

### Racial Disparities in Housing and Health

by Dolores Acevedo-Garcia and Theresa L. Osypuk

“The connection between the health of the nation and the dwellings of the population is one of the most important that exists.” The words of Florence Nightingale, 19<sup>th</sup> century nursing pioneer and housing advocate, seem relevant as America tries to address the vast disparities in health status that prevail between African Americans and whites. By any measure of access to good housing, African Americans are at a clear disadvantage. Given the well-recognized effect of housing conditions on health, it is relevant to outline the racial disparities in housing and ponder whether they may underlie the racial disparities in health.

African American (i.e., non-Hispanic black) babies are more than twice as likely as non-Hispanic white babies to be low birthweight. In turn, low birthweight may lead to infant mortality, problems in child development, and health conditions throughout the life course. Thus, as Dalton Conley and colleagues have eloquently argued, racial disparities in low birthweight are implicated in racial inequalities in life chances and across generations, as low birthweight affects people’s potential for educational success, upward mobility and wealth accumulation.

African American babies are about 2.5 times more likely than white babies to die before they reach their first birthday. Even when maternal socioeconomic status is taken into account, there are substantial racial disparities. Black infants whose mothers have col-

lege education or higher are 2.7 times more likely to die before they turn 1 than comparable white babies. These and many other disparities have led renowned social epidemiologist David Williams to conclude that “race still matters” in relation to one’s chances for achieving a healthy life.

Racial stratification is expressed in multiple housing outcomes. The housing market and housing policies may be some of the most important vehicles for maintaining racial stratification. There are pronounced racial disparities in net worth. Roughly, the average white family has assets worth seven times the assets of the average black family. Racial/ethnic disparities in homeownership contribute substantially to racial disparities in wealth. Nationally, the homeownership rate is 75.1% for whites, but only 48.4% for African Americans. There are also sharp differences in the average quality of neighborhoods experienced by whites and African Americans. As reported by the Lewis Mumford Center, in many metro areas, blacks with incomes over \$60,000 live in less advantaged neighborhoods than whites earning under \$30,000.

Clearly, racial disparities in housing are a matter of concern in their own right. Their effect on health makes them even more unjustifiable, and the need to address them even more urgent. The magnitude and persistence of racial/ethnic disparities in health outcomes, even after taking into account differences in socioeconomic

well-being among individuals, has led public health practitioners and researchers to seek explanations for these inequalities in the contexts where individuals live their daily lives, including their homes, their neighborhoods and their cities.

#### Housing and Health Disparities

Housing conditions impact health because they define our immediate living environment. Our homes are a refuge but may also be a source of dangerous exposures. Individuals who live in homes with structural problems, such as poorly designed stairs or windows, may face a higher risk of injury. Housing units may also be the source of hazardous chemical exposures, such as lead and radon. Lead

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poisoning in children may result in serious developmental problems, including cognitive deficits, and in adult behavioral problems. The risks at home also include biological exposures, such as cockroach and dust mite allergens, which may trigger asthma.

The quality of housing varies considerably by race. African American kids are more likely than white kids to live in houses with dangerous lead levels. Not surprisingly, African American children are more likely to have dangerous lead levels in their blood than is true for white children. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 22% of black children living in housing built before 1946 have elevated blood lead levels, as opposed to 6% of white children living in comparable housing.

In addition to the impact of housing conditions on health, there is evidence that, on average, homeowners have better health than renters. Research found that children living in houses owned by their parents experienced lower rates of behavioral, emotional and cognitive problems. This may be because owned homes tend to be of higher quality and tend to be located in better neighborhoods, and also because homeownership may confer a sense of psychological well-being. Regardless of the reasons why homeownership promotes good health,

given that whites are over 1.5 times more likely than African Americans to own their homes, it is clear that they and their children may have a better chance of being healthy.

## Neighborhood Quality and Health Disparities

Health is influenced not only by the quality of individual housing units, but also by the quality of the neighborhoods where they are located, including neighborhood physical and socioeconomic environment, infrastructure, amenities and services. Even after tak-

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ing into account individuals' socioeconomic status, better neighborhood environments may have a positive influence on health. For example, poor individuals experience better health in low-poverty neighborhoods than in high-poverty neighborhoods.

As a consequence of racial residential segregation operating at the metropolitan level, there are sharp racial disparities in neighborhood environment. According to Census data analyzed by the Mumford Center, in the Washington, DC metropolitan area, the average poor white household lives in a neighborhood where the median household income is \$59,753, while the average poor black household lives in a neighborhood where the median household income is \$41,412, a disparity of more than \$18,000. Even middle- and high-income African Americans live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods than whites with comparable incomes. These differences are pervasive across all metropolitan areas.

