

July/August 1998

Volume 7: Number 4

*Our friend Julian Bond, newly elected Board Chair of the NAACP, kindly allowed us to print an excerpt from his wonderfully eloquent, politically correct (let's take that phrase back from *The Right*) May 27 speech before the National Press Club. The original has footnote references supporting a number of facts he cites; if you'd like a copy of those references, send us a SASE.*

Civil Rights, Now & Then

by Julian Bond

...At the turn of the century, the great scholar and activist W. E. B. DuBois predicted that "the problem of the 20th Century will be the problem of the color line." Not only was he right, but short years away from the century's end, one regrettably may conclude that it will also be the problem of the century yet to follow.

This is a time when the leadership of the House and Senate is more hostile to civil rights than in recent memory. On a civil rights report card prepared by the NAACP — with 100% as a perfect score — they fail, averaging 21% in the House and 36% in the Senate.

It is also the aftermath of Supreme Court decisions sharply attacking affirmative action, limiting the scope of the Court's historic 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and restricting the Voting Rights Act, and in a climate in which trashing affirmative action substitutes for dialogue on race.

In the current formulation, it is black people who hold the key to racial progress, but the door to justice is double-locked. White people keep their key in their pockets, and many deny that they have a key at all.

We are in the dark shadow of Denny's and Texaco, of *Hopwood* in Texas and California's Proposition 209. Everywhere we see clear racial fault lines which divide American society as much now as at any time in our past...

Some Bright Spots

The picture we see is not without its brighter side. Taken over several decades rather than in snapshot moments, our portrait shows clear progress throughout this century. No more do signs read "white" and "colored." The voters' booth and schoolhouse door now swing open for everyone, no longer closed to those whose skins are dark. Despite popular thinking to the contrary, the battle to preserve affirmative action is being won, not lost. Nearly 20 states have tried to place anti-fairness referenda on their ballots, and all but two have failed. The two which succeeded did so by deceiving the public: in California 27% of voters said they thought a vote for Proposition 209 was a vote for civil rights; early polls show some voters think the same of Washington State's 209 copycat, Initiative 200.

Three times so far this year — in March, April and May — the Congress has voted on affirmative action measures, and three times bipartisan majorities have voted to keep vital protections for minorities and women.

But....

But for many, despite the successes, today's civil rights scene must seem like an echo of the past...

Many stand now in reflection of that earlier movement's successes, confused about what the next steps should be. The task ahead is enormous —

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equal to if not greater than the job already done....

Today we are three decades past the second Reconstruction, the modern movement for civil rights that eliminated legal segregation in the United States, and 13 decades past the first Reconstruction, the single period in American history in which the national government used armed might to enforce the civil rights of black Americans....

Then, as now, scientific racism and social Darwinism were in vogue. Then, as now, a race-weary nation decided these problems could be best solved if left to the individual states. Then, as now, racist demagogues walked the land. Then, as now, minorities and immigrants became scapegoats for real and imagined economic distress.

Then a reign of state-sanctioned and private terror, including ritual human sacrifice, swept across the South to reinforce white supremacy. That's when the heavy hand of racial segregation descended across the South, a cotton curtain that separated blacks from education, from opportunity, but not from hope....

As we recall the struggles of the recent past, many of us are confused about what the movement's aims and

goals were, what it accomplished and where it failed, and what our responsibilities are to complete its unfinished business today....

The movement's origins were in a bitter struggle for elementary civil rights, but it largely became, in the post-segregation era, a movement for political and economic power, and today black women and men hold office and wield power in numbers we only dreamed of before.

But despite impressive increases in the numbers of black people holding public office, despite our ability to sit and eat and ride and vote and attend school in places that used to bar black

*in today's climate,
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race.*

faces, in some important ways non-white Americans face problems more difficult to attack today than in the years that went before.

The 1960s-1980s

Much of the origins of today's distresses are found in the recent past and came to climax in the 1980s.

Over time, opposition to government, especially Washington government, succeeded opposition to Communism as a secular religion. The United Nations, Washington bureaucrats, gays and lesbians and supporters of minority and women's rights replaced the Soviet Union as the Evil Empire, and together, these became the energies driving the callous coalition that captured Congress in 1994.

As long ago as 1964, Republicans had begun to remake their party as the white people's party, and they found a winning formula at the intersection of race and opposition to activist government. For much of the 1980s, America was presided over by an amiable ideologue whose sole intent was removing government from every aspect of our lives. He brought to power

a band of financial and ideological profiteers who descended on the nation's capital like a crazed swarm of right-wing locusts, bent on destroying the rules and laws that protected our people from poisoned air and water and from greed. But nowhere was their assault on the rule of law so great as in their attempt to subvert, ignore, defy and destroy the laws that required an America that is bias-free.

And today, thanks to judicial appointments by Presidents Reagan and Bush, the greatest threat to affirmative action comes from the courts — not, as the media would have us believe, from the anti-affirmative action preferences of the people.

Then, as now, they unleashed a gang of financial sociopaths to raid and ravage the national treasury.

Then, as now, they forced a form of triage economics upon us. Then it produced the first increase in infant mortality rates in 20 years and pushed thousands of poor and working poor Americans deeper into poverty.

By the mid-'80s, the Census Bureau reported that the number of Americans living in poverty had increased over the previous four years by nine million, the biggest increase since these statistics were first collected over two decades ago. In the late 1960s, three-quarters of all black men were working; by the end of the 1980s, only 57% had a job.

Today's Conditions

Today, a significant portion of our population faces permanent privation, with the percentage of people living in poverty growing from 12.8 to 13.7% between 1989 and 1996.

Although we hear a lot these days about how well our economy is doing, we don't hear much about how poorly the average person does. Between 1990 and 1995, median family income actually declined while the number of people with a net worth over \$1 million more than doubled.

The United States today is the most economically stratified of all industrial nations, the gap between rich and poor

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Poverty and Race (ISSN 1075-3591) is published six times a year by the Poverty & Race Research Action Council, 1711 Conn. Ave. NW, #207, Washington, DC 20009, 202/387-9887, fax: 202/387-0764, E-mail: prrac@aol.com. Chester Hartman, Editor. Subscriptions are \$25/year, \$45/two years. Foreign postage extra. Articles, article suggestions and general comments are welcome, as are notices of publications, conferences, job openings, etc. for our Resources Section. Articles generally may be reprinted, providing PRRAC gives advance permission.

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Race, Poverty & The Year 2000 Census

by Julia Burgess

In less than two years we will all receive the Year 2000 Census form. Some of us will mail it back right away. Some will put it with their bills and return it in due time. And there are those who, for a variety of reasons, will not respond at all: they'll forget; they're not in the habit of using the mail; they'll throw it out because they've not had positive experience with government. Distrust of government "intrusion" is growing among many portions of the population, but historically this mainly affects newcomers, low-income people and people of color. Given the increasing budget cuts that have disproportionately affected the poor, stricter immigration laws, redistricting challenges that are eroding the political gains of people of color, and the attacks on affirmative action, it is especially important that the undercount of these populations be reversed. An accurate count is critical to all of these issues.

According to the Census Bureau, the 1990 Census had the highest differential undercount in the nation's history. It is estimated that 5% of Hispanics and 4.6% of African Americans were missed, but only 0.7% of non-Hispanic whites. Twelve percent of American Indians living on reservations were not counted. Children accounted for 52% of the undercount. Renters were disproportionately undercounted; for example, only 0.03% of homeowners in rural areas were undercounted, compared with 5.9% of rural renters. (See the *La Cooperativa "Advocacy Update"* on p. 11 regarding the undercount of migrant and seasonal farmworkers.)

Reversing this differential will not be easy. Some of the largest demographic shifts in US history have been taking place over the last decade, which will make it more difficult to find people. These shifts affect redistricting and targeted federal and state funding. Some are obvious, such as

the increase in the homeless population. Some have been less obvious. For example:

- The underuse and demolition of public housing is causing large movement within African-American communities. As people leave public housing, there has been little or no effort to track where people have gone.

- Today, nearly one in ten residents was born outside the US. The tightening of immigration rules in tandem with welfare reform is causing fear of exposure among undocumented Latin American and Asian immigrants.

- The unprecedented growth in incarceration rates is increasing, especially for minority males. This increases the minority population in rural areas, where most prisons are located, and decreases the urban minor-

In 1990, 5% of Hispanics, 4.6% of African Americans, 0.7% of non-Hispanic whites were undercounted.

ity population. However, their population count is really needed in their home localities.

How can low-income people and people of color be reached and encouraged to fill out their Census forms? The best way is with the support and active involvement of grassroots community organizations. These entities are most aware of who lives in their neighborhoods and are the most trusted by residents. However, these organizations can be enlisted only if they feel it is in their and their constituency's self-interest to respond.

Why It's Important

- The US Constitution calls for the Census to be carried out every ten

years specifically for the purpose of re-apportionment of the House of Representatives. This is to ensure that each state is fairly represented by population. The data are also used for this purpose within states and cities, depending on their methods of representation. The drawing of new legislative district boundaries is thus a function of changes in the Census. After the Census 2000 it is anticipated that dramatic population shifts, such as noted above, will cause significant changes in many district boundaries and in the number of representatives at all levels of government. With so many of the advances in promoting economic and racial equality being challenged and taken away, it is very important that low-income people and people of color are fully counted so that there can be fair representation of their interests.

- Most federal and state dollars are re-distributed to states and localities by formula grants. These formulas are based on overall population count and, depending on the purpose of the grant, by other factors, such as income level, number of children, etc. Areas lose millions of dollars when they are undercounted. For example, Chicago estimates it lost nearly \$600 million in federal revenue between 1990 and 1996 because of its undercount.

- Employers locate in areas and market their goods with an eye to population data. Many have found and many more can be persuaded that it is to their benefit to have a workforce representative of where they are located and whom they want to reach. Census data provide this information and can be used to communicate effectively with employers in how jobs are created, trained for and filled. Factual knowledge of workforce needs in the next century can encourage employers to actively develop new ways to encourage inclusion and integration in higher education.

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Census Operations

Community groups can serve as a bridge between government and residents in the recruitment, training and supervision of enumerators. Due to difficult working conditions and the short duration of the task, the Census Bureau must recruit about 3 million people in order to keep 270,000 people working during the Census-taking period. To reach people in historically undercounted areas, people who live there will be the most effective enumerators. Community groups can help in this recruitment. In the 1990 Census the greatest breakdown in reaching people was in the training and supervision of enumerators. It is hoped that the Bureau will sub-contract with community organizations to carry this out.

The specific activities community groups can engage in to broaden outreach are many. Personalizing the need to participate is probably the most effective communication strategy: "If you fill out the form and return it, this will benefit you directly — for example, X extra dollars for your school."

The Census Bureau itself will be doing significant outreach and has been developing "partners" with whom it hopes to mount outreach activities. Private foundations are being solicited to fund outreach programs. Coalitions will be developed by the Center for Community Change in at least three sites around the country that will engage grassroots community groups in activities to encourage participation in Census 2000. Such coalitions should be multi-racial and multi-ethnic so that bridges can be built between communities of color. This is especially nec-

essary in areas where low-income African Americans feel there is competition from new immigrants for jobs and social services.

