. Attitudes are a particularly ineffective lever for change. We don't know how to change people's attitudes, and attitude change doesn't always change material circumstances. However, sometimes we manage to change attitudes when implementing policies that create integration experiences, especially if they also improve blacks' opportunities.

Over the past 20 years, I have had the opportunity to study a distinctive integration program. As a result of a consent decree, the Gautreaux program has allowed families in housing projects (or on the wait list) to move either to white suburbs or to urban areas. While devised as a housing program, this program presents an unusual opportunity to test the effect of helping low-income blacks move to better labor markets, better schools and better neighborhoods.

Participants moved to a wide variety of over 115 suburbs throughout the six counties surrounding Chicago. Suburbs with more than 30% blacks were excluded by the consent decree, and very high-rent suburbs were excluded by funding limitations of Section 8 rent certificates. Yet these constraints eliminate only a small proportion of suburbs. The receiving suburbs ranged from working-class to upper-middle-class and ranged from 30 to 90 minutes driving time to their former addresses.

The program's procedures create a quasi-experimental design. While all participants come from low-income black city neighborhoods (usually public housing projects), some move to middle-income white suburbs, while others move to low-income black urban neighborhoods. In principle, participants have choices about where they move, but, in actual practice, participants are assigned to a city or suburb

location in a quasi-random manner.

My research examined long-term follow-up surveys of families. It found that mothers who moved to suburbs were more likely to get jobs than those who moved within the city. It found even larger differences for children. Children who moved to suburbs were much more likely to graduate high school, attend college and attend four-year colleges than city movers. Moreover, for those who did not attend colleges, those youth whose families moved to suburbs were more likely to be employed, and to have jobs with better pay and benefits than those whose families moved within the city. The suburb/city differences were not just statistically significant, they were very large – sometimes 50% or 100% better in the suburbs.

In talking with families, we could see how these radically different neighborhoods offered positive role models, social support, superior information (job contacts, knowledge of work demands) and strong normative expectations that students must work hard in school. By providing low-income families with new opportunities in the suburbs, this program showed mothers and children what they were capable of achieving. These were capabilities they would not have seen in themselves had they remained in the city. Indeed, the city movers never saw those capabilities.

Moreover, the suburban moves allowed their neighbors to see their capabilities and achievements. While families faced some harassment in the first year after moving, the harassment declined a great deal over the first year, and was at a low level by the end of the first year. Many neighbors, including some who were initially prejudiced, became friendly with the Gautreaux families. Suburban movers had as many friends as city movers, and while the latter tended to have only black friends, the suburban mov-

ers had many white friends, and they interacted with white neighbors, in daily casual talk, in having neighborhood children over to study and in having neighbors to dinner.

This program has demonstrated to the world the great untapped capabilities of low-income people and has shown a strategy for releasing these potentials. As a result, the program has attracted national and worldwide attention. The Leadership Council, a nonprofit organization appointed by the court to administer the program, has advised housing mobility programs across the United States and in other nations. The five-city Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program administered by HUD was directly modeled on this program and was advised by Leadership Council staff.

I cannot agree with the contention that there are no signs of positive integration in the U.S. today. The Gautreaux program has produced very impressive results for low-income blacks. Gautreaux has vastly improved the lives of thousands of families, and it has done so with low visibility and little enduring backlash. Judging from the stories of participants, it has also helped white neighbors change their attitudes, as they see these families' accomplishments. Gautreaux is a small program, but the idea is being tried in many cities across the U.S. However, residential mobility is only beneficial if done right, and that requires a constant struggle.

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We Aspire to Integration and Practice Pluralism

by Frank H. Wu

Of all the prophecies for the new millennium, demographic predictions will come true the earliest. Within the foreseeable future, our society will make a transition that has never before and nowhere else occurred peacefully, much less successfully: we will cease to have a single identifiable racial majority and instead will begin to create a racially mixed new world. W.E.B. DuBois may have been as premature as he was prescient in declaring that the problem of the 20th Century would be the color line.

Everybody says they are in favor of diversity, but nobody has thought about the concept. Whether our diversity becomes a dream or a nightmare depends on the interpretation we give to the popular term. The left especially should take care to avoid arguments that can be appropriated.

Perhaps the defining characteristic of American exceptionalism and optimism is our ability to celebrate and embrace contradictory principles. We aspire to integration and practice pluralism. Each claims to be a form of equality, but they are as dissimilar as possible.

Progressive leaders of a generation ago proclaimed racial integration as a goal. They had in mind African Americans more than any other group, but white ethnics who only a generation ago would have portrayed themselves and in turn been perceived as less white and more ethnic have passed much more readily into this paradigm. The claim of integration is this: I am an individual who is like the next individual, and I demand to be treated as he is treated.

More cynical writers today doubt that the abstract promise of assimilation can be achieved, and they even suggest it is a false hope which must betray its beneficiaries. After all, the guarantee of a perfectly distributed assortment of peoples throughout the spheres of daily life virtually assures that in any given group of ten people

the African American will always stand alone.

Another tradition of thinkers has declared cultural pluralism as an ideal. They have been concerned with American Jews more than any other group, but their values have been invoked as readily by Latinos, Asians, Arabs, Africans, and especially the immigrants among them who wish to form a diaspora community rather than lead a lonely life as an exile. The claim of pluralism is this: we are a group who are unlike the other groups, and we deserve to be respected as they are respected.

Contemporary commentators wonder whether the fragmentation into factions will lead to hatred and backlash, or if it can be nothing better than a superficial combination of tacos, sushi, hummus and grits. The common core, as a unifying myth if not quite a shared reality, has given our citizenship its convention.

The problem may be that we use diversity too casually and not critically enough. Like equality, diversity can have many meanings.

Because it can be defined for the context and has not yet become controversial, it is easy enough to substitute “diversity” for other terms: “integration” and “pluralism” are old-fashioned; “multi-racial” and “multi-cultural” too trendy. These are not synonyms, though.

An institution can be multi-racial without being multi-cultural, and vice

versa. Race and culture correlate very roughly. A company could have its own buttoned-down protocol which accepted individuals of any skin color but demanded submission to the prevailing norms. Or a college could be predominantly black but encompass multiple national origins, geographical influences, class backgrounds, religious faiths and ethnic traditions.

Treating everyone identically produces its own unfairness, because any standard that is chosen is bound to favor somebody. Even a perfect neutrality, if it could be attained, has the vice of forcing everyone toward its sameness.

Encouraging dissent in all its forms creates anarchy. Almost nobody really intends to welcome each and every conceivable form of rebellion and opposition.

People who are eager for diversity in theory may not enjoy it in practice. The trouble is that any substance can be inserted into the label.

Essentially, diversity means difference. An advocate for diversity — genuine diversity — is an advocate for difference. If difference for the sake of difference is actually the goal, then every variation is worthwhile. One person’s difference is another’s damnation.

Supporters of diversity, for example, if they are to be true to the banner they fly, must at least acquiesce to the claim of the Ku Klux Klan member who insists that he too must be represented in Congress or the board room. If diversity is the measure, the born-again Christian who asks why there are not more evangelicals like herself on the op-ed page or in front of the classroom has as compelling a grievance as anyone else.

A believer in cultural diversity will be confronted with political conservatism that cannot be challenged. However they are defined, either cultural

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diversity or political liberalism can prevail but not both. The problem is especially apparent in the case of the minority group that in turn mistreats the internal minority within its own ranks, all the more so if outsiders attempt to intervene: the community of

color that insists on female genital mutilation or that invokes a cultural defense for domestic violence; or the non-Western religious adherents that abhor gays and lesbians or that shun the disabled.

Diversity presents us the challenge of saying what we mean so we can mean what we say. Mere diversity is

not enough. Its substance matters.

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Do We Still Have a Dream?

by Paul L. Wachtel

Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown perform a valuable service in reminding us of how the reality of daily life in America contradicts some of our society's cherished illusions. But in referring to integration as an illusion there is also a problematic ambiguity that has a potential to impede the very struggle whose continuing uphill nature they illuminate. There is a huge difference between viewing as illusory the idea that integration has very largely been achieved and viewing as illusory that integration is an attainable – or desirable – ideal.

In many sectors of the African American community today, and among progressives of all races and ethnic groups, the very ideal of integration is being seriously questioned, in part because integration is viewed as entailing submission to white norms and standards. Certainly this view is understandable. There is clearly arrogance and ethnocentrism aplenty in the attitudes of white America toward all of its minorities and toward African Americans in particular. An integration or assimilation predicated on the idea that white suburban culture is the apex of human achievement most certainly should be challenged. But there is a troubling return of what amounts to the idea of “separate-but-equal” in much contemporary progressive critique of the goals of integration or assimilation. In my view, while the effort at integration has indeed been less than a resounding success, abandonment of the very goal of integration would be a strategic disaster.