Since neighborhoods influence health, and neighborhood quality varies sharply by race, differences in neighborhood environment are also likely to underlie racial disparities in health.

What is it about neighborhoods that affects health? Ingrid Ellen proposed that neighborhoods may influence health through access to services and resources, exposure to physical (e.g., pollution) and social (e.g., crime) stresses, and social networks, which may help people obtain health information and reinforce norms about healthy behaviors. For instance, although healthy eating habits are ultimately an individual choice, the ability to have a healthy diet may be constrained by limited access to healthy foods at the neighborhood level. Predominantly poor and African American neighborhoods have a higher prevalence of alcohol and fast food outlets compared to wealthy and predominantly white neighborhoods, while the opposite is true for access to supermarkets that stock a variety of fresh produce. Residents of minority neighborhoods may also have fewer opportunities to be physically active, due to higher crime rates and limited availability of green space, sidewalks and bike paths.

In addition to the effects of material problems in highly segregated neighborhoods, less tangible neighborhood characteristics may also influence health. Recent evidence from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods found that higher social capital (membership in civic groups, trust, reciprocity) at the neighborhood level correlated with lower cardiovascular mortality. Segregation expert Douglas Massey recently proposed that African Americans suffer from high chronic stress, which leads to health and cognitive problems, due to their chronic exposure to social disorder and violence in neighborhoods characterized by concentrated poverty. High prevalence of crime in a neighborhood may also negatively affect residents' mental health status.

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# Healthy Homes

by Julia Burgess

In contrast to the significant environmental gains in reducing pollution in our air, water and land, progress on housing-related health hazards has lagged behind. Substandard housing poses environmental health hazards to low-income families due to the failure of multiple systems: poor maintenance by landlords; laws and codes that provide inadequate protection and are laxly enforced; and insufficient subsidies for decent, safe and affordable housing. All too often, housing-related environmental hazards, especially in communities of color, go unexamined, unidentified and ignored until human health has been harmed.

Indoor environmental health hazards pose far greater risks to human health than outdoor exposures, a disparity due both to the higher levels of toxics associated with confined spaces and the preponderance of time spent indoors. Among the health hazards encountered in homes are those that cause and contribute to asthma (such as dust allergens, mold and pests), toxic materials (such as lead, asbestos and chemical pesticides) and dangerous gases (such as carbon monoxide and radon).

Moisture is a major cause of paint deterioration, which is primarily responsible for children's exposure to lead dust and paint chips. Moisture problems also encourage the growth of mold, mildew, dust mites and cockroaches, which contribute to asthma and other respiratory diseases. Inadequate ventilation increases the concentration of indoor air pollutants and exacerbates moisture and humidity problems.

Older homes with deferred maintenance pose substantially greater risks for lead poisoning and other health hazards. In most cities, low-income rental properties in economically distressed communities, particularly low-income communities of color, bear the brunt of housing-related health hazards. While the prevalence of child-

hood lead poisoning has declined to 2.2% nationwide, lead poisoning rates commonly exceed 25% in high-risk neighborhoods across the country. African-American children are at five times higher risk than white children; low-income children are at eight times higher risk than children from upper-income families. In some distressed neighborhoods, one-third of preschool children suffer from elevated blood lead levels.

Asthma is the most common chronic disease of childhood, affecting almost 5 million American children. Nationally, asthma prevalence has increased

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75% from 1980 to 1994. Asthma is 26% more prevalent in African-American children than in white children. African-American, Hispanic and low-income children suffer higher rates of hospitalization, emergency room visits and deaths from asthma.

## Housing Codes

Most health hazards in housing are the direct result of conditions that in most communities constitute code violations. Many owners of low-income rental properties are unaware of or unconcerned about lead and other health hazards in their properties. For example, many owners of high-risk rental properties lack sufficient motivation even to take advantage of generous federal subsidies available through lead hazard control grants. Despite the fact that lead and other

health hazards are pervasive in low-income rental housing, few properties are checked for hazards until after a child's health has been harmed – and even then the response is often inadequate. Peeling paint, water leaks and other code violations frequently go unattended. When government agencies do order paint repair, many fail to make provision for lead-safe work practices, oversight of the work or final testing to make sure the residence is lead-free.

## Role of Community-Based Organizations

Protecting residents and their children requires detecting and correcting hazards in their homes before health problems develop. Traditionally, the tools to assess such hazards have belonged to “experts,” but recent technological advances have reduced the cost and simplified their use. The Community Environmental Health Resource Center (CEHRC) provides low-cost tools, training, technical assistance, strategy advice and grants to help local staff and members of community-based organizations identify and address health hazards in high-risk housing.