Promoting the Value of the Census

A constituency of community groups can be developed that will increase awareness of available Census data regarding population characteristics: housing, type of employment, education, income, etc. Health indicators, crime statistics, mortgage lending are just a few of the areas important to residents, especially when linked to Census data. This information is critical for planning purposes and is especially useful to communities when cross-tabulated by race, ethnic background and location. Information is
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RESOURCES

Bureau of the Census
Washington, DC 20233
James Holmes, Acting Director
301/457-4608
301/457-3670 fax
Website: www.census.gov

Center for Community Change
1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20007
Julia Burgess, Eastern Region Director
202/342-0594
202/298-8542 fax
E-mail: burgessj@commchange.org

Mexican American Legal Defense & Educational Fund
634 S. Spring Street - 11th flr.
Los Angeles, CA 90014
Beatriz Lopez-Flores, VP, Comm. Educ. & Public Policy
213/629-2512
213/629-0266 fax
E-mail: beatrizlf@aol.com
Website: www.maldef.org

First Nations Development Institute
11917 Main St.
Fredericksburg, VA 22408
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National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium
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Washington, DC 20036
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202/296-2300
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Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
1625 K St. NW, #1010
Washington, DC 20006
Wade Henderson, Executive director
202/466-3311
202/466-3435 fax
Email: henderson@civilrights.org
Website: www.civilrights.org

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
1090 Vermont Ave. NW, #1100
Washington, DC 20005
Margaret Simms, VP for Research
202/789-3522
202/789-6390 fax
Website: www.jointctr.org

Census Information Centers:

Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum
942 Market St. - 2nd flr.
San Francisco, CA 94102
Heidi Tom
415/954-9988
415/954-9999 fax

Institute for Community Networking (formerly: IndianNet Information Center)
California State Univ. - Monterey Bay Seaside, CA 93955
George Baldwin, Director
408/582-3625
408/582-3566 fax
Webserver: <http://indian.monterey.edu>

National Council of La Raza
1111 19th St. NW, #1000
Washington, DC 20006
Eric Rodriguez, Poverty & Policy Analyst
202/785-1670
202/776-9792 fax
E-mail: erodriquez@nclr.org
Website: www.nclr.org

The William C Velasquez Institute (formerly: Southwest Voter Research Inst.)
403 E. Commerce, #260
San Antonio, TX 78205
Antonio Gonzalez, Director
210/222-8014
210/222-8474 fax
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Website: www.wcvi.org

National Urban League
120 Wall St. - 7th flr.
New York, NY 10005
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Website: www.nul.org

PRRAC's Federal & State Data Reconnaissance Project

As far back as the early 90s, when PRRAC got started, advocates (those on our Board and others) were complaining that the absence of good data on program impacts — triggered in part by governmental “paperwork reduction” mandates — was making it difficult to carry out effective advocacy work.

We therefore undertook our first Board-mandated research/advocacy project (as opposed to our program of funding proposals by others for research tied to advocacy): a reconnaissance of federal level data collection and dissemination practices and results with respect to the impact of federal housing, health, education and income maintenance programs on poor and minority beneficiaries. We also wanted to report on what legal mandates exist to collect and report such data. We commissioned studies in these four areas by, respectively: Ann Shlay of Temple; Carol Korenbrot/Ayesha Gill/Dana Hughes of the Univ. of Calif.-SF Inst. for Health Policy Studies; James McPartland/Nettie Legters of the Johns Hopkins Center for the Social Organization of Schools; and Brett Brown/Kristin Moore of Child Trends. (We have available copies of these studies, as well as a summary report on the four; contact us for prices.)

Our intention was to then to use these studies — completed in 1993 and 1994 — in a multi-pronged effort to improve the quantity, quality, relevance and dissemination of such key data. We had in mind Congressional hearings and legislation, administrative reform, aid from friends and col-

leagues appointed to high-level positions in Clinton Administration, possibly litigation. We also began conversations about collaborative work with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and other national organizations. Then the 1994 Congressional elections hit, and that (plus the somewhat disappointing performance of the Administration) put a hold on the project.

Fortuitously, we moved the project to the state level at just about the time the devolution revolution was upon us. The Irvine Foundation agreed to fund a similar project for California, and we contracted with the California Budget Project to carry out a parallel set of reconnaissance studies. These too were carried out (and are available from us, individually and in summary form): the housing report by the California Coalition for Rural Housing Project; health by Gale Berkowitz of the UCSF Inst. for Health Policy Studies; education by Susan Conklin/Julia Koppich of UC-Berkeley's Policy Analysis for California Education; income maintenance by Henry Brady/Mona Einowski of UC-Berkeley's Data Archive & Technical Assistance.

Next, we added four more states to the project, assisted by funding by the CS Mott Foundation: North Carolina, Texas, Illinois and Alabama. In each case, we partnered with a state group participating in the State Fiscal Analysis Project, a project, funded by a consortium of foundations, to create in a dozen states entities and capacities similar to what is done at the national level by the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities. We selected those

states that might, with California, give us sufficient variety in size, population composition and geography so that we might credibly hold this sample of five out as depicting deficiencies in state data collection/dissemination efforts all over the country, in order to persuade Congress and the federal administrative agencies of the need to require more from the states in the way of evaluation capacity and accountability. These new state reports, now virtually all complete (contact us or our state partner organizations listed below regarding ordering copies), will be used, both within the five states as well as nationally, to undertake a range of advocacy activities similar to what had been earlier planned. Once again, we hope to work collaboratively with a range of national groups.

Our five state partners (some of whom did the reconnaissance studies with their own staff, some contracted the work out to consultants) are:

California: California Budget Project (Jean Ross), 921 11th St., #701, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/444-0500.

North Carolina: N.C. Budget & Tax Center (Dan Gerlach), PO Box 27343, Raleigh, NC 27611, 919/856-2158.

Texas: Center for Public Policy Priorities (Dianne Stewart/Pam Hornuth), 900 Lydia St., Austin, TX 78702, 512/320-0222.

Illinois: Voices for Illinois Children (Jerry Stermer/Brian Matikias), 208 S. LaSalle, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/456-0600.

Alabama: Alabama Arise (Dave Dawson), PO Box 612, Montgomery, AL 36101, 334/832-9060.

Results of the State Reconnaissance Studies

While the picture varies somewhat from state to state, the overall, and

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“Advice the Advisory Board [to the President's Race Initiative]”: New P&R subscribers can get a reprint of the 27 short essays by leading thinkers/activists (Julian Bond, Howard Zinn, Frances Piven, Jonathan Kozol, Peter Edelman, Manning Marable, Leon Higginbotham, Karen Narasaki et al.), published in the Nov./Dec. 1997 and Jan./Feb. 1998 issues, by sending us a large SASE with \$1.47 postage.

larger than in Britain, Italy, Canada, Germany, France, Finland — greater and rising faster than anywhere else.

Those years then were what these years now promise to be — a kind of festive party, thrown for America's rich.

Since 1979, the wages of the bottom 20% of workers have dropped nearly 12%.... Workers at the bottom half of the wage scale make 75 cents less per hour than they did 20 years ago.

This at a time when the average executive earns 220 times what the average production worker is paid.

And for those workers whose skins are black or brown, the gap is greater and their prospects bleaker. Today, the net financial assets of black families in which one member has a post-graduate degree are lower than the assets of white families in which the highest level of education achieved is elementary school.

In 1968, the Kerner Commission, appointed by President Johnson to investigate the causes and prescribe the cures for 1967's riots, concluded that "white racism" was the single most important cause of continued racial inequality in income, housing, employment, education and life chances between blacks and whites.

Within a few short years, the growing numbers of blacks and other minorities and women, pushing for entry into and power in the academy, the media, business, government and other traditionally white male institutions, created a backlash in the discourse over race. The previously privileged majority exploded in angry resentment at having to share space with the formerly excluded.

Opinion leaders began to reformulate and redefine the terms of the discussion. No longer was the Kerner Commission's description of the problem acceptable.

Any indictment of white America could be abandoned, and a Susan Smith defense was adopted — black people did it, did it to the country, did it to themselves. Black behavior — not

white racism — became the reason why whites and blacks lived in separate worlds. Racism retreated and pathology advanced. The burden of racial problem-solving shifted from racism's creators to its victims. The failure of the lesser breeds to enjoy society's fruits became their fault alone. In a kind of nonsensical tautology we heard again and again: these people are poor because they are pathological, they are pathological because they are poor.

Pressure for additional civil rights laws became special pleading. America's most privileged population, white men, suddenly became a victim class. Aggressive blacks and pushy women became responsible for America's demise.

All this occurred despite almost daily incidents of racial attack, and a

Opposition to government succeeded opposition to Communism as a secular religion.

series of public opinion polls that demonstrate most white Americans believe racial minorities are less than equal human beings, lacking in thrift, morality, industriousness and patriotism.

Most Americans don't just believe minorities are suspect; they believe there are more of them than there actually are.

According to a Gallup Poll, the average American thinks that 18% of all Americans are Jewish; the real figure is 3%. The average American thinks that 21% of all Americans are Hispanic; the exact number is 8%; most Americans think that 32% of all Americans are black; the real figure, of course, is 12%.

For the average American, then, minorities are the majority: 71% of the national population.

The New Racism

This exaggeration of the other, this blame-shifting and role-reversal, where victim becomes perpetrator and mi-

norities become majorities, this perversion of reality occurred as a result of an organized campaign which continues until this day.

It is led by a curious mix of whites and a few blacks, academics, journalists and policymakers. Its aim is the demobilization of effective insurgent politics, the depoliticizing of discussions of our gross maldistribution of income, and the adoption of reactionary and punitive social policy.

Its adherents profess strong support for equal rights while opposing every tool designed to achieve this goal. They attack and discredit affirmative action, not simply because it threatens ancient white-skin privilege, but because it serves as a handy symbol of despised government intervention, and feeds the myths of black-caused white disadvantage.

For these new racists, equal opportunity is a burden society cannot afford to bear. Their less than subtle message is that including blacks and women excludes quality.

The continuing disparity between black and white life chances isn't a result of black life choices; it stems from epidemic racism and an economic system dependent on class division.

Abundant scholarship notwithstanding, there is no other possible explanation — not family breakdown, not lack of middle-class values, not lack of education and skills, not absence of role models. These are symptoms. Racism is the cause; its elimination is the cure.

But racism was no rationale for bad behavior even when it legitimized slavery and made people property; it ought be no excuse for anyone's failure to strive to live with decency now.

We must be careful not to define the ideology and practice of white supremacy too narrowly. It is greater than scrawled graffiti and individual indignity, the policeman's nightstick, the job or home or education denied. It is rooted deeply in the logic of our market system, in the culturally defined and politically enforced prices paid for different units of labor, and it is deeply entrenched in our national psyche.

Black Political Gains

The strategies of the 1960s movement were litigation, organization, mobilization and civil disobedience, aimed at creating a national political constituency for civil rights advances.

In the 1970s, electoral strategies began to dominate, prompted by the increase in black votes engendered by the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The numbers of locally elected black officials multiplied, coinciding with a decline in political party organization, and, for many, the number of black voters sufficient to elect them became voters enough.

Forgotten in the wave of inaugurations of new black mayors was the plight of blue-collar blacks. Just as black workers began to win access to industrial jobs and organized labor, the jobs went offshore and labor declined in power and influence. President Nixon's plan to promote black capitalism as a cure for underdeveloped ghettos was embraced by a growing generation of politically-connected black entrepreneurs, and their cause gained ascendancy.

Some black elites joined white elites at the feeding trough.

Since the heady days of the 1960s, too many have concentrated too much on enriching too few, while the large numbers of working-class black Americans, like their counterparts in the larger society, have seen their plight ignored, their incomes shrink and their jobs disappear.

Martin Luther King lost his life supporting a garbage workers' strike in Memphis; the right to decent work at decent pay remains as basic to human freedom as the right to vote.

"Negroes," King said in 1961, "are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers."

That there are more black millionaires today is a tribute to the movement King led; that there are proportionately fewer blacks working today is an indictment of our times and our economic system, a reflection of our failure to keep the movement coming on.

Everywhere black Americans face conditions different from but just as daunting as the bus back seats, fire hoses and billy clubs of three decades ago.

On streets and sidewalks where many black Americans live, crime and violence are a frequent rule. As angry white men blow up buildings, angry black men blow each other away. These are not drive-by shootings or

I doubt white men suffer low self-esteem because their race and gender helped them get their positions.

stranger shooting stranger; in most of these deaths, the killer and the victim knew each other. These are friend shooting friend.

Black Children

In America today, compared with a white child, a black child is one and a half times more likely to grow up in a family whose head did not finish high school.

That child is two times as likely to be born to a teenage mother.

That child is two and a half times more likely to be born at low birthweight.

That child is three times more likely to live in a single-parent home.

That child is four times more likely to have a mother who had no prenatal care.