In demonstrating that our continuing failure to achieve genuine integration can be traced to circumstances already in place before either liberals' or conservatives' “usual suspects” for explaining that failure had emerged, Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown actually illuminate why the dream of an integrated society is still worth pursuing. What becomes very clear from their analysis is that the disappointment many now feel about the fruits of the integrationist effort corresponds to an unrealistic optimism at the outset of those efforts. As Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown state in a perceptive and noteworthy phrase, “the infrastructure of a separated America” was already in place when the civil rights movement hit its stride. The housing and transportation patterns established by suburbanization and the abandonment of our inner cities – phenomena which, as Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown point out, preceded passage of the landmark 60's civil rights legislation – do present enormous structural obstacles to achieving true integration and equality (as they do to maintaining the quality of our environment). Appreciation of this brute fact makes it clear that the task the movement faced was in some ways even more monumental than was appreciated at the time. It thus suggests that the gains that have been achieved are even more impressive than they otherwise might appear.

To be sure, Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown's observations also point to the long-standing racism that led to this pattern of housing, which was by no means motivated simply by a desire to

live near trees. But no one in the movement disputes that racism lay at the core of our society's divisions; that was what the movement was designed to overcome. The real question is whether the degree of racism has in any way moderated in the last thirty years. Here, while I can understand and respect the view that the changes have been superficial and even illusory, I draw different conclusions. It is true that the new norms, in which attitudes once readily expressed in public are now unacceptable, are honored much more in word than in deed (and in public words more than in private). But they are new norms. Changes in the basic rules of acceptable public discourse are not insignificant occurrences.

What I think Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown (along with many other writers and activists) may underestimate is the central importance of conflict in psychological life. As a psychologist, I am accustomed to seeing in people's behavior the kinds of contradictions that Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown point to. When close attention is paid, it is clear that all of us, in almost all aspects of our lives, show such contradictions. And interestingly, psychologists, as much as social and political activists, often make the mistake of depicting one half of the conflict as the person's “real” attitude and the other as a deceptive or self-deceiving facade. This works very poorly in psychotherapy, and it does not work much better in the social sphere. White America does very largely profess one set of ideals and apparently lives by

quite another. That contradiction must indeed be highlighted and illuminated. But it is a terrible mistake to conclude from this correct observation that the commitment to racial equality expressed by many whites is simply false or illusory. Dismissing the majority who hold political and economic power as simply hypocrites or racists is a path that leads to certain failure and to the perpetuation of the very injustices we yearn to transcend. Rather, the task is to speak to those inclinations in the conflicted white majority – however submerged or limited to mere verbiage they may be at present – that reflect a genuine wish for a more just society.

The infrastructure of inequality to which Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown refer is still very much in place, and is part of a still larger set of structural obstacles to real integration. Their impact cannot be underestimated. But it is the very pervasiveness and power of that infrastructure that calls for persistence in pursuing the goal of integration. A separate Black economy is scarcely a realistic option. At the very least, integrating African Americans fully into the economic life of our society is an urgent necessity. Where there is greater controversy is in the realm of culture and personal association.

Many African Americans have abandoned the ideal of integration on this level largely for two somewhat related reasons. First, integration (to the extent it has been achieved) has often meant hurtful interactions. African Americans often feel slighted, overlooked, perceived through the filter of stereotypes. Many have concluded that they'd just as soon spend as little time as possible with whites when the work day is over. Second – and here objections to the goal of integration are based on assumptions it is particularly important to reexamine – integration is seen as a process in which African Americans must give up their own culture to assimilate into what is essentially “white” culture. But the view that American culture is “white” culture ironically concedes too much to racist assumptions regarding what America is about. Yes, power

and wealth are disproportionately white; but the vibrant culture of American society has been very powerfully shaped by the contributions of African Americans and other groups either presently or formerly accorded marginal status. The culture into which African Americans would assimilate is a culture on which their own imprint is already strongly evident.

The Supreme Court got it right in 1954 when it concluded that, in the context of our nation's terrible history with regard to race, separate can never

really be equal. It would be a tragic error if the victims of that history were now to conclude that separate is the way to go.

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PRRAC Update

- We're delighted to report that our American Univ. Summer Inst., “Racism in America,” received a Merit Award from the North American Assn. of Summer Sessions “for creative and innovative summer session programming in the credit area...based upon its creativity, uniqueness, impact and adaptability by other institutions.” Congratulations to all the teachers, lecturers and others who made this such a success.

- PRRAC will be co-sponsoring, with the Loka Inst. and others, a Jan. 21-22 working conference in DC to develop a set of protocols to govern community-based research, so as to maximize the benefits of such work to low-income and minority communities.

This is an issue we've long been trying to advance. Contact Chester Hartman for further details.

- Our thanks to **Theodore Pearson, Suzy Post, Nasim Memon, Victor & Lorraine Honig** and **The Freddie Mac Foundation** for recent financial contributions.

- In late January, PRRAC is initiating a monthly DC-area research colloquium, based at American University, for academics, policy-makers, advocates and journalists. Our aim is to bring important new research on race and poverty issues into the policy, advocacy and public arena, and to create networking relationships among these different “worlds.” For more information, contact Chester Hartman. □

Remember to send us items for our Resources Section.

Board Member Report

We continue our series of reports by PRRAC Board members on the work of their organizations related to PRRAC's mission. Previous issues of P&R have contained reports on *The Advocacy Inst.* (by David Cohen), *The National Health Law Program* (by Jane Perkins), *The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights* (by Cathi Tactaquin), *NY ACORN's WEP Workers Organizing Committee* (by Milagros Silva), *The National Korean American Service & Education Consortium* (by Chung-Wha Hong), and *the National Legal Aid & Defender Association* (by Shari Dunn Buron). Copies of any or all of these are available from us with a SASE.

The American Indian Law Alliance — Towards a New Millennium

by Kent Lebsock and Tonya Gonnella Frichner

“There is a common theme to our loss of land. This common source of strife for us is called the Law of Nations, Christian Right of Discovery and Terra Nullus (empty lands). It is a Christian doctrine that declared us heathens, pagans, and infidels. We were outside their civilizations and therefore not human and therefore we were declared non-beings and our lands were empty, open for taking from the first Christian discoverer. We submit that this was a conspiracy to take our lands by Christian nations and that it continues today.”

These words by Chief Lyons at the Fifteenth Session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations go to the heart of the international conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous nations. Recognizing the inherent unfairness of the premise, international law has been increasingly challenged by Indigenous leaders, often led by the Haudenosaunee, Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, within the world's forums of human rights. The international legal history of Indigenous peoples is a story that deserves to be told.

The American Indian Law Alliance is proud to be a part of this contemporary advocacy by Indigenous leaders. International advocacy is a cornerstone of our efforts on behalf of traditional Indigenous communities and nations. Since its founding in 1989, the Law Alliance has believed that preservation

of our ancient lifeways and support of our traditional elders and leaders constitutes the best strategy for the survival of our peoples.

Accordingly, there are three primary principles of our international advocacy:

1. The Law Alliance does not simply advocate for its own agenda. Instead, we provide resources, technical support and counsel to the leadership of Indigenous nations. International advocacy has always been a part of our leaderships' strategy in land and treaty rights, and we follow the directives of both the Haudenosaunee and Teton Sioux Nation Treaty Council in developing our international programs and strategy.

International advocacy is a cornerstone of our efforts on behalf of traditional indigenous communities and nations.

2. Indigenous cultures are almost universally defined by our connection to the land upon which we live. The strategy of the Law Alliance, developed in concert with our Native leaders, is to preserve the land base of Native nations through international advocacy in order to preserve the land-

based cultures defining us as unique societies. Without the land, our cultures will not survive.

3. We have been taught that part of our responsibility as members of Indigenous cultures is to always consider the generations to come, the Seventh Generation yet to be born. We believe that although international efforts are slow and sometimes mired in bureaucratic roadblocks, our efforts in the United Nations and other international forums are building a foundation for recognition and support that will benefit our future generations. It is our responsibility to clear the path for them and hopefully, in the future, our efforts will result in the creation of international covenants and laws that will protect, preserve and enhance Indigenous nations.

These three main points constitute the reasoning behind our international work. It is always important to remember this as we proceed with our efforts both at the United Nations and on our territories at home.