Individual families stand to benefit from the knowledge about health hazards in their homes that environmental testing can reveal. But CEHRC's main purpose is to advise community-based organizations on how data that documents such hazards can be used as an organizing and advocacy tool to hold landlords accountable, change public policy and strengthen government programs. In fact, most families cannot effectively protect themselves and their children from health hazards in substandard housing through changes in their day-to-day behavior (e.g., diet, housecleaning and hygiene), and most very-low-income

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families do not have the resources to relocate to safe housing. Even if families have the ability and means to move, safe and affordable housing is scarce in many neighborhoods in most cities.

## Avoiding Potential Dangers

However, the fact that a responsible and representative community-based organization seeks to identify health hazards expressly to help families at highest risk does not rule out the possibility that unintended consequences could harm these very families. The following possibilities are reminders of the need to respect and protect individual rights:

- A landlord might evict a family in retaliation for reporting code violations or board up his property instead of making mandated repairs;
- A landlord might aggravate hazards by using unsafe work practices or harass tenants by making only partial repairs;
- A resident might misunderstand the test results and abandon the property without good cause; or
- Undocumented residents might be deported.

Because reporting address-specific data on health hazards or code violations to a landlord, government agency or the media could result in unintended

### Request for Syllabi

We've received several syllabi for courses dealing with race and poverty issues. We'd like to list them (and how to access them) in a future issue of *P&R*. If you teach/taught or are taking/took such a course, please pass on (preferably by email) such a syllabus.

adverse consequences to tenants, organizations should obtain the concurrence of any affected residents in what data will be released, to whom, by whom and when. As part of its outreach to residents, the organization should explain the possible risks involved in notifying the landlord, a government agency or the media about documented hazards. Organizations should also be prepared to assist the family in dealing with any negative consequences. If the organization does not have the capacity to do so itself, it should coordinate arrangements in advance with other organizations to provide assistance, such as legal services. In determining whether or not particu-

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### **Data documenting health hazards in housing can be a powerful lever for organizing residents in economically distressed communities.**

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lar data should be considered "address-specific," groups should err on the side of caution.

If a resident is fearful about the disclosure of the address, other options are still available for using those data for broader advocacy and organizing:

- Tenants in an apartment building or development can encourage their neighbors to have their units tested as well. A building-wide or development-wide approach spreads the risks among multiple tenants, while providing a tool for organizing to win a common victory against a bad landlord.
- An organization fighting an owner of multiple problem properties can investigate a few units in each building to document a pattern of deferred maintenance and neglect in order to trigger targeted code enforcement.
- The organization can postpone reporting a health hazard to the landlord or government agency until after the resident has moved and the unit is vacant.

But the most effective means to avoid unintended consequences is to build a strong base of community support. Experience in CEHRC projects indicates that data documenting health hazards in housing can be a powerful lever for organizing residents in economically distressed communities. Achieving systemic, long-term solutions depends on residents understanding their rights and organizing their communities to hold the responsible parties accountable for taking corrective action and instituting preventive measures.

Residents should be included to the maximum extent possible both in designing strategies to leverage data for maximum benefit and in actually releasing the information. To ensure that residents' privacy and rights are protected in using data for advocacy and organizing, the important distinction must be recognized between "address-specific" information and data that do not reveal the specific premises tested or otherwise identify specific tenants.

Consistent with a written agreement with the residents, local groups may freely release and report data that are aggregated and analyzed so that residents' names and addresses are not revealed or ascertainable. For example, an organization can compile data collected in units throughout a geographic area to document community-wide housing-related health hazards. Reporting such "macro data" at the block, census block group, census tract or zipcode level can effectively support broad advocacy campaigns, such as passage of a new ordinance, increasing systematic enforcement efforts, or increased public funding for housing rehab in the identified neighborhood.

In most cases, however, community-based organizations will find that citing data for specific properties provides much more pointed, vivid and compelling documentation of hazards to trigger overdue action. Such address-specific information can also serve organizing and advocacy aims in multiple ways, including:

- Discovering that health hazards are present in many units in a building or housing complex can bring resi-

dents together in common cause, increasing individuals' power through numbers;

- Putting a landlord on notice about the presence of a lead hazard in a specific unit engages the federal disclosure law, which requires the landlord to disclose the hazard to future tenants in the building or face stiff federal fines and penalties; and
- Disclosing multiple code violations identified in an apartment building, complex or neighborhood can pressure government officials to step up concentrated code enforcement.