That child is four and a half times more likely to live with neither parent.

That child is five times as likely to depend solely on a mother's earnings.

That child is nine times as likely to be a victim of homicide as a teenager or young adult, the end of a long, winding, uphill struggle to beat the racial odds against success.

In life chances, life expectancy, median income — by all the standards by which life is measured — black Americans see a deep gulf between the

American dream and the reality of their lives.

Affirmative Action

For the last 30 years — the period of the second Reconstruction — the most effective tool for advancing entry into the mainstream of American life has been affirmative action.

Opponents now try to tell us that it doesn't work, or it used to work but it doesn't now and isn't needed now; when it does work, it only helps people who don't need it. Their real problem is that it does work, and despite limits, where it works, it works well.

These opponents argue that the beneficiaries of race-centered affirmative action are "profiting" from it, as if its goals were comparable to an investment shared by a greedy few, a sub-tribe of dusky Donald Trumps and ebony Ivan Boeskys trading up life's ladder.

There is never "profit" in receiving right treatment. Receiving rights others already enjoy is no benefit or badge of privilege; it is the natural order of things in a democratic society.

Affirmative action really isn't about

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Poverty & Race

Poverty and Race met one day and acknowledged they'd been brought together by Greed, Prejudice, and Indifference.

Inspired by each other's plight, encouraged by the strength of their numbers, and supported by those who knew Justice and Compassion, they vowed to create Equity and Tolerance.

An original poem by Jan Kilby (PO Box 171390, San Antonio, TX 78217-8390. E-mail: jkilby@stic.net).

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preferential treatment for blacks; it is about removing preferential treatment whites have received through history, giving equal treatment to people who were denied equality in the past.

Affirmative action isn't a poverty program, and ought not be blamed for failing to solve problems it was not designed to solve. It is a program designed to counter racial discrimination, not poverty. No one beat Rodney King because he was poor.

Affirmative action created the sizeable middle class that constitutes one-third of all black Americans today.

In the late 1960s, the wages of black women in the textile industry tripled. From 1970 until 1990, the number of black police officers more than doubled; the number of black electricians tripled and black bank tellers more than quadrupled. The percentage of blacks in managerial and technical jobs doubled. The number of black college students increased from 330,000 in the middle 1960s to more than one million 18 years later.

These are not just numbers. They represent the growth and spread of the tiny middle class I knew as a boy into a stable one-third of all black Americans today, black women and men with jobs and homes, productive tax-paying citizens, able to provide for their families now and in the future.

Without affirmative action, both white and blue collars around black necks would shrink, with a huge, depressive effect on black income, employment, home ownership and education.

"Color-Blind"

This is because racism is alive and all too well in America. Those who would have us believe otherwise, and

who argue for a return to a color-blind America that never was, who would have us believe that their opposition to affirmative action is rooted in a desire for fairness and equality, are engaged in justification, rationalization and downright prevarication. We have long heard these arguments from white racists — they are joined today by black self-haters and apologists too.

They are color-blind, all right — blind to the consequences of being the wrong color in America today.

Let me tell you what they say. It is the fourth quarter of a football game between the white team and the black team. The white team is ahead 145 to 3. The white team owns the ball, the field, the goalposts, the uniforms and the referees. They have been cheating since the game began. There are two minutes left to play. Suddenly the white quarterback, who feels badly about things that happened before he entered the game, says, "Can't we just play fair?"

But in the double-speak used by the opponents of affirmative action, "fair" doesn't mean fair.

They just won't quit. They argue

A Susan Smith defense replaced white racism as an explanation: black people did it.

that affirmative action stigmatizes all blacks, making black beneficiaries and all others feel as if they've received some benefit they do not deserve.

Do you ever hear that argument made about the millions of whites who got into college as a "legacy" because Dad is an alumnus? Or the whites who got good jobs because Dad was president of the company? You never see them walking around with heads held low, eyes hidden, moaning that they've lost their self-esteem because everyone in the executive washroom is whispering about how they got their job.

Today, white males are 92% of the United States Senate, 80% of the United States House, 90% of the

nation's newspaper editors, and 80% of the tenured faculty at the nation's colleges and universities. I seriously doubt if any of these men are suffering low self-esteem or other stigma because their race and gender helped them win these positions.

Affirmative action's poster child, Justice Clarence Thomas, argues that affirmative action makes black people feel bad. If that is so, why would 95% of Houston's black voters elect to retain a policy that made them feel bad? But Thomas may be right. Ever since he got his most recent affirmative action job, he has been in a foul and nasty mood.

As quiet as it is kept, Martin Luther King supported affirmative action. The critics like to quote his dream from 1963 that one day his children would be judged by the content of their character and not by the color of their skin.

It was a dream then; it is a dream now.

He said in 1963: "Whenever the issue of preferential treatment for the Negro is raised, some of our friends recoil in horror. The Negro should be granted equality, they agree: but he should ask for nothing more. On the surface, this appears reasonable, but it is not realistic."

In 1967 he said: "A society that has done something special *against* the Negro for hundreds of years must now do something special *for* him".

We tend today to look back on the King years with some nostalgia, as if those were the only years in which we were truly able to overcome.

Our inability to do so today is caused, at least in part, by the way we recall Dr. King. For most of us he is little more than an image seen in grainy black-and-white television film taken in Washington three decades ago, the gifted preacher who had a dream.

But King, of course, was much more than that, and the movement was much more than Martin Luther King....

We All Benefit

For too many people today, the fight for equal justice is a spectator

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PRRAC's Website!

sport, a kind of National Basketball Association in which all the players are black and all the spectators are white.

But in this true-to-life competition between good and evil, the players are of every color and condition, the fate of all the fans tied to the points scored on the floor. When good prevails, all the spectators win too.

When four little girls died three decades ago in a Birmingham church bombing, astronaut Sally Ride won the right to shoot the moon.

Because black young people faced arrest at Southern lunch counters 30 years ago, the law their bodies wrote now protects older Americans from age discrimination, protects Jews and Moslems and Christians from religious discrimination, protects the disabled from exclusion because of their condition.

It took but one woman's courage to start a movement in Montgomery, the bravery of four young men in Greensboro to set the South on fire. Surely there are men and women, young and old, who today can do the

same.

Now the ancient forces of evil, appearing in new faces, threaten America again. They are determined to create an anorectic America, too starved and weak to protect the hungry, the forgotten and the poor.

The current civil rights scene in the United States is dismal but not without hope....

My grandfather James Bond's

Poils show the average American thinks 21% of Americans are Hispanic, 32% are black — the true combined total is 20%.

words — from the last century — might well be remembered here.

He said in 1892:

"The pessimist from his corner looks out upon the world of wickedness and sin, and blinded by all that is good or hopeful in the condition and

progress of the human race, bewails the present state of affairs and predicts woeful things for the future.

In every cloud he beholds a destructive storm, in every flash of lightning an omen of evil and in every shadow that falls across his path a lurking foe.

But he forgets that the clouds also bring life and hope, that the lightning purifies the atmosphere, that shadow and darkness prepare for sunshine and growth, and that hardships and adversity nerve the race, as the individual, for greater efforts and grander victories."

Greater efforts and grander victories. That was his generation's promise 106 years ago. That was the promise made by the generation that won the great world war for democracy five decades ago. That was the promise made by those who brought democracy to America's darkest corners three decades ago, and that is the promise we must seek to honor today. □

PRRAC Update

- PRRAC held the 11th of its all-day researcher-activist meetings May 15 in San Antonio (for the first time, a state-wide meeting). It was very successful. We'll send a meeting report with a SASE (78¢ postage).

- PRRAC has organized an invitation-only conference on "Effective Education for Low-Income Minority Students," May 29 (the day following our Spring Board meeting) at Howard Law School, co-sponsored by CRESPAR (the Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed At Risk — a Howard-Johns Hopkins consortium), the George Washington Univ. Graduate School of Education & Human Development, and the American Univ. School of Education. We'll include a report in the September/October issue.

- Relatedly, PRRAC has put together a special issue of *The Journal of Negro Education*, based on the material we commissioned for the 1996 St. Louis trial defending against the state of Missouri's attempts to end that area's highly successful voluntary inter-district integration program, the nation's largest. See p. 12 for offer of a free copy.

- We thank the Caroline & Sigmund Schott Foundation, The Funding Exchange, the AMJ Foundation, Caroline Wood and Alfred Cox for recent financial support.

- New Babies: Lorenzo, to PRRAC Board member Bill Tamayo; Miranda to PRRAC bookkeeper Tamalynn Custer.

(CENSUS: Continued from page 4)

power: the more organizations are able to understand and use available information, the more effective they can be in providing needed services and in organizing and advocating on behalf of their constituencies.

We must identify which interventions and combinations of interventions are most effective in reducing the undercount in low-income communities and communities of color. The stakes are too high to not involve as many organizations as possible in this work.

Julia Burgess is Eastern Regional Director of the Center for Community Change (1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-594), where she leads the Center's team of technical assistance specialists who work with community organizations and coalitions in low-income areas. She directs the Center's Census 2000 project. □

(DATA: Continued from page 5)

non-surprising, bottom line is that in none of the states is there anywhere near an adequate system of data collection and dissemination so that advocates can access information sufficient to evaluate the impact of these key safety-net programs on poor and minority recipients. And absent such data, observed program defects and those brought to the attention of advocacy groups via anecdotes cannot be adequately and forcefully documented, the prerequisite for effective efforts to improve defective programs, jettison truly poor programs and propose alternatives.

The *California* report indicates the harm budget cuts have done to data collection and publication. In the education area, there is no consistent source of data assessing pupil performance, due to frequent state policy changes regarding pupil testing and assessment. The state lacks a comprehensive statewide data system for tracking social service programs. The four-county sample used to detail participant characteristics in income support programs is not geographically reflective of the state's diversity (e.g., none of the four counties sampled is small or rural); as the state moves towards a decentralized welfare system, maintaining consistency and availability of data will become ever more important, but difficult to attain. In the health area, one notable weakness is the lack of consistency between data sets with respect to race and ethnicity reporting categories and lack of information on socioeconomic status. Housing data are very weak: the state imposes only minimal requirements on its many housing programs and there is little standardization of data collection. Categories for reporting race/ethnicity of housing program participants is imprecise, particularly with regard to the state's large Hispanic population.

The *North Carolina* report showed that while there is a rich set of data, collected by race, there is no evaluative or data research component. Since individual counties are permit-

ted to construct their own TANF eligibility criteria and benefit levels, data are needed to determine if race, disability or other demographic factors impact decisions to sanction families, access certain types of assistance or allow time limit extensions. In the education area, emphasis on testing has produced a situation whereby data are inadequate to determine whether children can advance to the next grade: only end-of-grade tests are used, which results in tremendous disparities among low- and high-income and white and nonwhite children.

The *Texas* project observed that in so large (254 counties) and regionally diverse a state, data collection based on sample surveys does not permit usable generalizations, or gives false pictures. It also found inconsistent and uncoordinated data systems among various agencies that make comparison and inter-agency communication difficult. Agency data are often not user-friendly and display inconsistent and unclear formatting. Some data crucial for planning vital health and human services are completely unavailable (e.g., it is not possible to get child poverty rates by ethnic group for each county). There is no consistent standard for defining many important variables that all agencies use. Data definitions are inconsistent, making comparisons among different data sources difficult (e.g., income level definitions used in allocating certain health care services are not consistent with Census or IRS designations); comparison between states, agencies and other databases are problematic. Finally, because of processing delays, data often are old and no longer relevant. Relatedly, websites are sometimes out of date.

The *Illinois* report shows that a great deal of government data is available, not all of it useful, but that many of the data are difficult to access; data kept in one government agency cannot be linked to data in another agency; and that data do not track how people's circumstances change over time, how different services interact in their lives, and how these services interact with family and community networks. Edu-

cation data are notably lacking in outcomes of school programs. Much of the data on poverty is in case files and thus tends to be more useful for deciding program eligibility than for program evaluation and research.