International Bodies

Throughout the 20th Century the Haudenosaunee, legally anchored by their own sovereign relationship to the foreign powers of Europe and North America, have carried this struggle to the League of Nations and, since 1977, to the United Nations. In 1923,

Deskahe, a Cayuga chief, traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, to speak to the nations of the world about the Haudenosaunee treaties and the unilateral abrogation by the governments of the United States and Canada. Sadly, the League of Nations turned its back on him and would not even let him enter the building. Nonetheless, hearing his story and his efforts on behalf of his nation, the people of Geneva embraced him. The Lord Mayor of the City, Monsieur Ketterer, hosted a banquet in honor of the Haudenosaunee chief, inviting the world's diplomats, the press and the public to hear his message. This historic event was commemorated in a ceremony with the current mayor of Geneva on August 1, 1997.

In 1977, a group of Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere arrived in Geneva at great expense to themselves and our communities. They were from many great nations, including Cheyenne, Mapuche, Cree, Lakota, Mayan, Ojibway and, of course, Haudenosaunee. They came to present our issues of survival: land, language art, music, conservation, economy, environment, treaties. The conference that resulted was titled the Conference on Discrimination Against the Indians of the Americas. It has left all of us who work with our communities and our nations with a powerful legacy – access to international forums from which legal challenges can be launched against unjust law and policy. The history of our nations' international efforts are the roots of this legacy.

The Early Colonists

When dealing with Native Americans who had deep ties to their territories and powerful armies to defend their land, the early colonists on our continent were forced to confront the reality of existing, sovereign Indian nations. Even if native political systems were incomprehensible to Europeans, our sense of sovereignty was not. Reality dictated that they deal with us diplomatically, on a nation-to-nation basis. Treaties were signed

to ensure the peace.

As early as the Jefferson presidency, the government began to consider a policy by which Indians would be removed to territories west of the Mississippi, thereby abrogating all existing treaties with Eastern Indian nations. Andrew Jackson brutally implemented this policy, forcibly removing many Indian peoples, including the Cherokee on the Trail of Tears, to "Indian territory" in Oklahoma.

The systematic and ongoing violation of treaties and the wholesale rejection of existing treaty rights became the norm. The following decades

Indigenous cultures are almost universally defined by our connecton to the land upon which we live.

would be characterized by unconscionable bad faith on the part of the U.S. government in its treaty-making with Native nations. While certain Native nations, perhaps most prominently the Haudenosaunee, were able to resist the attempts to remove all Indians from their aboriginal territory, most Nations were forcibly removed by the end of the 1840s.

The nullification of the boundaries of Indian nations and the abrogation of treaty rights did not stop at the Mississippi River. When the interests of the U.S. government, miners, farmers and speculators were at stake, the now-Americanized and secular version of Christian dominance, "manifest destiny," provided a convenient philosophy to abrogate treaties, steal land and militarily invade Indian territory. After the Civil War, the increased military power of the United States, coupled with the needs of an ever-expanding population and an agricultural economy, created an unquenchable thirst for more land. The gradual and systematic erosion of the borders of Indian nations began in earnest. Three hundred and seventy-one treaties were ratified with Indian nations. Three

hundred and seventy-one treaties were broken with Indian nations.

Treaties and treaty rights should be seen as inherited legacies passed from each generation to the next. They are an inheritance of obligations that succeeding generations of Americans and Canadians are honor-bound, by international law, to uphold. For the Haudenosaunee and Lakota, these inheritance rights have special protections, including the rights to land, to liberty on that land and to self-government without the jurisdictional interference of the United States, Canada, any state or provincial government. The Haudenosaunee and Lakota view the treaties as sacred agreements, and our people, too, inherit the obligations of the treaties for peaceful co-existence. The treaties are not only agreements between Nations, but a moral obligation on the part of all parties. Violations of the treaties are therefore seen as major violations of our human and collective rights under international law and the Natural Laws of the Creator.

When Indigenous peoples arrived at the United Nations in Geneva in 1977, the same place to which Deskahe had come, we had to force our way into the building. Since then, Indigenous peoples have addressed the General Assembly in New York City on two occasions, have participated in the Working Group on Indigenous Populations since its establishment in 1984 and have had direct input into the Draft Declaration on the Rights of the World's Indigenous Peoples. We are now an important component of every major U.N. conference, are routinely consulted by U.N. agencies on our world perspective, and have lobbied for and received a study on treaty issues commissioned by the Commission on Human Rights.

Our international efforts represent Indigenous peoples' vision of a future in which our international sovereignty is recognized and respected. However, the threat to our way of life is not simply limited to the specific historic prejudices facing our peoples in international law. The world's view of de-

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mocracy in general, despite the political hypocrisy of the world's great "democratic" nations, as a tool of globalization is a threat to people and environments globally. For this reason, it is useful to turn briefly to our perspective on democracy.

Democracy

The Haudenosaunee perspective on deliberative democracy is different from that of Euro-America, and is in fact older in origin. In every deliberation, Haudenosaunee leaders are taught that we must consider the impact on the Seventh Generation. Those are our original instructions. We must always remember those who have not arrived yet.

For us, democracy is direct access to leadership. Over a thousand years ago, the Haudenosaunee were given the rules and processes of democracy. A man called the Peacemaker brought the Great Law of Peace to the warring factions of the Five Nations. Through his efforts, the peoples of the Longhouse, the Haudenosaunee, were brought together under this one supreme law governing the Confederacy of the Onondaga, Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida and Seneca. The principles of democracy thus established are peace, in mind and community, equity, justice for the people, and the power of the good mind, which embodies good health and reason.

This democracy established power in the people who joined together of their own free will. It established informed consent and balanced the duties of governance between men and women. Women were given the duty to choose leadership that was ratified by consensus of the people, as well as the power to recall of leaders who do not fulfill their responsibilities. In this

way, the leadership is always accountable to the people. For us, leadership is privileged only to serve. The needs of the leaders come last after the needs of the people, and the leader should always be the first to go without. The Great Law established respect as a law, access to all leaders and did not discriminate on the basis of gender or age. It promoted freedom as a responsibility, and above all it was based on the spiritual laws of nature, or natural law.

International Efforts

Some may doubt the efficacy of the international efforts of Indigenous peoples when we face such devastating local and continental issues. Taxation, gaming, unemployment, health, alcohol and substance abuse, sacred sites, sterilization, adoption, enrollment . . . The list goes on and on. However, all of these problems have a common source: the dissolution of

We have been taught that part of our responsibility is to always consider the generations to come.

our cultures as a result of the unyielding encroachment on our land. Chief Oren Lyons always says, "As long as we have land, we will have to fight." International work is that fight. It helps to preserve the international legal basis of the inherent sovereignty over our lives and our land. The philosophy behind this work is that only through international recognition of our inherent sovereignty will a rightful place be secured amongst the diverse people of the world for our children and grandchildren.

Preservation of sovereignty, as expressed in our way of life, is distinct and separate from United States or Canadian political and social institutions. This struggle cannot succeed within the domestic institutions of a colonizing nation whose stated objective is political assimilation, social domination and economic control. This is sound, common sense logic. Our international efforts, with strong links to the reality of our past, are for the future.

International efforts are an expression of the pervasive political and spiritual sovereignty of Native nations. We are developing a peaceful arsenal of weapons for independent Indigenous foreign policy. The continuance of these efforts is critical. As Chief Jake Swamp stated in 1977, "If these measures are not taken, more and more Indigenous people may be destroyed and their cultures vanished forever." So, we continue fighting and, in many places, we are still dying for our lands and our survival as sovereign nations. We struggle to remain strong enough to stay where we have always been. We struggle to preserve our nations and our cultures for our children's children. We struggle to return the balance to an ailing family of human beings. "We are like rocks in the river, changing the course of the flow of modern statehood. This has always been a problem for you and a struggle for us. It still is."

Kent Lebsock (Lakota) is the Projects Administrator and PRRAC Board member Tonya Gonnella Frichner (Onondaga) is President and founder of the American Indian Law Alliance, based in New York (708 Broadway, NYC, NY 10003, 212/598-0100, x257, ailanyc@abest.com) and New Mexico (4448 Jupiter St. NW, Albuquerque, NM 87107, ailanm@flash.net). □

USDA's Discrimination Against African-American Farmers

by Randi Roth

In 1920, there were approximately 925,000 African-American farms in the United States. Now, fewer than 18,000 are left. The general problem addressed by the research project undertaken by the Farmers Legal Action Group (FLAG), with PRRAC support, concerns the role that the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) has played in the dramatic decline in African-American farming in America.