## Healthy Homes and Affordability

Over the past quarter century, the number of families facing housing affordability problems has grown significantly. More than 5 million households now live in severely inadequate housing or pay more than 50% of their low income in rent, a measure of severe economic distress that portends physical deterioration. As government subsidies for housing continue to be scaled back and the amount and incidence of substandard housing grows, community-based organizations are beginning to recognize that the health and safety of housing must be addressed at the same time as affordability. Examples include:

- Guided by CEHRC hazard assessment protocols, Greensboro [NC] Housing Coalition staff and volunteers visited more than 1,200 high-risk homes in predominantly African-American neighborhoods to inform residents about lead and perform health and safety inspections. GHC documented bad housing conditions, including paint deterioration and lead in damaged paint (using lead check swabs), finding lead hazards in 40% of the tested homes. They presented their findings to the City, and as a result of community pressure and collaborative planning, the City Council reformed Greensboro's inspection system by passing RUCO (Rental Unit Certificate of Occupancy). It requires

proactive and systematic inspections of all rental housing. GHC is now educating landlords, tenants and others about RUCO; ensuring that as many units as possible are up to standard; and ensuring that tenants are not evicted if landlords do not make repairs.

- In the Dominican community of Washington Heights, New York City, Union Communal, a large coalition of tenant organizations sponsored by the Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation (NMIC), used their hazard investigation findings to support efforts by the NYC Coalition to End Lead Poisoning to win enactment of a new municipal lead poisoning prevention ordinance. They compiled their hazard investigation results into a written report entitled, "More than 1 out of 4 children in Washington Heights is at risk of being lead poisoned in his or her home." The report was released along with a press tour of bad buildings that received extensive media coverage, providing additional support for a strong City Council vote in favor of the lead ordinance three weeks

later. The law, which became effective after the City Council overrode a mayoral veto, requires peeling paint and lead dust to be safely controlled by trained personnel in pre-1960 apartments with children under age 7. Landlords may not have tenants evicted because of having to do repairs. Currently, NMIC and Union Communal are working to make the changes necessary within city bureaucracy in order for the law to be effectively enforced.

Affordable housing must and can at the same time be safe and healthy. It may require government intervention to hold landlords accountable to avoid displacement. But more and more successes show that an organized community can achieve this goal.

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## Resources

The links below provide information on housing-related environmental health hazards, tools for assessment and correction, and strategies for community organizing and effective advocacy on this issue. Most of these resources have lists of their own which provide additional assistance.

Alliance for Healthy Homes – [www.afhh.org](http://www.afhh.org)

American Lung Association-Health House – [www.healthhouse.org](http://www.healthhouse.org)

Community Environmental Health Resource Center (CEHRC)

– [www.cehrc.org](http://www.cehrc.org)

Home\*A\*Syst – [www.uwex.edu/homeasyst](http://www.uwex.edu/homeasyst)

National Center for Healthy Housing

– [www.centerforhealthyhousing.org](http://www.centerforhealthyhousing.org)

US Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Environmental Health)

– [www.cdc.gov/nceh/ncehome.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/nceh/ncehome.htm)

US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Healthy Homes and Lead Hazard Control – [www.hud.gov/lea](http://www.hud.gov/lea)

US Environmental Protection Agency - Indoor Air Quality

– [www.epa.gov/iaq](http://www.epa.gov/iaq)

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# Some Lessons from *Brown* for the Fair Housing Movement

by Philip Tegeler

The trends are disturbing: 50 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, schools are again becoming increasingly segregated by race and income. A 2004 study by the Harvard Civil Rights Project (Gary Orfield and Chungmei Lee, “*Brown* at 50: King’s Dream or *Plessy*’s Nightmare?”) found school segregation in 2001 at its highest level since 1968. This trend is partly attributable to the abandonment of desegregation orders in many Southern districts, but it is also a function of continuing residential segregation in the Northeast and Midwest. Since the Supreme Court, in the mid-1970s, backed away from the problem of metropolitan-wide segregation in Northern schools, residential poverty concentration has become increasingly severe, peaking in the 1980s, and now continuing to consolidate and spread across wider areas, even as it declines in the most poverty-concentrated census tracts (see the May 2003 Urban Institute report, “Concentrated Poverty: A Change in Course,” by G. Thomas Kingsley and Kathryn Pettit).