The *Alabama* report observed that access to information is greatly dependent on the policies of the leaders of each department and agency, and such policies vary greatly. The state has few laws regarding the type of data to be made available and the public's access to it. Acquiring state data is often a very time-consuming and cumbersome task. Most staff are unaware of information outside their own department. Personal contacts and relationships are often essential for acquiring data in a timely manner. Some independent (non-governmental, mainly university) data sources exist. Education data on demographic characteristics are only available at the school system level. Health data omit income and quality of care variables.

Advocacy

PRRAC is now moving this project into the advocacy phase. Each of our state partners has drafted a preliminary advocacy strategy, and we will be working closely with them to generate and implement specific steps appropriate to the defects and political/legal situation in each state. Simultaneously, we will be bringing together appropriate national-level partners to deal with this important issue in Congress and with the Administration. Our approach is that even conservatives in Congress ought to be concerned with how the states are carrying out their newly mandated responsibilities; that evaluating how government programs are carried out, how tax money is spent is, or should be, a universal concern, and that such accountability requires good, relevant data to be widely and easily available. Taking full advantage of new communications technologies will be a central goal.

We'll keep *P&R* readers regularly informed as to the progress of this effort. □

PRRAC Advocacy Updates

Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty

918 F St. NW, #423

Wash., DC 20004

202/638-2535

Contact: Catherine Bendor/Maria Foscarinis

In 1994, the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, with support from PRRAC, conducted research and prepared a report on the increasing criminalization of homelessness. The report, "No Homeless People Allowed," was at the time the Law Center's most comprehensive report on this worrisome and growing national trend. In it, the Law Center reported that in the past three years there had been a sharp increase across the country in local anti-homeless activities, such as the adoption of restrictions on homeless people's use of public spaces and on begging, police "sweeps" designed to remove homeless people from specific areas, and the targeting of homeless people in enforcement of generally applicable laws.

The Law Center is continuing its research and advocacy work concerning the criminalization of homelessness. In December 1996, we published our most comprehensive report ever on this topic, "Mean Sweeps," for which we surveyed the 50 largest US cities. The report found that local governments are increasingly turning to the criminal justice system as a means of addressing problems associated with homelessness in their communities. For example, in the previous four years roughly 31% of the cities had enacted new ordinances or amended existing ones to restrict begging. At the same time, cities are resorting to this approach, the report documented that in most communities resources available to shelter homeless people or help them become self-sufficient were woefully inadequate. "Mean Sweeps" examined the implications of criminalization policy, arguing that such an approach is short-sighted, ineffective, inefficient

and often inhumane as a way of addressing the problem of homelessness. The report also examined litigation across the country challenging criminalization policies and provided examples of constructive alternatives to criminalization.

Both reports have been tremendously important in raising public awareness about this problem and potential related violations of the civil rights of homeless people, and in supporting advocacy efforts around the country to reverse the trend toward criminalization. They have assisted local advocates to formulate arguments and supplied useful supporting evidence for legislative and court proceedings; have enabled local advocates to place local issues into a national context; and have provided additional clout to local advocates' positions. The Law Center is continuing its active monitoring of factual, legislative and legal developments with respect to this issue as well as its active involvement in efforts to prevent or challenge the adoption of criminalization policies around the country.

"No Homeless People Allowed" is available from the Center for \$28, "Mean Sweeps" for \$23.

La Cooperativa/CHD/CRLA Farmworker Undercount Project

480 E. 4th Ave - Unit A

San Mateo, CA 94401

650/373-4924

E-mail: ekissam@aiweb.com

Contact: Ed Kissam, The Aguirre Group

The collaborative effort of La Cooperativa/CHDC and CRLA to overcome the "mega-undercount" of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the decennial Census, initially supported by PRRAC and the Rosenberg Foundation, has achieved important successes since the last update on this project.

In 1997, the US Department of Labor reconvened an agency workgroup

to consider alternative approaches to allocating the more than \$75 million in annual funding for JTPA 402 which for more than two decades had been distributed using flawed Census data. The workgroup recommended a new strategy for more equitably allocating funding, using several data sources, including the National Agricultural Workers Survey and the Census of Agriculture. This strategy will better enable funding to reach migrants -- wherever they are -- in travelling from one state to another. At the same time, the shift to new data sources will provide policymakers and program planners with much more reliable demographic and socioeconomic profiles of this disadvantaged population. This is an important consideration, since the Census typically omits the most marginal segments within this population -- farmworkers living in substandard housing, speaking little English, often with only an elementary school education.

At the same time, the team is working closely with Census Bureau staff to decrease the undercount of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in 2000. This work has included observation of the 1998 Census dress rehearsals in South Carolina and Sacramento and recommendations which led to better procedures for recognizing and enumerating "informal" (and usually unlicensed) farm labor camps where farmworkers are housed, improved definitions of "residency rules" to address the situation of migrants, and advice on developing and deploying a "targeted toolkit," a set of "best practices" for successfully enumerating farmworkers.

A key element in the success of Census 2000 will be the active participation of local government and community organizations in Census activities and Census Bureau flexibility to encourage and adapt to different modes of collaboration. Team mem-

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(ADVOCACY: Continued from page 11)

ber Ilene Jacobs, who represents California Rural Legal Assistance on the Department of Commerce's Census 2000 Advisory Committee and co-chairs the Subcommittee on Partnership and Special Populations, is working vigorously to help promote the idea that local partnerships must be inclusive and proactive, involving a wide range of grassroots community organizations. With support from California's Community Services Department, the La Cooperativa team is beginning work to develop several "model" collaborations in California's Central Valley. This "California Complete Count" effort will, it is hoped, provide useful practical guidance for similar efforts to improve enumeration of multi-ethnic populations, particularly immigrants, in inner cities, as well as migrant and seasonal farmworkers throughout the country.

Unfortunately, intense partisan political controversy about "sampling" and funding constraints are sapping the Census Bureau's ability to fully address the complexities of reliably enumerating an increasingly diverse American nation. The longstanding goal of "a census that mirrors America" (a phrase put forward by the National Academy of Sciences) may well hinge on vigorous efforts by local grassroots organizations, schools, small businesses and concerned civic leaders to make Census 2000 a truly participatory process.

After close to a decade of work on this issue, the CRLA/La Cooperativa/CHDC project team feels more strongly than ever that the fundamental problem to be overcome remains the tacit view that socially and economically marginalized people are "the problem" for social science rather than the ethnocentric "cookie cutter" research methodologies employed—e.g., the highly-formatted English-language mail survey sent to single-family homes, with telephone followup. For Census 2000 and after, the most pressing issue will continue to be to develop research strategies as diverse as the

people who make up America.

Legal Aid of Western Missouri

1005 Grand Ave., #600
Kansas City, MO 64106
816/474-6750

Contact: Julie Levin

During the discovery stage of *Tinsley vs. Cuomo*, a public housing desegregation lawsuit, it became apparent that HUD-assisted housing was racially segregated in the Kansas City area and that the predominantly minority developments suffered from uninhabitable conditions while the predominantly non-minority developments were in good condition. PRRAC provided Legal Aid of Western Missouri (LAWMO) with a grant to analyze the racial composition of all HUD-assisted developments in the Kansas City metropolitan area and to document a pattern of racial segregation. LAWMO hired housing consultant Yale Rabin to analyze the data we collected on the housing developments. We attempted to obtain information on the racial composition and habitability conditions of all the HUD-assisted developments through Freedom of Information Act requests to HUD and through data compiled by Mid-America Regional Council (MARC).

Unfortunately, while some of the developments did report their racial

composition to HUD, HUD did not require the reporting of such information. As a result, LAWMO was only able to obtain racial composition data on approximately one-third of the developments. MARC therefore attempted to obtain the information by analyzing the racial distribution of population in the block or blocks on which the HUD-assisted housing was located, employing Census block numbers and block data based on each project's address. Initial effort proved inadequate because many projects for which a single block address was provided actually covered several city blocks.

MARC then identified multi-block locations for 15 projects. Rabin was able to correlate some block population data with project population data. While the data were still fragmentary, we were able to determine that 146 projects (approximately half the projects in the Kansas City area) were predominantly one-race.

Although we were unable to use the data to pursue impact litigation on the issue of segregation in HUD-assisted developments, the data collected on individual projects have proved useful in representing individual clients who have fair housing complaints against specific developments.

LAWMO has continued to address patterns of housing discrimination with

FREEBIE!

"The Role of Social Science in School Desegregation Efforts: The St. Louis Example" is the just-published issue of *The Journal of Negro Education*, co-edited by PRRAC Board member William L. Taylor, Dianne Piché and William T. Trent.

We're offering a copy of this 160-page issue free, providing you send us a self-addressed label and \$3 in postage (Priority Mail).

Articles, based on expert trial reports, include Trent ("Outcomes of School Desegregation: Findings from Longitudinal Research,"

"Why the Gap Between Black and White Performance in School?"); Sam Stringfield & Rebecca Herman ("Research on Effective Instruction for At-Risk Students: Implications for the St. Louis Public Schools"); Dennis Judd ("The Role of Governmental Policies in Promoting Residential Segregation in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area"); Michael Puma ("The Prospects [study] Response"); and trial testimony/deposition excerpts from Gary Orfield, Eric Hanushek, Kern Alexander and David Armor.

other resources. Through a Fair Housing Initiatives Program Enforcement grant from HUD, LAWMO employs and trains white and African American testers posing as loan applicants to gather evidence of lending discrimination in Section 8 rentals, where clients have experienced problems. In addition, LAWMO sends testers to newly constructed apartment buildings to determine builder compliance with Fair Housing Act accessibility design regulations. Based on the evidence gathered in these testing activities, LAWMO brings appropriate enforcement actions.

Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless

288 A St., 4th flr.
Boston, MA 02210
617/737-3508

Contact: Ginny Hamilton

In 1994, the Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless organized homeless women to carry out a survey, with funding by PRRAC, which determined that race was a factor affecting accessibility to housing assistance from the state's LHAs. This research served as the foundation for the HomeStretch Project (formerly the Housing Applications and Admissions Project).

The HomeStretch Project's mission is to provide opportunities for homeless parents to become leaders in the fight to end homelessness. Through educational workshops and action-oriented advocacy projects, families experiencing homelessness are presented with clear explanations of the systems affecting their lives and opportunities to influence public policies.

Since its inception, HomeStretch has trained over 1,000 parents in emergency shelters about how to access public and subsidized housing, how to recognize and challenge housing discrimination, and, more recently, their rights under welfare reform. These trainings provide information on what is and is not required under current rules and regulations, self-advocacy strategies for avoiding pitfalls and action alerts for getting involved in policy initiatives.

These trainings have been incred-

ibly well received by families struggling with conflicting information and propaganda regarding the new welfare rules and the dearth of information concerning the equally dramatic changes in federal housing programs. They leave with accurate legal easy-to-understand descriptions of the rules which govern their benefits and housing options. Moreover, they access strategies for coping with these changes and opportunities to get involved in educating others and challenging harmful policies.

Projects undertaken by HomeStretch participants include advising local, state and national elected and administrative officials as to the housing needs of homeless families; designing outreach materials alerting other homeless families of their right to shelter until they secure safe, permanent housing; and documenting potentially discriminatory practices by real estate agencies.

Through the HomeStretch Project and through work with advocates and providers, MCH is currently challenging LHA residency and employment preferences which violate HUD's mandate to affirmatively further fair housing; advocating for fair, streamlined applications processes to improve housing access for people with disabilities and other protected classes; and investigating individual and class complaints of private market discrimination against Sec. 8 tenants, a protected class in Massachusetts. The HomeStretch Project Coordinator also serves on the Board of Directors of the newly established Greater Boston Fair Housing Center.