There were many areas in which research and advocacy were needed to begin redressing discrimination at USDA. Our research focused on a very narrow piece of necessary research: we aimed to produce a comprehensive handbook that USDA civil rights investigators could use as they tried to respond to African-American farmers' discrimination complaints. Our goal was to write something in very plain language, which an investigator could use to walk through the analysis of a civil rights complaint, step by step. We believed that were such a resource available to USDA investigators, they would be able to do a better job of fairly and accurately analyzing farmers' complaints.

Our methodology had two components. The first was field research. It involved interviewing the field staff of organizations that provide advocacy services to African-American farmers. We met with these "farm advocates" and with some individual farmers and asked them to identify the major ways in which they saw USDA engaging in discriminatory behavior in its loan programs. We analyzed the results of these interviews and came up with a list of the farmers' most common complaints.

The second component involved

historical and legal research. We studied articles, books and government reports that shed light on the history of USDA's discrimination against African-American farmers, and we analyzed the law that governs discrimination in USDA credit programs (primarily the Equal Credit Opportunity Act and the regulations governing the USDA credit programs). We learned that many of African-American farmers' problems with discrimination by USDA can be grouped into the following categories: (1) inability to get basic technical assistance from USDA; (2) problems in getting a loan (including USDA discouraging written applications for credit; USDA making decisions about applications for credit late, or not at all; USDA under-funding loan requests; USDA giving high interest rates when they could and should have given lower interest rates; and USDA denying loans); (3) USDA failing to release its security interest in the farmers' income stream (when farmers pledge their crops, for example, to USDA as security for a loan, the farmer cannot use any income from those crops without USDA's permission); (4) problems in loan servicing (USDA's mechanism for adjusting payment obligations); (5) problems regarding administrative appeals; and, (6) problems regarding USDA's calculation of the farmer's cash flow (ability to repay debt).

We also learned that USDA had a long history of discriminatory treatment of African-American farmers. Finally, we learned that much of what the farmers complained about was not only unfair, it was also illegal.

We took the results of the research and compiled a notebook for USDA investigators. The sections included:

- Introduction: How to Use This Manual
- History of Discrimination in USDA Programs
- Legal Standards of Proof for the Equal Credit Opportunity Act
- Standard Operating Procedure—The Steps in an Investigation (including a four-color chart illustrating the steps)
- The Law That Governs FSA Credit Programs
- Historical and Current Details About Program Rights
- Analyzing Appeal Rights
- When to Use Statistical Comparisons
- Calculating Damages
- Worksheets on Program Rights

The most important strength of the research document we produced is that all of the basic information somebody would need to understand and analyze a farmer's discrimination claim is now assembled in one place in plain language format. Another strength of the research is that USDA chose to adopt the handbook as an official document of the department, which gives the book enhanced credibility. (USDA asked two FLAG attorneys to use the handbook as the official manual in a training session for USDA's contract civil rights investigators. The manual was photocopied and handed out by USDA at a Washington, DC, training session in December 1997.)

There are two important limitations on the usefulness of the research. The first is that the legal research — like all legal research — may have become out of date the day after it was published. Although it is very useful for getting a general picture of the law, one should not rely on any specific

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“Putting the ‘Movement’ Back Into Civil Rights Teaching”

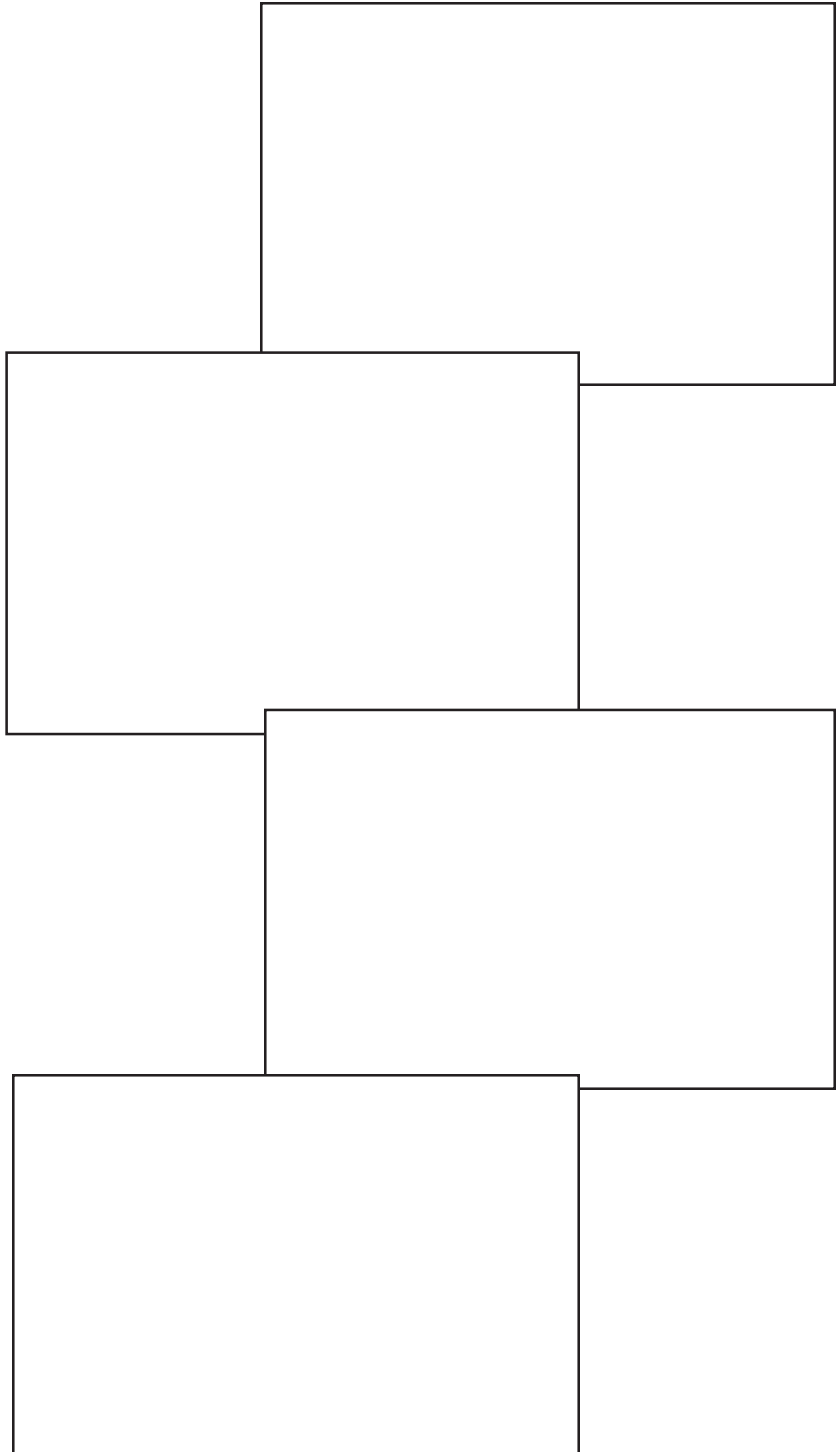
On October 30, PRRAC co-sponsored (with the Network of Educators on the Americas-NECA and the Howard Univ. History Dept.) an all-day Institute, “Putting the ‘Movement’ Back Into Civil Rights Teaching.” Some 300 K-12 educators and activists from the DC area attended the event (held at the Howard Univ. Business School).

Plenary speakers were Bob Moses, Sonia Sanchez and Howard Zinn. Among the 13 workshops were: “Women & the Civil Rights Movement” (with Elsa Barkley Brown); “Native American Movement for Social Equity” (with Suzan Shown Harjo); “Using Photographs of the Civil Rights Movement as a Tool for Teaching” (with Lynda Tredway); “Songs of the Movement” (with Luci Murphy); an International Liberations Struggles panel (with Martha Honey, Ezequiel Pajibo & Arnaldo Ramos); “The Puerto Rican & Chicano Movements for Social Equity” (with Gabriel Torres & Lea Ybarra); and “Labor & the Civil Rights Movement” (with Elise Bryant). Other workshops were led by James Forman, Taylor Branch, Sonia Sanchez, Manijeh Gonzalez Fata, Maya Cameron, Charles Cobb, Don Freeman, Anne Gallivan & Sondra Hassan.

Teachers who attended and wanted professional development credit participated in an early December followup bus tour on the history of the Civil Rights Movement in Washington, DC, led by Prof. Edward Smith, Chair of the American Univ. American Studies Program; and will meet in January for a seminar to share teaching strategies and resources. A longer-term evaluation of the process – the impact of these events on teachers’ teaching – will be undertaken later in 2000 by a graduate class at George Washington Univ.

PRRAC, along with NECA, is following up this hugely successful event with a project to create a curriculum publication, as well as teacher workshops, for use in classrooms around the country, building on the October 30 Institute.