Seattle Displacement Coalition

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Seattle, WA 98105
206/632-2954
E-mail: jvf4119@zipcon.net
Contact: John Fox

In the Fall of 1991, the Seattle Displacement Coalition received several complaints from low-income people claiming they had been denied access to "low-income apartments" built with funding assistance from the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit pro-

Editorial Goof (Big Time)

In "Police Brutality in NYC Revisited: One More Time," by Esmeralda Simmons, in the May/June *P&R*, the recommendations printed were those of the author, not the Mayor's Task Force. For a (free) copy of the Task Force report, contact Fred Patrick, Office of Criminal Justice Coordinator, 4 Centre St., 10th flr., Rm. 1012-N, NYC, NY 10007, 212/788-6809. "Deflecting Blame," the dissenting report by Task Force members Michael Meyers, Margaret Fung & Norman Siegel, is available (\$12) from Laurel Benjamin, NYC ACLU, 125 Broad St., 17th flr., NYC, NY 10004, 212/344-3005.

gram. Prompted by these concerns, and with grant assistance from PRRAC, the Coalition began what turned out to be a five-year effort — first to evaluate the tax credit program in Washington State and then to secure changes at the state level so that the program did a better job of fulfilling its original mandate: to serve the state's neediest households.

Today, as a result of the Coalition's efforts, program improvements have been made, but problems persist, both as a result of inadequate response from Washington State officials and problems with federal rules governing establishment and implementation of the program.

Under the Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program — established by Congress in the mid-1980s — developers can be awarded tax credits for each unit they "set aside" for low-income residents, provided they set aside at least 20% of the units for tenants whose incomes are at or below 50% of an area's median, or at least 40% of their units for tenants with incomes at or below 60% of median. Rents cannot exceed 30% of the earnings of these households. Each state is awarded a certain allotment of credits (worth

(Please turn to page 14)

about \$30 million in housing subsidies annually for Washington State), and a state-wide agency is created or assigned to allot the credits to worthy projects. In Washington State, the Housing Finance Commission performs this task. Federal rules require state agencies to establish allocation systems that prioritize developers serving the lowest income populations.

With PRRAC assistance, the Displacement Coalition in 1992 first surveyed resident managers of 103 tax credit projects built in Washington since the program began. Then, in 1996, the Coalition went back and sampled 37 tax credit projects, state-wide, including some of the projects first studied in 1992. The results raised continued questions about the ability of the program to meet low-income needs. For example:

- Of the 37 projects surveyed in 1996, 25 (65% of the total) set a minimum income standard that ranged from 2 to 3 1/2 times the required rent. In other words, "very low-income" tenants applying for a set-aside unit in these projects also were required to prove that they had monthly earnings equal to at least 2 to 3 1/2 times the set-aside rent. Even though these set-aside units were earmarked to serve low-income people, most low-income people — especially those on SSI, GAU or other forms of fixed income — were ineligible due to these minimum income thresholds.

- The Coalition found an absence of effective marketing. Seventeen of the projects surveyed (46% of the total) reported they did not list their units with the public housing authority. Sixteen of the projects (43% of the total) would not even acknowledge that they offered low-income units for rent. Most of those surveyed did not aggressively market units to communities of color. In addition, six projects (16% of those surveyed) said they did not have handicapped-accessible units.

- In the Coalition's 1992-93 survey, fully 38% of the 103 projects surveyed had percentages of people of color below the county average. Another 16%

reported they did not know how many people of color they had in their building. While the Housing Finance Commission now requires tax credit projects to advertise vacancies in newspapers serving communities of color, it does not check to confirm how many vacancies actually are filled by people of color, nor is any remedial action prescribed when an owner falls short.

- The Coalition's 1996 survey found that 38% of the sample refused to refund the damage deposit even when a unit was vacated in good condition (a practice outlawed in Washington State).

- Most troubling of all, the Coalition found that program rules (federal as well as state) do not appear to be adequate to guarantee rent levels on set-aside units that most low-income people can afford. While most of the state's low-income people have earnings at or below 35-40% of median, most of the set-aside units were priced at rent levels affordable only to those earning at or above 50% of median. In fact, in many cases, rents on "low-income" units approximated and even exceeded average market rents for a given locale. In effect, it was easier and more affordable for a poor person to search out and rent a market-rate unit in that area.

While there were cases of developers failing to meet contractual obligations, most of the problems uncovered are intrinsic to the tax credit program itself. Responsibility should be placed on the State Housing Finance Commission, because it has not set the kinds of guidelines for enforcement, marketing and project selection that would guarantee accessibility to the state's lowest-income populations. While some conservative critics in Congress believe these problems justify scrapping the program, the Coalition instead called for reforms to guarantee that more of the tax credits go to projects committed to serving those most in need.

In response to the Coalition's efforts, the State Housing Finance Commission did hire more enforcement and monitoring staff (paid for by fees charged to project sponsors). Annual

certifications did become more rigorous, but they did not go so far as to include a review of how many people of color are being housed in each project. A commitment was made to increase the number of on-site visits, fines and other more aggressive remedial actions. While setting minimum income requirements (at least those set at more than 1 1/2 times the rent) should be barred outright, the Housing Finance Commission continues to ignore this growing problem. Absent a response at the state level, the federal rules need to be changed so as to prohibit this. Owners of tax credit projects in Washington State now are limited from charging excessive upfront fees, and the size of damage deposits is limited. Full refunds of the deposit now are guaranteed, but problems persist with Commission enforcement of this rule.

The most significant problem associated with this program remains unaddressed, however. Rents on all set-aside "low-income" units should be substantially lowered. Because this idea has been met with considerable resistance at the state level, especially from the Housing Finance Commission, the for-profit developers, bankers and investors reaping profits off of this program, the Coalition believes Congress needs to require that most of the set-aside units be priced at rent levels that serve people earning at or below 35-40%, rather than 50 or 60%, of median. Also, most of the tax credits allotted to states should be earmarked for non-profit housing developers better equipped and generally committed to serving those most in need. The Coalition submitted its recent findings to the Housing Finance Commission nearly two years ago and continues to call for changes in the program during the Commission's annual reviews. But to date, the Commission has not responded. In the meantime, the Coalition says it really is up to Congress to clean up this program in order to make sure that it truly serves those most in need.

The Coalition's report on its two surveys is available for \$10; a 2-page summary is free. □

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 (32¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate which issue of P&R you are ordering from.

Race/Racism

- "A Different World: Children's Perceptions of Race & Class in the Media" (16 pp., 1998) is available (free) from Children Now, 1212 Broadway, 5th fl., Oakland, CA 94612, 510/763-2444, E-mail: children@childrennow.org.

- "Affirmative Action" is the theme of the 35-page Spring 1998 issue of *Southern Changes*, the Southern Regional Council's quarterly. \$6 from the Council, 133 Carnegie Way NW, #900, Atlanta, GA 30303-1024, 404/522-8764, E-mail: src@mindspring.com.

- *Americans All* is "a nonprofit education program that provides teachers, students, parents & community volunteers with comparative inf., previously unavailable, about each of 6 historical population groups who helped build our nation — Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, European

Americans, Mexican Americans & Puerto Rican Americans." Among their resource materials is a 403-page book, *The Peopling of America: A Timeline of Events That Helped Shape Our Nation*, compiled by the organization's founder, Allan Kullen (\$17.95). Further inf. from him, PAF, 5700 Sunnyside Ave., Beltsville, MD 20705, 301/982-5622.

- "Bridging the Racial Divide on the Internet," by Donna Hoffman & Thomas Novak, appeared in the April 17, 1998 issue of *Science* (and merited a front-page story in the *NY Times*). A reprint of the 3-page article, which shows that lower-income black Americans are far less likely to have internet access than whites of similar economic status, is available from Hoffman, Owen Grad. School of Mgt., Vanderbilt Univ., 401 21st Ave. S., Nashville, TN 37203.

- *Chilling Admissions: The Affirmative Action Crisis & the Search for Alternatives*, eds. Gary Orfield & Edward Miller, Foreword by Christopher Edley, Jr. (131 pp., 1998), is available (\$18.90, bulk discounts avail.) from the Harvard Educ. Pub. Gp., 349 Gutman Library, 6 Appian Way, Cambridge, MA 02138. Among the contributors: Thomas Kane, Jerome Karabel, Michael Nettles, Susanna Finnell.

- *Double Burden: Black Women and Everyday Racism*, by

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.

Yanick St. Jean & Joe Feagin (235 pp., 1998?), "draws on more than 200 interviews with mostly middle-class women." \$40 from ME Sharpe, 800/541-6563.

- "National Days of Dialogue on Race Relations: A Summary Report" (25 pp., April 1998) is available from NDD, 1322 18th St. NW, #26, Wash., DC 20009, 202/822-6343, E-mail: Dialogdays@aol.com. \$5 (some free copies available).

- New South End Press Books: *De Colores Means All of Us*, by Elizabeth Martinez, Foreword by Angela Y. Davis (250 pp., 1998, \$18 + s/h); *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution* (updated ed.), by Dan Georgakas & Marvin Surkin, Foreword by Manning Marable (250 pp., \$18 + s/h); *Talking About a Revolution: Interviews with Noam Chomsky, bell hooks, Barbara Ehrenreich, Manning Marable, Urvashi Vaid, Peter Kwong, Winona LaDuke, Michael Albert & Howard Zinn* (160 pp., \$14 + s/h). SEP is at 7 Brookline St., #1, Cambridge, MA 02139, 617/547-4002, E-mail: southend@igc.org.

- *Race, Class & Struggle: Essays on Racism & Inequality in Britain, US & Western Europe*, by Louis Kushnick (262 pp.), has been published by Rivers Oram Press in London (\$13.95); also, Kushnick's *Race, Class & Struggle*, same publisher. Further inf. from author, Univ. Manchester, Dept. Amer. Studies, Manchester M139PL England, 061-275-3051, E-mail: mrsrslk@fs1.ec.man.ac.uk.

- *Race, Ethnicity, Gender & Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict & Change*, by Joseph Healey (2nd ed., 623 pp., 1998), has been published by Pine Forge Press, 2455 Teller Rd., Thousand Oaks, CA 91320, 805/499-4224, E-mail: sales@pfp.sagepub.com. No price listed.

- *The Afrocentric Idea*, by Molefi Kete Asante (rev., expanded ed., 256 pp.), has been published by Temple Univ Press, 800/447-1656; \$20.95

- The Recovering Racists Network, founded by John McKenzie, is reachable at 2455 Marcia Dr., Pleasant Hill, CA 94523, 925/682-4959, E-mail: info@rrnet.org. They have a 15-page pamphlet available.

- **"Why Should Minorities, Women, Low-Income or Non-Mainstream Groups Be Highly Skeptical of Current Campaign Finance Proposals?"** is a 4-pager, available (possibly free) from the ACLU, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20002, 202/544-1681.

- **Third Force/RaceFile:** As we noted in the last issue, these two publications have merged to form a new publication, *Color Lines*. The publishers have back issues they'd like to donate to schools, libraries & orgs, that can use them for building power and research. For *Third Force* back issues, contact the Ctr. for Third World Organizing, 510/533-7583, E-mail: ctwo@igc.org; for *RaceFile* back issues, contact the Applied Research Ctr., 510/465-9577. *Color Lines* is available (\$15/yr. \$2.95/issue) from ARC, 1322 Webster St., #402, Oakland, CA 94612, E-mail: bwing@arc.org.

- **"Honoring Our Past, Forging Our Future"** is the 1998 annual conf. of the Natl. Council of La Raza, July 19-22 in Philadelphia. Inf. from 800/311-NCLR.

- **The 2nd World Conf. on Remedies to Racial & Ethnic Economic Inequalities** will be held Sept. 20-25 in Adelaide, Australia. Inf. from the Roy Wilkins Ctr., Humphrey Inst. for Public Affairs, Univ. MN. 301 19th Ave. S., Mpls., MN 55455, 612/6269496, E-mail: wilkins-world@hhh.umn.edu.

Poverty/Welfare

- **"A Brief Guide to Welfare Changes: Helpful Information on the New State & Federal Welfare Laws,"** by Carole Sharlip (12 pp.), is available, free, from AFSC-WV Econ. Justice Proj., PO Box 1964, Charleston, WV 25327, 304/529-3890.

- **An Economic Bill of Rights** (a 1-pager) is available (free) from the Natl. Jobs for All Coal., 475 Riverside Dr., #832, NYC, NY 10115-0050, 212/8703449, E-mail: njfac@nccusa.org.

- **"Evaluating Welfare Reform: What Do We Know? How Can We Learn More?"** is the May 1998 issue of *The Forum*, a quarterly newsletter published by the Research Forum on Children, Families & the New Federalism. May be free, from the Natl. Ctr. for Children in Poverty, Columbia School of Public Health, 154 Haven Ave., NYC, NY 10032-1180, 212/304-7132. E-mail: info@researchforum.org.

- **"Families in Poverty & Welfare Reform: Broken Promises,"** by Linda Collier, appeared in the Winter/Spring 1998 issue of the *Journal of Children & Poverty*. Contact them at Homes for the Homeless, 36 Cooper Sq., 6th fl., NYC, NY 10003, 212/529-5252.

- **"Is It Reform? The 1998 Report of the Welfare & Human Rights Monitoring Project"** of the Unitarian Universalist Service Comm. is available from them (possibly free) in summary form and in 5 separate state reports (NJ,

CT, CA, MA, WA). Contact Ted Steege at UUSC, 2000 P St. NW, #505, Wash., DC 20036-5915. 202/466-7400, E-mail: tsteeg@uuscdc.org

- **Kensington Welfare Rights Union National Tour:** KWRU undertook a monthlong tour in June to 25 cities "to document & call attention to the violation of the basic economic human rights of people in the US." They can be contacted at 215/203-1945.

- **Network**, a natl. Catholic social justice lobby, has a Welfare Reform Watch Monitoring Project. Contact Mary Elizabeth Clark, SSJ, 801 Penn. Ave. SE, #460, Wash., DC 20003, 202/547-5556.

- **New MDRC Welfare Studies:** "Washington Works: Sustaining a Vision of Welfare Reform Based on Personal Change, Work Preparation & Employer Involvement," by Susan Gooden (31 pp., March 1998); "Do Work Incentives Have Unintended Consequences? Measuring 'Entry Effects' in the Self-Sufficiency Project," by Gordon Berlin, Wendy Bancroft, David Card, Winston Lin & Philip Robins (47 pp., March 1998); "New Chance: Final Report on a Comprehensive Program for Young Mothers in Poverty & Their Children," by Janet Quint, Johannes Bos & Denise Polit (38 pp., Oct. 1997); "The Family Transition Program: Implementation & Interim Impacts of Florida's Initial Time-Limited Welfare Program," by Dan Bloom, Mary Farrell, James Kemple & Nandita Verma (30 pp., April 1998); "Working with Low-

Income Cases: Lessons for Child Support Enforcement System from Parents' Fair Share," by Fred Doolittle & Suzanne Lynn (68 pp., May 1998). All may be free, from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

- **"Reporting on Welfare & Race"** is the Spring 1998 issue of *The Children's Beat*, the quarterly newsletter of the Casey Journalism Ctr. for Children & Families of the Univ. MD (8701-B Adelphi Rd., Adelphi, MD 20783-1716, 301/445-4971, E-mail: cjc@ajr.umd.edu).

- **"The State of Welfare Caseloads in America's Cities,"** by Bruce Katz & Kate Carnevale (29 pp. + charts/tabies), is a "work in progress," available (possibly free) from the Brookings Inst. Ctr. on Urban & Met. Policy, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6139.

- **"Welfare Reform & Post-secondary Education: Research & Policy Update"** is Vol. 2, No. 1 (April 1998) from the Inst. for Women's Policy Research, 1400 20th St. NW, #104, Wash., DC 20036, 202/785-5100; no price listed.

- **"Welfare Reform & the Health of Women & Children"** is a 13-page just released report, available (\$10) from the Health & Medicine Policy Research Gp., 332 S. Michigan Ave., #500, Chicago, IL 60604-4302, 312/922-8057, E-mail: HMPRG@AOL.COM.

- **"Work After Welfare: Is the Midwest Booming Economy Creating Enough Jobs?,"**

by Paul Kleppner & Nikolas Theodore (44 pp., 1997) and "Only Work Should Pay: A Short History of Welfare Reform in 6 Midwestern States, 1990-97," by Paul Street (31 pp., 1997), both reports from the Midwest Job Gap Project, are available (possibly free) from Kleppner, Office for Social Policy Research, N. Illinois Univ., DeKalb, IL 60115-2854, 815/753-1309.

Community Organizing

* "Community Leadership for a Living Democracy" is a 3-day workshop "for enhancing community leadership skills," sponsored by the Ctr. for Living Democracy, Aug. 14-16 & Oct. 2-4. Inf. from Ctr., PO Box 8187, Brattleboro, VT 05304, 802/254-1234.

* "Social Change Across Borders" is a project which seeks to bring together grassroots leaders from both Latin America & Latino communities in the US. This year's theme is "Transnational Organizing for Social Justice" and the dates are Sept. 12-19. It's run by UC-Santa Cruz' Latino Amer. & Latino Studies. Contact *right away* Rachel Rosner, 408/459-3182, E-mail: rachel@zzyx.ucsc.edu.

Criminal Justice

* **Privatization of the Prison System:** Beth Carter at the Campaign for an Effective Crime Policy (918 F St. NW, #505, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-1903) has materials on this.

* **The Ceiling of America: An Inside Look at the US Prison Industry,** eds. Daniel Burton-Rose, Dan Pens, & Paul Wright, with an Intro. by William Greider (288 pp., 1998), is available (\$19.95 + s/h) from Common Courage Press, 800/497-3207, E-mail: comcour1@agate.net.

* "The Death Penalty in Black & White: Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides — New Studies on Racism in Capital Punishment" is a 33-page, June 1998 report, available (\$5) from the Death Penalty Inf. Ctr., 1320 18th St. NW, 5th fl., Wash., DC 20036, 202/293-6970, E-mail: dpic@essential.org.

* **UN Commission on Human Rights Report on Death Penalty in US:** A 31-page, Jan. 1998 report by Special Rapporteur Bacre Waly Ndiaye is available (likely free) from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN, NYC, NY 10017.

Economic/Community Development

* "CDBG: An Action Guide to the Community Development Block Grant Program," by Ed Gramlich (56 pp., April 1998), is available (no price listed) from the Ctr. for Comm. Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0519.

* "CRA Commitments, 1977-1998" is a 36-page compendium published by the Natl. Comm. Reinvestment Coal., 733 15th St. NW, #540, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-8866; may be free.

* "Ready or Not...Coming Soon to a Neighborhood Near You — Learnings from the Neighborhood Funders Group 1997 Annual Conference" (18 pp.) is available (possibly free) from NFG, 6962 Elm St., #320, McLean, VA 22101, 703/447-1777, E-mail: nfg@nfg.org.

* "Striking a Balance! Revitalization/Displacement (the Dr. Jekyll & Mr. Hyde of a Healthy Community)" is a 32-page, 1998 handbook produced by Richard Troxell of Legal Aid of Central TX, 205 W. 9th St., #200, Austin, TX 78701, 512/476-7244, x311. No price listed.

* **The (new) Univ. Mass.-Lowell Graduate Program in Regional Econ & Social Development** is reachable via Prof. Chris Tilly, College of Arts & Sciences, Univ. Mass., Lowell, MA 01854, 978/934-2796, E-Mail: Chris.Tilly@uml.edu. Also, the Master of Science program in Urban Policy Analysis & Mgt., as well as a new PhD program in Public & Urban Policy, is offered by the New School; contact David Howell there, 66 5th Ave., NYC, NY 10011, 212/229-5434, E-mail: howell@newschool.edu.

* **Going Local: Creating Self-Reliant Communities in a Global Age,** by Michael Shuman (272 pp., 1998), is "a blueprint for how communities can regain a modicum of control over their economic future, spelling out hundreds of local alternatives under way." \$24 from Progressive Resources Pubs., PO Box 11335, Wash., DC 20008, 202/238-0010.

* "Voices from the Field: Learning from the Early Work of Comprehensive Community Initiatives" (90 pp., 1997) is available (no price listed) from The Aspen Inst., 1333 New Hampshire Ave. NW, #1070, Wash., DC 20036.

* **A Neighborhood Reinvestment Training Inst.,** sponsored by the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corp., will be held Aug. 10-14 in DC. Inf. from NRC, Dept. 167, Wash., DC 20055-0167, 202/376-2642, E-mail: nrti@nw.org.

* **The 9th Inst. on Women & Econ. Dev.,** sponsored by the Ms. Foundation for Women, will be held Sept. 10-13 in Peachtree City, GA. Inf. from the Fdn., 120 Wall St., NYC, NY 10005, 212/742-2300, E-mail: info@ms.foundation.org.

* "Beyond Bricks: People & Possibilities" is the Enterprise Foundation's 17th annual network conf., Nov. 1-4 in Denver. Inf. from the Foundation, 10227 Wincopin Circle, #500, Columbia, MD 21044-3400.

Education

* "Capturing Latino Students in the Academic Pipeline," by Patricia Gandara, Katherine Larson, Russell Rumberger & Hugh Mehan, is a 12-page, May 1998 CPS Issue Brief, available (\$7) from the UC Latina/Latino Policy Research Program, 2420 Bowditch St., Berkeley, CA 94720-5670, 510/642-6903.

- **Crime in the Schools**, by Dennis Kenney & Stuart Watson (236 pp., 1998?), "outlines a tested curriculum that empowers students to make creative uses of schools, students, faculty & policy resources to combat fear & disorder problems during the school day." \$23.95 from the Police Executive Research Forum, 888/202-4563.

- **Directory of Education Grants** provides 650 foundation profiles. \$65.50 from Research Grant Guides, PO Box 1214, Loxahatchee, FL 33470, 561/795-6129.

- **Family Connections Parent Notebook** is a user-friendly guide to early learning activities, available in two versions: for 3-4 year olds (in Spanish as well as English) and kindergarteners. Each notebook contains 30 4-page guides. \$12.95 in 3-ring binder, \$9.95 without binder, from Appalachia Educ. Lab., PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25301-2314, 800/624-9120.

- **Mandating Equity: A Case Study of Court-Ordered Detracking in the San Jose Schools**, by Jeannie Oakes, Kevin Welner & Susan Yonezawa, is a 4-page, March 1998 CPS Brief, available (possibly free) from the Calif. Policy Seminar, 1950 Addison St., #202, Berkeley, CA 94704-1182, 510/643-9328, E-mail: CA.PolSem@ucop.edu. The full 40-page report is available for \$10.

- **Place Value: An Educator's Guide to Good Literature on Rural Lifeways, Environments & Purposes of Educa-**

tion, by Toni Haas & Paul Nachtigal (79 pp., 1998), is available (\$13.20) from ERIC/CRESS, PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348, 800/624-9120.

- **Popular Education for Movement Building** is a new ca. 100-page resource manual from Project South, describing 8 popular education tools developed at the first Southern Inst. for Popular Education. \$28 (bulk rates avail.) from Project South, 9 Gammon Ave. SW, Atlanta, GA 30315, E-mail: projectsouth@igc.apc.org.

- **SALSA (Social Action & Leadership School for Activists): DC summer classes** include "Homophobia & the Politics of Prejudice," "Agriculture & Civil Rights," "Guerrilla Theater: Performance as Protest," "Writing for the Media," "Public Speaking," "The Art of Local Campaigning," "Black Women/White Women Working Together," and more. Classes at the Inst. for Policy Studies. Inf. from 202/234-9382, x229.

- **Small Schools, Big Imaginations: A Critical Look at Urban Public Schools**, eds. Michelle Fine & Janis Somerville, is available (\$15) from Cross City Campaign, 407 S. Dearborn St., #1500, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/322-4880.

- **Straight Forward** is the new quarterly news bulletin of the Natl. Commission for African American Education. Contact Claude Mayberry at the Commn., 2141 Industrial Pkwy, #202, Silver Spring, MD 20904.

- **Student Rights Pamphlet** (30 pp., 1995)

is available (no price listed) from Asian Americans United, 801 Arch St., Philadelphia, PA 19107, 215/925-1538.