*From top to bottom: Historian **Howard Zinn** addressing the closing plenary; poet **Sonia Sanchez** in her “Writing About Social Change” workshop; SNCC founding member **Bob Moses** in his “Algebra Project” workshop; civil rights historian **Taylor Branch** in his “Teaching the Movement to Students of All Races” workshop.*



Photos: Nestor Rodriguez

(FARMERS: Continued from page 19)

point in the legal analysis without first doing follow-up research to see whether that aspect of the law has changed since our publication date.

The second limitation is that the handbook does not contain enough worksheets. Although the most common problems African-American farmers encounter in USDA credit programs are covered in the worksheets, resources did not allow us to cover some additional significant problems (such as problems with farmers' rights to buy or lease land which is in USDA's "inventory" of farms that they've acquired through foreclosure and other means, problems with USDA's enforcement of the conservation rules that farmers are supposed

to meet to maintain loan eligibility, problems with some less common but important aspects of loan servicing, and others).

Our research can have many advocacy uses. It will also be extremely useful for farm advocates and lawyers who are trying to help farmers understand and/or enforce their rights. Although the handbook is quite lengthy, it is also extremely useful for individual farmers who think they may have been discriminated against by USDA and who have sufficient time and motivation to do extensive research to try to understand their rights.

[USDA has released the entire handbook to PRRAC through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request, free of charge. Others can try to obtain the handbook through a simi-

lar FOIA request. Write to: USDA FOIA Officer, USDA - Office of Communications, 1400 Independence Ave. SW, Room 536A, Wash., DC 20250-1300. Refer to the SOP Manual used at the USDA's Dec. 10, 1997, training session. If you encounter difficulty, contact Randi Roth for advice. Alternatively, FLAG can furnish at cost (\$82) a version of the 188-page (+ tabs, charts, appendices) manual, with tabbed color charts and labeled dividers that make the document more user-friendly than what USDA will provide.]

Randi Roth (rroth@flaginc.org) is Executive Director of the Farmers Legal Action Group (46 E. 4th St, #1301, St. Paul, MN 55101, 651/223-5400. □

Resources

When ordering items from the Resources Section, please note that most listings direct you to contact an organization other than PRRAC. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (33¢ unless otherwise indicated). If using meter tape, it must be undated, otherwise Post Office will not accept it. Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate which issue of P&R you are ordering from.

Race/Racism

- "Rethinking the Teaching of Slavery" was a November regional inst., co-sponsored by Columbia Univ. & the

Natl. Coal. of Education Activists. The organizers are planning to develop a collection of lesson plans, resource guides & reflections on teaching practice, to be published Fall 2000. Segments of the inst. will be presented at NCEA's July 2000 natl. conf. Inf. from Linda Mizell, 914/876-4580, Ncea@aol.com.

- "Did Freedom Alone Pay a Nation's Debt?" is a long and good feature on the reparations for slavery issue, by Kevin Merida, from the Nov. 23, 1999, *Wash. Post*. You can download it at www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPlate/1999-11/23/0571-112399-idx.html. If need be, we can send you a hard copy if you send us a SASE (55¢).

- Interview with (PRRAC Board member) **john powell**: *ColorLines* (Fall 1999 issue) has a

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

long and good interview with john. It's on-line: www.arc.org/C_Lines/CLArchives/story2_3_01.html. Further inf. about this good magazine from editor Bob Wing, bwing@arc.org.

- "Crossing the Color Line: The End of the 20th Century" is the theme of Vol. 2, No. 2 (1999) of *Amerasia Journal*, published by the UCLA Asian Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). \$16

(subs. to the thrice-yearly journal are \$35, \$55 inst.) from the Ctr., 3230 Campbell Hall, Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2968, dtn@ucla.edu.

- "75% of Military's Minorities See Racism" was the *Wash. Post* headline reporting the Defense Department's new study. A 15-page Exec. Summary is downloadable: <http://dticaw.dtic.mil/prhome/eo96exsum.html>. If you're undownloadable, send us a SASE (77¢

postage) and we'll mail you a copy.

- **Impacts of Affirmative Action: Policies & Consequences in California**, ed. (PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member) Paul Ong (216 pp., 1999), published by AltaMira Press, \$23.95. Chapters cover labor market and education issues. While all chapters refer to Calif., there are comparisons to natl. issues & findings.

- **"Africana Studies & the Challenges of the New Millennium"** is the 24th annual conf. of the Natl. Council for Black Studies, **March 16-19** in Atlanta. Inf. from the NCBS natl. office, 310/243-2169, ncbs@dhvx20.csudh.edu.

- **"The Inaugural Conf. on the Pedagogy of Malcolm X"** will be held **May 18-21** at Ohio Univ. Proposals due Feb. 1 to Dr. Najee Muhammed, 321-C McCracken Hall, College of Educ., Ohio Univ., Athens, OH 45701, 740/593-9825, muhaddad@ohiou.edu. Conf. inf. from Sherina Davis, 102 Haning Hall, Ohio Univ., Athens, OH 45701, sherinad@africana.com.

- **"Race Rules: Equity, Justice & Public Policy"** is a **May 19-20** conf. at American Univ. (Wash., DC), sponsored by the Applied Research Center's Grass Roots Innovative Policy Program. Inf. from GRIPP, 145 W. Campbell Ave., 3rd flr., Roanoke, VA 24011, 540/857-3088, gripp@arc.org.

Poverty/Welfare

- **Beyond Asian American Poverty: Community Econ. Dev. Policies & Strategies**, by (PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member) Paul Ong, has been reprinted in a 1999 edition, with new material. Available from Leadership & Educ. for Asian Pacifics, 327 E. 2nd St., #226, LA, CA 90012, 213/485-1422.

- **"Promoting Participation: How to Increase Involvement in Welfare-to-Work Activities,"** by Gayle Hamilton & Susan Scrivener, is a 99-page, Sept. 1999 "How-to Guide, available (likely free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

- **"Understanding How Change Occurs: Implementation Research in the TANF Era,"** by Ellen Winn, is the 3-page, Nov. 1999 issue of *The Forum*, a quarterly publication of the Research Forum on Children, Families & the New Federalism. Likely free from the Natl. Ctr. for Children in Poverty, 154 Haven Ave., NYC, NY 10032-1180, 212/304-7132, info@researchforum.org.

- **"Cracks in the System: Conversations with People Surviving Welfare Reform"** is a 2-page summary of a full report, both available from the Loyola Univ. Chicago Ctr. for Urban Research & Learning, 820 N. Michigan Ave, 10th flr., Chicago, IL 60611, 312/915-7760. rdiab@luc.edu. It's also on their webpage: www.luc.edu/depts/curl.

- **"From Welfare to Work: Using HUD's Programs to Help Families in Transition"** profiles 25 promising initiatives. \$5 from HUD USER, PO Box 6091, Rockville, MD 20849, 800/245-2691, huduser@aspensys.com.

- **"Building the Savings & Assets of Lower-Income Consumers: Examples from Comm. Dev. Credit Unions"** is a 55-page, Fall 1999 report, available (\$12 nonprofit/govt., \$25 for-profit) from The Woodstock Inst., 407 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070, woodstck@wwa.com. They also have a publications list.

- **"The ABC Evaluation: Do Welfare Recipients' Children Have a School Attendance Problem?,"** by David J. Fein, Wang S. Lee & Christina Schofield, is an Aug. 1999 study, available (Exec. Summary) from Abt Associates on their website: www.abtassociates.com.

- **"Designing Microenterprise Programs for Welfare Recipients"** (8 pp., Nov. 1999) & "Developing Policies to Support Microenterprise in the TANF Structure: A Guide to the Law," by Mark Greenberg (15 pp., Nov. 1999), are both available (likely free) from The Aspen Inst., One Dupont Circle, #700, Wash., DC 20036, 202/736-5800, fieldus@aspeninstitute.org.

- **"Poverty, Welfare & Children: A Summary of the Data,"** an Oct. 1999 Child Trends Research Brief, is available on their website: www.childtrends.org/r_resbrief.cfm.

Contact them at 4301 Conn. Ave. NW, #100, Wash., DC 20008, 202/362-5580.

- **"Justice Denied: A Closer Look at the State's Fair Hearing Process for Mass. Families Subject to the Welfare Time Limit"** is a Sept. 1999 Mass. Law Reform Inst. report, available (no price listed) from them, 99 Chauncy St., #500, Boston, MA 02111-1722, 617/357-0700. On their website: www.gbils.org.