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **Executive Excess '98: CEOs Gain From Massive Downsizing** is the 5th annual executive compensation review, by Marc Bayard & Chuck Collins of United for a Fair Economy and Sarah Anderson & John Cavanagh of the Inst. for Policy Studies. The 14-page, April 1998 study is available (\$6.50) from UFE, 37 Temple Pl., 5th flr., Boston, MA 02111, 617/423-2148.

- **Jobs in the New Millennium — The Meaning for Welfare Reform: A Look at the New US Dept. of Labor's Occupational Projections to the Year 2006**, by Frank Parente (19 pp. + tables. April 1998), is available (likely free) from the author, AFL-CIO Dept. of Public Policy, 815 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20006, 202/637-5000.

- **Made in Brooklyn** is a 55-min. color documentary, produced/directed by Isabel Hill, about urban manufacturing & the future of our cities. \$209 purchase, \$60 rental, from New Day Films, 22-D Hollywood Ave., Hohokus, NJ 07423, 201/652-6590, E-mail: TMCNDY@Aol.com.

- **Making Work Pay: The Impact of the 1996-97 Minimum Wage Increase**, by Jared Bernstein & John Schmitt (60 pp., 1998), is available from Econ. Policy

Inst., 800/EPI-4844; contact them re price.

- **Prospects & Problems for Economic Democracy** is the upcoming September 1998 issue of *Dollars & Sense*; no price listed. Contact them at One Summer St., Somerville, MA 02143, 617/628-8411.

- **The Internatl. Labor Rights Fund** has a new website: www.laborrights.org. They're reachable at 733 15th St. NW, #920, Wash., DC 20005, 202/347-4100.

- **Who Will Really Pay for Minimum Wage Increase?**, by Jerome Grossman, was placed in the *Congressional Record* by Rep. David Bonior; a free reprint is available from Grossman, 65 Grove St., #347, Wellesley, MA 02181.

- **The 15th annual Work Now & In The Future Conf.** will be held Nov. 8-10 in Portland, OR. Inf. from the NW Reg. Educ. Lab., 800/280-6218.

Environment

- **The Newtown Story: One Community's Fight for Environmental Justice**, by Ellen Griffith Spears (58 pp., 1998), is available (\$17.95) from the Newtown Florist Club, PO Box 908403, Gainesville, GA 30501, 770/718-1343.

Families/Women/ Children

- **Child Support as an Income Source for Low-Income Families**, by Paula Roberts, is the 20-page lead article from the

March/April 1998 issue of *Clearinghouse Review*. Contact the Natl. Clearinghouse for Legal Services, 205 W. Monroe St., 2nd flr., Chicago, IL 60606-5013, 312/263-3830, E-mail: ncls@interaccess.com.

* "Current Data on Child Care Salaries & Benefits in the US" is a 20-page, March 1998 report from the Ctr. for the Child Care Workforce, 733 15th St. NW, #1037, Wash., DC 20005-2112, 202/737-7700, E-mail: ccw@ccw.org. \$12.50. Also available (\$24.95): "Worthy Work, Unlivable Wages: The Natl. Child Care Staffing Study, 1988-97," by Marcy Whitebook, Carolee Howes & Deborah Phillips (24 pp., 1998).

* "Federal & State Funding of Children's Programs," by Toby Douglas & Kimura Flores (32 pp., March 1998), is an Occasional Paper from the Urban Institute's Assessing New Federalism Program. Possibly free, from the Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, E-mail: paffairs@ui.urban.org.

* "Parenting Behavior in a Sample of Young Mothers in Poverty: Results of the New Chance Observational Study," eds. Martha Zaslow & Carolyn Eldred (29 pp., April 1998), is available (possibly free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

* "The 1998 Natl. Directory of Family Child Care Assns., Support Gps. & Support Agencies," listing more

than 2200 local, state, regional, natl. & internatl. orgs., is available (\$23) from The Children's Foundation, 725 15th St. NW, Wash., DC 20004, 202/347-3300, E-mail: CFWASHDC@aol.com.

* **The Violence Against Women Act of 1998 (H.R. 3514)**, sponsored chiefly by Reps. John Conyers (D-MI), Connie Morella (R-MD) & Charles Schumer (D-NY), reauthorizes and enhances the programs initiated by the Violence Against Women Act of 1994. Inf./materials from Patricia Blau Reuss, NOW Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, 119 Constitution Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20002, 202/544-4470. Relatedly, there's a Dec. 1997 Urban Inst. publication, "Evaluation Guidebook for Projects Funded by S.T.O.P. Formula Grants under the VAWA," by Martha Burt, Adele Harrell, Lisa Newmark, Laudan Aron & Lisa Jacobs; try their website: <http://www.urban.org/crime.evalguide.html>, or phone the Inst., 202/833-7200.

* **"Tracking the Well-Being of Children within States: The Evolving Federal Role in the Age of Devolution,"** by Brett Brown, is a 6-page, June 1998 publication, available (free) from the Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/857-8687.

Food/Nutrition/ Hunger

* A USDA National Hunger Clearinghouse is being established, in cooperation with World Hunger Year, a database of organizations, funders,

food donors, government agencies, etc. To be included, get a form from WHY, 505 8th Ave., 21st flr., NYC, NY 10018-6582, 800/GLEAN-IT, E-mail: NHCatWHY@aol.com.

* **Hunger Among Immigrants:** A study by Physicians for Human Rights found a high prevalence of food insecurity & hunger among legal immigrants. The study, used in the successful fight to restore food stamp eligibility to this group, is available (possibly free) from PHR, 100 Boylston St., #702, Boston, MA 02116, 617/695-0041, E-mail: phrusa@phrusa.org.

* **"The Child & Adult Care Food Program: A Resource for Communities,"** by Lynn Parker & Geraldine Hency, appeared in the March/April issue of *Clearinghouse Review*. Contact the Natl. Clearinghouse for Legal Services, 205 W. Monroe St., 2nd flr., Chicago, IL 60606-5013, 312/263-3830, E-mail: ncls@interaccess.com.

Health

* **"Children Without Health Insurance"** is a 2-page, March 1998 Census Brief, available (free) from their Public Inf. Office, 301/457-3030, E-mail: pio.census.gov. Further inf. on topic from Robert Bennefield, 301/457-3215, E-mail: rbennefi@census.gov.

* **"Cumulative Impact of Sustained Economic Hardship on Physical, Cognitive, Psychological & Social Functioning,"** by John Lynch, George Kaplan & Sarah Shema, an interview study published in the Dec. 25,

1997 *New England Journal of Medicine*, concludes, not surprisingly: "Sustained economic hardship leads to poorer physical, psychological and cognitive functioning." Reprints of the 7-page study are available from Dr. Lynch, Dept. Epidemiology, Univ. of Mich. School of Public Health, 109 Observatory St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2029.

* **"Health Care in NYC: Service Providers' Response to an Emerging Market,"** by Joel Cantor, Kathryn Haslanger, Anthony Tassi, Eve Weiss, Kathleen Finneran & Sue Kaplan (40 pp., March 1998), is an Occasional Paper from the Urban Institute's Assessing the New Federalism project. Likely free, from the Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash. DC 20037, 202/833-7200, E-mail: paffairs@ui.urban.org.

* **"Health Insurance Coverage for Indiana Residents"** is a 6-page, Spring 1998 report available (possibly free) from The Heartland Ctr., 7128 Arizona Ave., Hammond, IN 46323-2223, 219/844-7515, E-mail: HeartlandC@aol.com.

* **L.A. Health** is the new publication of the Los Angeles County Dept. of Health Services. The first (May 1998) issue features "Over 2.7 Million Uninsured in LA County, Including 2 Million Adults." Available (likely free) from the Dept., 313 N. Figueroa St., #1014, LA, CA 90012, 213/240-7702.

* **"Medicaid's Problem Children: Eligible But Not Enrolled,"** by Thomas Selden, Jessica Banthin & Joel Cohen,

appeared in the May/June 1998 issue of *Health Affairs*. Reprints (probably free) available from the Agency for Health Care Policy & Research, HHS, 2101 E. Jefferson St., #501, Rockville, MD 20852.

• *U.S. Patterns of Mortality by County & Race: 1965-94*, by C.J.L. Murray, C.M. Michaud, M.T. McKenna & J.S. Marks (18 pp. + lots of tables, 1998), is available (possibly free) from the Harvard Ctr. for Population & Dev. Studies, 9 Bow St., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-2021, E-mail: cpds@hsph.harvard.edu.

• “Projects That Work” is the 5th biennial Univ. of TX Texas-Mexico Border Health Symposium, Oct. 28-30 at So. Padre Is., TX. Inf. from Univ. TX System, TX-Mexico Border Health Coord. Office, 1201 W. Univ. Dr., Edinburg, TX 78539-2999.

Homelessness

• “Combining Class Action Litigation & Social Science Research: A Case Study in Helping Homeless Women with Children,” by Lynne Soine & Mary Ann Burg, reporting on the results of a PRRAC grant, appeared in the Spring 1995 issue of the Amer. Univ. *Journal of Gender*

& the Law. Reprints may be available from Soine, Ctr. for Human Resources, Social Work Prog., SUNY, Plattsburgh, NY 12901, 518/564-4174.

• “Day to Day... Parent to Child: The Future of Violence Among Homeless Children in America” is a Research Note by Ralph da Costa Nunez, appearing in the Winter/Spring 1998 issue of the *Journal of Children & Poverty*. Contact them at Homes for the Homeless, 36 Cooper Sq., 6th flr. NYC, NY 10003, 212/529-5252.

• “Lifting the Voices of Homeless Women: Summary of Findings & Recommendations” (26 pp., April 1997) is the report of a participatory research project conducted by 6 formerly homeless women, consisting of a statewide survey & focus groups. Available (no price listed) from the Roofless Women’s Action Research Mobilization, Women’s Inst. for Housing & Econ. Dev., 14 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, 617/367-0520.

• “Beyond Homelessness: New Realities, New Opportunities, New Resources” is the annual conf./trng. inst. of the Natl. Alliance to End Homelessness, July 22-25 in DC. Inf. from the Alliance, 1518 K St. NW, #206, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-1526.

• The McAuley Institute’s 6th Annual Women & Housing Conf. will be held Nov. 6-8 in Houston. Inf. from the Inst., 8300 Colesville Rd., #310, Silver Spring, MD 20910.

Housing

• “A Picture of Subsidized Households in 1997: US Totals & Agencies with over 500 Units” is a new HUD publication, \$5 from HUD USER, PO Box 6091, Rockville, MD 20849, 800/245-2691.

• “Building Affordable Rental Housing: An Analysis of the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit,” by Jean Cummings & Denise DiPasquale (51 pp., Feb. 1998), is available (no price listed) from City Research, One Faneuil Hall Marketplace, Boston, MA 02109, 617/367-4390, E-mail: info@cityresearch.com.

• “Sustainable Non-profit Housing Development: An Analysis of the Maxwell Award Winners” by William Rohe, Roberto Quercia, Diane Levy & Protip Biswas (209 pp., 1998), is available (free) from the Fannie Mae Foundation, 4000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, #1, Wash., DC 20016-2804, 202/274-8074, E-mail: fmfpubs@fanniemae.foundation.org.

• *Tax Credits for Low Income Housing: Opportunities for Developers, Non-Profits, Agencies & Communities...*, by Joseph Guggenheun (10th ed, 400 pp., 1998), is available (\$77 softcover, \$195 looseleaf binder with 3 periodic supplements) from Simon Pubs., PO Box 229, Glen Echo, MD 20812, 301/320-5771.

• “The 1998 Affordable Housing Directory & Factbook” (200+ pp.) is available (\$75, \$60 for nonprofits) from 657 Mission St., #502, SF, CA 94105-4118, 800/

989-7255, E-mail: ahf@housingfinance.com.

• “The Fair Lending Index: An Audit of Race & Natl. Origin Discrimination in the Gtr. Wash. Mortgage Lending Marketplace” (15 pp., 1998) is available (\$6) from the Fair Housing Council of Gtr. Wash., 1212 NY Ave. NW, #500, Wash., DC 20005, 202/289-5360. The also have available a Fair Housing Advertising Manual (\$12) and a series of 8 “Your Fair Housing Rights” brochures, English or Spanish, covering Disability, HIV/AIDS, Familial Status, Mortgage Application, Advertising & other topics — 10¢ each.