- **"A Welfare Reform-Homelessness-Foster Care Connection? The Story of 'Lag Families' & 'Limbo Children' in San Diego"** is a Sept. 1999 report, available (no price listed) from Homes for the Homeless, 36 Cooper Sq., 6th flr, NYC, NY 10003, 212/529/5252, hn4061@handsnet.org. Falling welfare rolls are accompanied by massive increases in shelter applications and increased loss of children to foster care.

- **"Temporary Asst. for Needy Families (TANF) Program - Annual Report to Congress,"** from the US Dept. of Health & Human Services (Aug.1999), is on the web: www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/opre/director/htm

- **Call to Renewal's 4th Annual Summit**, "a natl. summit on churches & poverty," will be held **Feb. 13-16** in DC. Contact them at 2402 15th St. NW, Wash., DC 20009, 800/714-7474.

- **"To Promote the General Welfare: Ending Women's Poverty"** is a **March 6-7** conf. convened by the NOW Legal

Defense & Educ. Fund, in DC. Speakers include Emma Coleman Jordan, (PRRAC Soc. Sci. Advisory Bd. member) Heidi Hartmann, Peter Edelman et al. Inf. from Pollin Productions, 703/645-7380.

Community Organizing

- **Making Policy, Making Change: How Communities Are Taking Law into Their Own Hands**, by Makani N. Themba (177 pp., 1999), is available (\$28) from Chardon Press, 3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611, 510/596-8160, chardon@chardonpress.com. Included are case studies of Baltimore's Citywide Liquor Coal. for Better Laws & Regs., Oakland's Kids First! Coal., the Louisiana Coal. for Tax Justice, The Comm. Coal. for Substance Abuse & Treatment Prog. (S. Central L.A.), and Living Wage Campaigns in Boston, Santa Clara County, Balt. and St. Paul.

- **NACAA Network** is the monthly publication of the Natl. Assn. of Comm. Action Agencies. \$50/yr. from NACAA, 1100 17th St. NW, #500, Wash., DC 20036, 202/265-7546.

Criminal Justice

- **"What Do We Want (And What Are We Getting) From the Criminal Justice System?"** is an Aug. 1999 report containing 39 charts "comparing the general public's expectations & perceptions with crime victims' experi-

ences," based on statewide surveys in CT, DE, ME, MA, NH, NJ, NY and RI. Available (possibly free), along with a 9-page General Overview report, from the Council of St. Govts./E. Reg. Conf., 5 World Trade Ctr., #9241, NYC, NY 10048, 212/912-0128.

- **"No Minor Matter: Children in Maryland's Jails"** is a 169-page, Nov. 1999 Human Rights Watch report, available (\$15) by order on line: <http://store.yahoo.com/hrwpubs/maryland1199.html>. It also can be downloaded: www.hrw.org/reports/1999/maryland/

- **"Gender & Justice: Women, Drugs & Sentencing Policy,"** by Marc Mauer, Cathy Potler & Richard Wolf (26 pp., Nov. 1999), is available (\$8) from The Sentencing Proj., 1516 P St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-0871, staff@sentencingproject.org.

Economic/Community Development

- **"Toward Better Jobs & Stronger Ties: A Guide to Launching Econ. Dev. & Comm. Building Initiatives"** (48 pp., 1999) is available (possibly free) from the NY Comm. Trust, 2 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10016, 212/686-0010.

- **"Neighborhood Knowledge Los Angeles"** is a website (nkla@sppsr.ucla.edu) aimed at improving & preserving neighborhoods. Developed by UCLA Prof. Neil Richman, it provides easy access to a vast collection of data about properties

& neighborhoods that are in danger of falling into urban blight. Richman may be reached at UCLA Advanced Public Policy Inst., 3250 Public Policy Bldg., Box 951656, LA, CA 90095-1656, 310/825-0577, nrichman@ucla.edu

Education

- **Tracking & Resegregation:** A study of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools, by UNC-Charlotte sociologist Roslyn Arlin Mickelson, is available from CARE (the Coal. of Alabamians Reforming Educ.), PO Box 323, Tyler, AL 36785, ucaringal@aol.com.

- **Choosing Equality: School Choice, the Constitution & Civil Society**, by Joseph P. Viteritti (284 pp., 1999), is available (\$33.95) from The Brookings Institution Press, Dept. 029, Wash., DC 20042-0029, 800/275-1447.

- **"What Every Teacher Should Know: Q&A"** is a 16-page, 1999 booklet, available (possibly free) from the Natl. Bd. for Prof. Teaching Standards, 26555 Evergreen Rd., #400, Southfield, MI 48076, 800/22TEACH.

- **Teachers and Teaching:** An 8-page Resources Available list, prepared for the Public Education Network 1999 Annual Conf., is available from them: 601 13th St. NW, #900N, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-7460.

- **Resources on Teacher Quality:** An 8-pager, listing 31 studies and articles on this topic, is available from us with a SASE (\$5¢).

- **"Program Alternatives for Linguistically Diverse Students,"** ed. Fred Genesee (44 pp., 1999), is available (no price listed) from the UC-Santa Cruz Ctr. for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence, via their Dissemination Coordinator, Ctr. for Applied Linguistics, 4646 40th St. NW, Wash., DC 20016-1859, 202/362-0700, crede@cal.org.

- **"Portraits of Six Benchmark Schools: Diverse Approaches to Improving Student Achievement,"** by Gordon Cawelti (69 pp., 1999), is available (\$20) from Educ. Research Service, 2000 Clarendon Blvd., Arlington, VA 22201, 800/791-9308, ers@ers.org.

- **The Teacher Education Task Force Report from the Amer. Council on Educ.** (38 pp., 1999) is available (\$15) from 301/604-9073. Can be downloaded from www.acenet.edu - new publications.

- **"Collaborating to Learn: More Lessons from School-College Partnerships in the Excellence in Educ. Prog."** is a 64-page, Nov. 1999 report, available (likely free) from the Knight Fdn., 2 S. Biscayne Blvd., #3800, Miami, FL 33131-1803, 305/908-2600.

- **"The 31st Annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Towards the Public Schools,"** by Lowell C. Rose & Alee M. Gallup, is a 16-page, Sept. 1999 reprint, available (apparently only in min. 25-copy orders, but check with them) from Phi Delta Kappa Internatl., PO Box 789, Bloomington, IN

47402-0789, 800/766-1156.

- **“Success for All/Roots & Wings: Summary of Research on Achievement Outcomes,”** by Robert Slavin & Nancy Madden, is a 39-page, Dec. 1999 report, available (no price listed) from the Ctr. for Research on the Educ. of Students Placed at Risk (CRESPAR), Ctr. for Soc. Org. of Schools, 3003 N. Charles St., #200, Baltimore, MD 21218, 800/766-1156. Available online in PDF format: www.csos.jhu.edu; follow links under “What’s New.”

- **“Ticket to Nowhere: The Gap Between Leaving High School & Entering College & High-Performance Jobs”** is the lead article in the Fall 1999 issue of *Thinking K-16*, published by The Education Trust (headed by PRRAC Board member Kati Haycock). Available (possibly free) from the Trust, 1725 K St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20006, 202/293-1217.

- **“Guidance to School Boards on Race & Student Assignment,”** by (PRRAC Board member) William L. Taylor & Edwin C. Darden, is a 14-page, Nov. 1999 policy advisory “intended to assist school board members & others in understanding the legal issues involved when officials seek to ensure a racially diverse learning environment for children.” Available (likely free) from the Natl. School Boards Assn., 1680 Duke St., Alexandria, VA 22314-3493, 703/838-6712, edarden@nsba.org.

- **“Handbook of Research on Improving Student Achievement,”** ed. Gordon Cawelti (2nd ed.), a 207-page (+ App.), 1999, publication, is available (\$40) from Educ. Research Service, 2000 Clarendon Blvd., Arlington, VA 22201, 800/791-9308, ers@ers.org.

- **“On Thin Ice: How Advocates & Opponents Could Misread the Public’s Views on Vouchers & Charter Schools,”** by Steve Farkas, Jean Johnson & Anthony Foleno, with Ann Duffett & Patrick Foley, is a 45-page, 1999 report, available (possibly free) from Public Agenda, 6 E. 39 St., NYC, NY 10016-0112, 212/686-6610, paresearch@aol.com

- **“Figuring It Out: Standards-Based Reforms in Urban Middle Grades,”** by Anne C. Lewis, with survey by Barnett Berry (141 pp., 1999), is available (possibly free) from the Edna McConnell Clark Fdn., 250 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10177-0026, 212/551-9100.

- **“Too Much Testing of the Wrong Kind; Too Little of the Right Kind in K-12 Education,”** by Paul Barton, is a 1999 report, available from Educ. Testing Service, Rosedale Rd., Princeton, NJ 08541-0001, 609/921-9000. It’s also available at www.ets.org/research/pic/index.html.

- **“School Satisfaction: A Statistical Profile of Cities & Suburbs,”** by Anthony P. Carnevale & Donna M. Desrochers (144 pp., 1999), is available, free, from Educ. Testing Service, Rosedale Rd., Mail Stop 50-B, Princeton, NJ

08541, 609/734-1200.

- **The New Press Education Catalog** features a wide and terrific range of books, including the following new titles: *Racism Explained to My Daughter*, by Tahar Ben Jelloun, with responses from William Ayers, Lisa Delpit, David Mura & Patricia Williams, Intro. by Bill Cosby (128 pp., 1999, \$16.95) & *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, by James W. Loewen (416 pp., 1999, \$26.95). Request it from New Press, 450 W. 41 St., NYC, NY 10036-6801, 800/233-4830.

- **“Ending Social Promotion: Results from the First Two Years,”** by Melissa Roderick, Anthony S. Bryk, Brian A. Jacob, John Q. Easton & Elaine Allensworth, is a 1999 Chicago study, available (\$10 + s/h) from the Consortium on Chicago School Research, 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago, IL 60637, 773/702-3364. Can be downloaded from www.consortium-chicago.org.

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Campus Living Wage Manual”** (39 pp., 1999) is available (no price listed) from United for a Fair Economy, 37 Temple Pl., 2nd fl., Boston, MA 02111, 617/423-2148, stw@stw.org. Available online at www.stw.org. Also from UFE: *Too Much*, their quarterly newsletter “commentary on capping excessive income & wealth”; their 1999 *Accomplishments/2000-2002 Program Directions* publication; and a rich

resource list.

- **“Between a Rock & a Hard Place: A History of American Sweatshops, 1820-Present”** is an exhibit and catalog book, co-sponsored by the UCLA Asian-Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). Exhibit is at the Museum of Tolerance (9786 W. Pico Blvd., LA). The pb book is \$15 from the Ctr., 3230 Campbell Hall, Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2968, ku@ucla.edu.

- **“Detours on the Road to Employment: Obstacles Facing Low-Income Women”** is a 12-page, 1999 report, available (likely free) from the Natl. Partnership for Women & Families (nee Women’s Legal Defense Fund), 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #710, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2600, info@nationalpartnership.org. Related publication: “Preventing Discrimination: A Guide for Case-workers & Others Helping Welfare Recipients Enter the Workforce” (5 pp., Oct. 1999).

- **“NAFTA’s Pain Deepens: Job Destruction Accelerates in 1999 With Losses in Every State,”** by Robert E. Scott, is a 7-page, Nov. 1999 Econ. Policy Inst. Briefing Paper, available (\$10) from EPI, 800/EPI-4844; downloadable at www.epinet.org.

- **“Mobilizing Public Housing Communities for Work: Origins & Early Accomplishments of the Jobs-Plus Demonstration,”** by James A. Riccio (64 pp., Sept. 1999), is available (likely free) from the Manpower Research Demonstration Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC,

NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200. It reports on projects in Baltimore, Chattanooga, Cleveland, Dayton, LA, St. Paul & Seattle.

- **Living Wage Campaigns: An Activist's Guide to Building a Movement for Economic Justice**, by David Reynolds, is available (\$12) from ACORN, 739 8th St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/547-2500.

Families/ Children/ Women

- **"1999 Kids Count Data Book: State Profiles of Well-Being"** is a 184-pager, available (likely free) from the Annie Casey Foundation, 701 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD 21202, 410/223-2890; it's also on the Internet at www.aecf.org. "Every Kid Counts in the District of Columbia: 6th Annual Fact Book" (31 pp., 1999), with more detailed city data, is available separately (also likely free), from the DC Children's Trust Fund, 2021 L St. NW, #205, Wash., DC 20036, 202/624-5555.

- The Ctr. for the Child Care Workforce has a 1999-2000 Catalog: 733 15th St. NW, #1037, Wash., DC 20005-2112, 202/737-7700, ccw@ccw.org.

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **"Evaluating Food Assistance Programs in an Era of Welfare Reform: Summary of a Workshop"** (69 pp., 1999) is available (no price listed) from National Academy Press, 2101

Constitution Ave. NW, Lockbox 285, Wash., DC 20055, 800/624-6242; online at www.nap.edu. It is a joint report of the Board on Children, Youth & Families; the Comm. on Natl. Statistics; and the Food & Nutrition Board of the Inst. of Medicine & Natl. Research Council.

- **"Are the Steep Declines in Food Stamp Participation Linked to Falling Welfare Caseloads?"** by Sheila R. Zedlewski & Sarah Brauner (5 pp., Nov. 1999), is available, free, from the Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, paffairs@ui.urban.org.

- **"The School Breakfast Score Card: 1999"** is the Food Research & Action Center's 9th annual (state by state) report on the program. Available (no price given) from FRAC, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #540, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2200.

Health

- **"Title V: A Snapshot of Maternal & Child Health 1997"** is a 164-page, Oct. 1999 publication, available (likely free) from Peter C. van Dyck, MCH Bureau, Rm. 18-20, Parklawn Bldg., 5600 Fishers Ln., Rockville, MD 20857, BlockGrantGuidance@hrsa.gov.

- **"Accessing Health Coverage for Low-Income Families: Some Medicaid Organizing Strategies"** is the theme of the Oct. 1999 issue of *Organizing*, available (possibly free) from the Ctr. for Comm. Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0567; it's also online at

[www:
communitychange.org](http://www.communitychange.org).

- **"Multicultural Health - The Health Status of Minority Groups in Conn."** is available (possibly free) from 860/509-7140, webmast.dph@po.state.ct.us.

- **"A Look at Potential Health-Related Barriers to Self-Sufficiency,"** by Richard Speiglman, Lynn Fujiwara, Jean Norris & Rex S. Green, is a 46 pp. (+Apps.), Aug. 1999 report, available (possibly free) from Luann DeWitt, Alameda Cty. Social Services Agency, 510/268-2103.

- **"Health Advocates' Guide to the Internet,"** by Francis Chang, is a Sept. 1999 publication, available (\$10) from the Natl. Health Law Prog., 2639 S. La Cienega Blvd., LA, CA 90034, 310/204-6010, nhelp@healthlaw.org. It's also online: www.healthlaw.org.

Homelessness

- **"Homelessness: Programs & the People They Serve — Findings of the Natl. Survey of Homeless Asst. Providers & Clients"** is available, in a 10-page, Dec. 1999 "Highlights" version, free from HUD USER, 800/245-2691. A 100-page Summary Report is also available, free, from the same source. A 575-page Technical Report (same title) is available (apparently not free, however) from HUD USER; it's also downloadable: www.huduser.org.

- **"Homeless in America: A Children's Story"** is a 1999 (?) natl.

report, available (\$11) from The Inst. for Children & Poverty, 36 Cooper Sq., 6th flr., NYC, NY 10003, 212/529-5252.

Housing

- **"Residents' Guide to the New Public Housing Authority Plans"** (61 pp., June 1999) is available (possibly free) from the Ctr. for Comm. Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0567.

- **"Scarcity & Success: Perspectives on Assisted Housing,"** a report on use of vouchers, from the Natl. Low Income Housing Coal., is on their website: www.nlihc.org/mahn. Otherwise contact them at 1012 14th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530.

- **"Diminished Choices 5: The Ever Shrinking Market for Sec. 8 in Suburban Hennepin County, MN"** is an 8-page, Oct. 1999 report, available (likely free) from HOME Line, 7462 Oxford St., St. Louis Park, MN 55426, 612/933-0017.

- **"A House Divided: Residential Segregation in the [Louisville] Metropolitan Area"** (20 pp., Oct. 1999) is available (\$6.50) from the Met. Housing Coal., 333 Guthrie Green, #409, Louisville, KY 40202, 502/584-6858, mhclou@aol.com.

- **"Two Steps Back: The Dual Mortgage Market: Predatory Lending and the Undoing of Comm. Dev."** \$12 from The Woodstock Inst., 407 S. Dearborn, #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070. Related report: "Understanding

Predatory Lending: Moving Towards a Common Definition & Workable Solutions," by Deborah N. Goldman, a 41-page, Oct. 1999 report, available (possibly free) from the Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies, Harvard Univ., 79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-7908.

● **"Expiring Affordability of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Properties: The Next Era in Preservation,"** by Kate Collignon, is a 44-page, Oct. 1999 report, available (possibly free) from the Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies, Harvard Univ., 79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-7908.