• “The Two Faces of FEA: A Case of Government-Supported Discrimination Against Minority & Racially Changing Communities,” by Calvin Bradford (61 pp., + App., March 1998), is available (\$10 + s/h) from the HOPE Fair Housing Ctr., 2100 Manchester, #1070, Bldg. B, Wheaton, IL 60187, 630/690-6500.

• “A Place for Everyone” is the 1998 Rural Housing Conf., sponsored by the Housing Assistance Council, Dec. 10-12 in DC. Inf. from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, x29.

Immigration

• “Human Rights Concerns in the Border Region with Mexico” is a 56-page, May 1998 Amnesty Internatl. report, showing that people detained by federal immigration agents are often subject to “cruel, inhuman & degrading

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treatment," including beatings, sexual assault, racially derogatory comments & denial of medical care & food. Available from AI, 304 Penn. Ave. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/5440200.

• **"Immigrant Populations as Victims: Toward a Multicultural Criminal Justice System"** is an 8-page Natl. Inst. of Justice report. Available from 800/851-3420.

• **"Immigrants Carry the Day: Mobilizing for Policy Change,"** by Dick Kirschten, is a 15-page, April 1998 publication, available (likely free) from The Emma Lazarus Fund of the Open Society Inst., 400 W. 59 St., NYC, NY 10019, 212/548-0356.

• **"Immigrants in NY: Their Legal Status, Incomes & Taxes,"** by Jeffrey Passell & Rebecca Clark, is available (\$13.50) from the Urban Inst., 202/857-8687. A 3-page summary may be available, free, from Susan Brown, 202/857-8709.

• **"The Immigration Experience for Families & Children"** was a June 4 Congressional Breakfast Seminar, sponsored by the Amer. Sociol. Assn., and featuring demographers/sociologists Douglas Massey, Rubén Rumbaut & Richard Alba. A packet of materials may be available from ASA, 1722 N St. NW, Wash., DC 20036-2981, 202/833-3410, E-mail: Spivack@asenet.org.

• **Strangers Among Us: How Latino Immigration Is Transforming America,** by Wash. Post reporter Robert Suro, has just been published by Alfred Knopf.

Miscellaneous

• **"Cumulative Voting & Latino Representation: Exit Surveys in 15 Texas Communities,"** by Robert Brischetto & Richard Engstrom, appeared in the Dec. 1997 *Social Sci. Quarterly*. A related piece by the same two authors is "Is Cumulative Voting Too Complex? Evidence from Exit Polls," from the Winter 1998 *Stetson Law Review*. PRRAC co-funded this research. Reprints may be available from Brischetto, HC4 Box 2108, Lakehills, TX 78063, 830/612-3643, E-mail: brischetto@aol.com.

• **"Making Radio Work For You: An Advocate's Guide on How to Use Radio Actualities & Talk Radio to Move Your Agenda Forward"** is a 31-page, Oct. 1996 report by the Families USA Foundation, 1334 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-3030; \$20.

• **Reviving Cities: Think Metropolitan** is a 8-page, June 1998 Brookings Policy Brief, available (possibly free) from The Brookings Inst., 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6139.

• **Sharing the Pie: A Citizen's Guide to Wealth & Power in America,** by Steve Brouwer (180 pp., 1998), is published by Henry Holt, 115 W. 18 St., NYC, NY 10011. \$12.95. It comes with laudatory blurbs by Barbara Ehrenreich & Howard Zinn.

• **The Campaign for America's Future Speakers Bureau** profiles 146 prominent public policy experts & advo-

cates. Contact them at 1101 14th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20005, 202/371-6990, E-mail: caf@ourfuture.org.

• **The Impact Fund,** "devoted to funding public interest impact litigation," has available its annual report. Now in its 5th year, the Fund has granted over \$1.7 million to date, on a range of issues involving environmental justice, human & civil rights, poverty, discrimination, etc. For a copy of the report or more inf., contact Brad Seligman at the Fund, 1604 Solano Ave., Berkeley, CA 94707-2109, 510/528-7344.

• **The Income Equity Act (H.R. 687)** would limit the tax deductibility of executive compensation to 25 times that of the lowest-paid worker in the same firm. (CEOs now make over 200 times what the average US worker earns.) Inf./materials from United for a Fair Economy, 37 Temple Pl., 5th fl., Boston, MA 02111, 617/423-2148, E-mail: stw@stw.org.

• **"The Next Agenda for America's Cities: Competing in the Global Economy,"** the James Rouse Lecture by Michael Porter (22 pp., 1997), is available (likely free) from the Fannie Mae Foundation, 4000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, N. Tower, #1, Wash., DC 20016-2804, 202/274-8000.

• **The Progressive Media Project** has published its 1997 Year in Review ("bringing diversity to your op-ed page"). Contact them at 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703, 608/257-4626, E-mail: pmproj@

itis.com.

• **"The State of 'Electronically Enhanced Democracy': A Survey of the Internet"** (70 pp., 1997?) is available (possibly free) from Benjamin Barber, Walt Whitman Ctr. for the Culture & Politics of Democracy, Rutgers Univ., Hickman Hall, 89 George St., New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1411, 732/932-6861.

• **The Voters Choice Act (H.R. 3068),** sponsored by 13 House members, would allow states to use proportional representation and semi-proportional voting systems for US House elections. For inf., contact the Ctr. for Voting & Democracy, PO Box 60037, Wash., DC 20039, 301/270-4616, E-mail: FairVote@compuserve.com.

• **What Comes Next? Proposals for a Different Society,** by Thad Williamson (185 pp., Feb. 1997), is available (no price listed) from the Natl. Ctr. for Econ. & Security Alternatives, 2000 P St. NW, #330, Wash., DC 20036, 202/986-1373.

• **"Moving the Economy: Economic Opportunities in Sustainable Transportation"** is an internat. conf., July 9-12 in Toronto. Inf. from 416/392-1560, x85854.

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

• **Human Rights Watch** has Adm. Assoc. jobs (\$24,000) in their DC, LA & NYC offices. Ltr./resume/refs./unedited writing sample to (respec-

tively): 1522 K St. NW, #910, Wash., DC 20005; 333 S. Grand Ave., #430, LA, CA 90071-1508; 350 5th Ave., 34th flr., NYC, NY 10118-3299. The DC office also has an opening for a **Receptionist/Office Asst.** (also \$24,000).

* **National Directory of Grantmaking Public Charities** (2nd ed., 351 pp., June 1998) is available (\$119.50) from the Foundation Ctr., 79 Fifth Ave., NYC, NY 10003-3076, 800/424-9836.

o **Recovering Racists Network** is seeking (nonpaid) **Interns/Volunteers** for research/fundraising assistance. Contact John McKenzie, 2455 Marcia Dr., Pleasant Hill, CA 94523. 925/682-4959, E-mail: info@rrnet.org.

* **Soros Justice Fellowships** (postgraduate & senior) are available to work on innovative, effective criminal justice programs. Deadline: Oct. 2. **Applic./guidelines** from The Ctr. on Crime, Communities & Culture, Open Society Inst., 400 W. 59 St., 3rd flr., NYC, NY 10019, 212/548-0146, E-mail: mporter@sorosny.org.

* **Spencer Dissertation Fellowships for Research Related to Education** support ca. 30 doctoral candidates annually @\$20,000. Oct. 21 deadline. Contact Catherine Lacey at the Spencer Foundation, 900 N. Michigan Ave., #2800, Chicago, IL 60611, 312/337-7000.

* **The Assn. of Maternal & Child Health Programs** is hiring a **Director of Communications & Membership**

(upper \$40s-50s) & a **Project Asst. Resume/ltr.** to AMCHP, 1220 19th St. NW, #801, Wash., DC 20036.

The Ctr. for Policy Alternatives is hiring a **Health Policy & Programs Coordinator** (\$35-40,000). **Resume/ltr.** to Nancy Epstein at the Ctr., 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #710, Wash., DC 20009, 202/956-5122, E-mail: nepstein@cfpa.org.

o **The Comm. Inst. for Policy Heuristics in Educ. & Research** has openings for f.t. and p.t. **Research Positions/Grassroot Trainer.** CIPHER assists grassroots organizing efforts in working-class communities of color to become more effective. Contact Hany Khalil, CIPHER, 2826 S. Vermont Ave., #11, LA, CA 90007, 213/730-4950, E-mail: hkhalil@ucla.edu.

* **The Harry Chapin Self-Reliance Awards**, "honoring innovation & creativity in grassroots efforts against hunger & poverty through self-reliance," are given by World Hunger Year. Applications (due Aug. 3) from WHY, 505 8th Ave., 21st. flr., NYC, NY 10018-6582, 212/629-8850, E-mail: whyawards@aol.com.

o **The Natl. Comm. for Responsive Philanthropy** is seeking a **President** (\$75-85,000). **Resume/ltr.** to NCRP, 2001 S St. NW, #620, Wash., DC 20009.

o **The National Neighborhood Coalition** offers a (non-paid) **Internship** (f.t. or p.t.). **Ltr./resume** to NNC, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #410, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2096, E-mail: janclark@erols.com.

* **The Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty** has 4 openings: **Civil Rights Staff Atty.** (\$30s); **Development Coordinator** (low \$30s-low \$40s); **Adm. Asst.** (\$20-24,000); **Outreach Coordinator** (a Americorps/VISTA position). **Resume/ltr./writing sample/list of refs.** to the Ctr., 918 F St. NW, #412, Wash., DC 20004-1406, 202/638-2535.

* **The Natl. Women's Law Ctr.** (co-directed by PRRAC Board member Nancy Duff Campbell) is hiring a **Director of Child & Family Support Program**, a **Director of Educational Equity Program**, a **Senior Counsel**, a **Policy Analyst** (to work in area of econ. security for women, esp. child care & child support policy) & a **Program Asst.** (for their Educ. Equity & Health Care legal prog. staff). **Resumes** to the Ctr., 11 Dupont Circle, #800, Wash., DC 20036. 202/588-5180.

o **The Peace Development Fund**, "a progressive foundation which strengthens the grassroots change movement through grants & training," is seeking an **Assoc. Director** (\$35-40,000) & a **Development Director.** **Ltr./resume** to PDF, PO Box 1280, Amherst, MA 01004, 413/256-8306, E-mail: PDF@JAVANET.COM.

* **The Sentencing Project** is seeking a **Program Assoc.** for its Campaign for Effective Crime Policy. **Resume** to the Proj., 918 F St. NW, #501, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871.

* **The Sugar Law Ctr.** (a Natl. Lawyers Guild Project and PRRAC grantee) is seeking a new **Exec. Dir.** **Resume/writing sample/list of 3 refs.** to Leonard Grossman, 31313 Northwestern Hwy., #111, Farmington Hills, MI 48334.

* **The Univ. Michigan's Research & Trng. Program on Poverty, the Underclass & Public Policy** is offering 1- & 2-year post-doctoral **Fellowships** to American minority scholars in all the social sciences. **Applics. due Jan. 13, 1999.** Contact the Program, 540 E. Liberty, #202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210.

* **The Voters for Choice Educ. Fund** is offering **The Maxine Waters Reproductive Freedom Fellowship**, a year-long appointment that starts Sept. 8 and has a \$24,000 stipend + health ins. Send (right away): **ltr., resume, 3 letters of recommendation, 5-10 page writing sample, most recent transcript** to the Fund, PO Box 53301, Wash., DC 20009-9301, 202/588-8775.

* **Trial Lawyers for Public Justice** has 2 **Adm. Asst.** positions (low-mid \$20s). **Ltr./resume** to TLPJ Foundation, 1717 Mass. Ave. NW, #800, Wash., DC 20036.

* **Welfare-to-Work Grants** from the US Dept. of Labor are available. **Deadline is July 14.** Contact Rita Johnson at 800/379-9042 for inf.

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