● **"Still Vouchered Up & Nowhere to Go Part II: Problems & Promises in Missouri's Subsidized Housing Program,"** by Laura Barrett & Kelly Camrud (14 pp., Nov. 1999), is available (possibly free) from Housing Comes First, 5300 Delmar Blvd. St. Louis, MO 63112, 314/367-2993, hcf@stlouis.missouri.org.

● **The Natl. Low Income Housing Coalition's Natl. Housing Policy Conf.** will be held **March 27-29** in DC. Inf. from the Coal., 1012 14th St. NW, #610, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530.

Remember to send us items for our Resources Section

Immigration

● **"Handbook for Immigrant Parents"** (20 pp., n.d.) summarizes the rights of immigrant children to a public school education. Available (\$3, free to IOLTA providers and nonprofit child advocacy groups) from META (Multicultural Educ., Trng. & Advocacy), 785 Market St., #420, SF, CA 94103, 415/546-6382, hn1324@handsnet.org. Available in English and Spanish versions.

● **"Access to Public Benefits for Battered Immigrant Women & Children,"** by (PRRAC grantee) Leslye Orloff, is a 20-page article in the Sept./Oct. 1999 issue of *Clearinghouse Review*. Contact the Natl. Ctr. for Poverty Law, 205 W. Monroe St., 2nd fl., Chicago, IL 60606-5013, admin@povertylaw.org.

Miscellaneous

● **The Legal Services Writing Competition**, sponsored by the Brennan Ctr. for Justice at NYU Law School, is offering prizes (\$500-3,000) for "the best new articles illustrating the importance of free legal representation in civil matters to low-income clients." A separate law student prize will be awarded. Feb. 15 deadline. For applic. inf., call 212/998-6282, brennan.center@nyu.edu or go to their website: www.brennancenter.org.

● **Mobilizing Resentment: Conservative Resentment from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers**, by Jean Hardisty of Political Research Associates, has been published by Beacon Press (1999). \$20 from

PRA, 120 Beacon St., #202, Somerville, MA 02143, 617/661-9313.

● **"Atlanta Megasprawl,"** by Robert D. Bullard, Glenn S. Johnson & Angel O. Torres, is 7-page article from the Fall 1999 issue of *Forum for Applied Research & Public Policy*. Available from Forum, Univ. Tenn. Energy, Env. & Resources Ctr., 311 Conf. Ctr. Bldg., Knoxville, TN 37996-4134, 423/974-4251, elequire@utk.edu.

● **A Natl. Conf. on Civil Disobedience** will be held **Jan. 22-23** at American Univ., DC. Workshops, case studies, training sessions. Inf. from the Conf., 4600 Asbury Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20016, 202/244-4415, nccd2000@hotmail.com.

● **"Globalization: Why Should We Care?"** is the **March 15-18** natl. conf., in Boston, of the Natl. Network of Grantmakers, the organization of progressive funders. Inf. from NNG, 1717 Kettner Blvd., #105, San Diego, CA 92101, 619/231-1348, nicole@nng.org.

● **"The Role of the University in a Globalizing Economy"** is an **Oct. 26-28** conf. at the Univ. Mass.-Lowell. They've issued a Call for Paper Abstracts, due by Jan. 15, to Judy Blackburn @uml.edu.

Job Opportunities/

Fellowships/ Grants

● **Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP)** has six openings: **Leadership Mgt. Inst. Prog. Coordinator, APA Public Policy Inst. Program Coordinator, Trainer/Instructional Designer, Exec. Asst., Adm. Asst., Inside Sales Rep.** For all, resume/ltr./ salary history to LEAP, 327 E. 2nd St., #226, LA, CA 90012, fax: 213/485-0050, lakutagawa@leap.org.

● **Public Advocates**, one of California's leading civil rights lawfirms, is seeking a **Staff Atty.** \$41,000. Resume/ltr./summary of major legal experience to them at 1535 Mission St., SF, CA 94103.

● **DC VOICE** (District Comm. Voices Organized & Informed for Change in Educ.), "a collaborative of teachers, parents & comm. members, committed to ensuring every child in Wash., DC a high quality public education," is seeking a **Profl. Dev. Specialist & an Adm. Mgr.** Ltr./ resume/refs. to DC VOICE, PO Box 73055, Wash., DC 20056, 202/588-7205.

● **The Environmental Health Coal.**, one of the country's premier environmental health orgs., is seeking a **Sustainable Dev. & Planning Assoc.** (\$25-27,000). Resume/ltr., right away, to Paula Forbis, EHC, 1717 Kettner Blvd., #100, San Diego, CA 92101, fax: 619/232-3670, paulaf@environmentalhealth.org.

● **The Mauricio Gastón Inst. for Latino Dev. &**

Public Policy, U. Mass.-Boston is filling a tenure track **Asst./Assoc. Prof.** position (jt. appt. with the College of Public & Comm. Service). Ltr./resume/names of 3 refs. to Office of Human Resources, Search 850, U. Mass., 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125-3393 (copy to Mary Jo Marion at the Gastón Inst.), 617/287-5790.

● **The Assn. of Maternal & Child Health Programs** is seeking an **Asst. to the Exec. Dir.'s Office & an Asst. to Finance & Adm.** Mid \$20s-30s. Ltr./resume to AMCHP, 1229 19th St. NW, #801, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-0436.

● **The Corp. for Supportive Housing**, a NYC-based natl. non-profit intermediary facilitating development of housing w/ services for those at risk of homelessness, is seeking a **Director of Development**. For full job description, contact Monique Sulle, 212/986-2966, monique.sulle@csh.org

● **The Ford Foundation** is hiring a **Director** for its Asset Building & Comm. Dev. Program. Resume/ltr./brief writing sample to S. Gordon,

Ford Fdn., 320 E. 43 St., Box 717, NYC, NY 10017.

● **Ford Foundation Program Associates:** The Foundation is seeking to fill 16-20 full-time noncareer track paid positions, "a two-year, entry-level professional opportunity for individuals with masters or law degrees to introduce a diverse group of potential leaders to the field of philanthropy early in their careers in the not-for-profit sector." Jan. 15 deadline. Applies. from 212/573-4685, pgmast@fordfound.org.

● **The UCLA Asian Amer. Studies Ctr.** (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi) is seeking an **Asst. Dir.** \$47,000. Ltr./resume/writing sample (right away) to the Ctr., Box. 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546.

● **The Windcall Resident Program** is a retreat program for social change activists and organizers. Located in Bozeman, MT, the residencies are 2 or 4 wks in June, July, Sept. & Oct. Next 2 applic. deadlines are Jan. 15 & April 10. Applic. form from Common Counsel,

1221 Preservation Park Way, #101, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/834-2995. More inf. on website: www.commoncounsel.org (click on Retreat Programs).

● **Good Jobs First**, "a natl. clearinghouse for grassroots orgs., promoting corp. accountability for family-wage jobs when companies seek or have gotten econ. dev. incentives," is seeking a **Community Organizer/Project Director** for its new "Good Jobs New York" project. Resume to Good Jobs First, 1311 L St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, fax: 202/638-3486.

● **Project South**, "a community-based membership inst. that develops & conducts popular political & econ. educ. & action research for comm. organizing & social change," is hiring a **Program Director**. Resume/ltr. (right away) to Project South, 9 Gammon Ave., Atlanta, GA 30315, 404/622-0602, projectsouth@igc.org.

● **Service Employees Internatl. Union Research Dept.** is seeking a **Research Analyst**. Resume/writing sample/

refs. to SEIU, Attn: Research Analyst-Public, PO Box 34104, Wash., DC 20043, fax: 202/898-3407.

● **The Passaic Cty. Legal Aid Soc.** is hiring an experienced **Public Int. Lawyer**. \$40,000. Ltr./resume/names of 4 refs. to John Atlas, PCLAS, 175 Market St., Paterson, NJ 07505. 973/345-7171, Jatlas@LSNJ.org.

● **The Service Employees Internatl. Union** is seeking a **Production Editor & Sr. Writers/Editors** for its various publications & speech-writing. Resume or candidate leads to SEIU HR Dept., PO Box 34104, Wash., DC 20043, fax: 202/898-3491, pritcheb@SEIU.org.

● **Project Vote**, "a natl., nonpartisan org. working to empower low-inc. & min. citizens across the country, pri-marly by increasing voter reg. & voter partic.," is seeking a **National Director**. Resume/ltr./3 refs./writing sample to Project Vote, 88 Third Ave., 3rd flr., Bklyn., NY 11217, 800/546-8683, vrnat@acorn.org.

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