## Civil Rights Movement Book

Our new book, *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching* (produced with Teaching for Change), provides extensive resources to help teach about the civil rights movement in a way that highlights the important contributions of rank-and-file participants in the Movement and that connects students with present-day social movements. A valuable resource for teachers, community organizers, etc. For further information and to order a copy, go to [www.civilrightsteaching.org](http://www.civilrightsteaching.org).

In spite of this trend, federal and state housing programs continue to foster dual housing markets in separate school systems, one for the suburban middle class and one for the urban poor.

As researchers, we strive to understand the underlying causes and consequences of racial segregation and poverty concentration. As advocates, we have developed strategies for attacking the systems that continue to promote segregation. As proponents of progressive fair housing policies, we know that there are government interventions that can work to reverse these trends. In this anniversary year, part of the *Brown* spotlight reflects on the fair housing movement: What more can we do? Some answers can be found within the *Brown* decision itself:

## *Brown* as History Lesson

The legal system attacked in *Brown v. Board of Education* was one of “de jure” (legally mandated) school segregation throughout the South, beginning after Reconstruction and continuing to at least 1954. *Brown* should also remind us of the state-sponsored history of housing segregation in this country. Both before and after *Brown*, this system of state segregation was replicated in federal, state and local housing policy. (For new research on the historical roots of segregation, see “Housing and School Segregation: Government Culpability, Government Remedies,” on PRRAC’s website – [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org)).

The history of state-sponsored housing segregation is not as well known as the history of *Brown*. But it was well understood in 1968 by Dr. King as he marched in Chicago, and it was recognized several months later by the Kerner Commission and the drafters

of the Fair Housing Act, who understood that the ghetto was never a naturally occurring phenomenon: It was state-created and state-supported, and perpetuated by federal and state policy. This history is not taught in our schools today, and it is not routinely reflected in the media. But the historical perspective is necessary to justify remedial steps and to mobilize public support for desegregation (see “Teaching About Inequality, Race, and Property,” by PRRAC Board member Florence Roisman, at 46 *St. Louis Law Journal* 665 [Summer 2002]).

## *Brown* and the Problem of Intent

We need to come to terms with the reasons for *Brown*’s failure to achieve its own aspirations, and the implications for federal housing and civil rights policy. One important failure is the legal system’s insistence on a standard of “intent” to define constitutional liability for structural racism. In the first two decades after *Brown*, as the cases moved from the South to equally segregated Northern cities lacking a written legal code of segregation, some courts were open to finding “de facto” segregation unconstitutional, even where there was no direct evidence of intent to create segregation. These courts reasoned that the harms of segregation were the same, regardless of the cause, and that, as the overseer of the system of student assignment, the state bore responsibility.

But the Supreme Court put an end to this logical extension of *Brown* in decisions in 1972 (*Keyes v. School District #1*) and 1976 (*Washington v. Davis*), which ultimately required proof of discriminatory intent by public officials before a constitutional viola-

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tion could be found. This standard led to increasingly expensive and sometimes futile searches for the “smoking gun” in school districting, housing and zoning decisions spanning decades. But the result was the same whether or not the smoking gun could be found: In the absence of carefully planned school districting and assignment decisions, segregated neighborhoods create segregated schools.

In contrast to this increasingly strict standard of proof in constitutional cases, federal civil rights statutes (such as the Fair Housing Act) adopted during the first two decades after *Brown* reflected the sense that discriminatory “impact” could be a basis for liability in housing, employment and certain government programs, and this continues to be the legal standard today. But this standard is increasingly threatened by conservative courts, which have already stripped Title VI of much of its enforcement power (see the Supreme Court’s 2000 *Alexander v. Sandoval* decision), and by a federal administration that is increasingly reluctant to prosecute discriminatory impact claims in housing. In light of the history of enforcement of the *Brown* decision, it is crucial that fair housing law continue to permit a finding of liability where facially neutral housing policies have the effect of perpetuating segregation.

## **Brown and Jurisdictional Fragmentation**

*Brown*’s ultimate demise in the North was not just about the Supreme Court’s requirement of a finding of “intentional” segregation – it was about the Court’s reluctance to extend liability to “independent” suburban jurisdictions outside the segregated central city. This problem is well known to fair housing advocates, and its legal origins can be traced in part to the 1974 decision of the Supreme Court in the Detroit schools case (*Milliken v. Bradley*): Unless a finding of discrimination could be made against each suburban school district participating in a segregated regional

system of education, those suburbs could not be ordered to desegregate. This decision had the effect of privileging suburban white flight and set the bar for meaningful school desegregation so high that it has rarely been hurdled since.

Although the Supreme Court, in Chicago’s *Gautreaux* case, ultimately stopped short of applying this principle directly to housing desegregation litigation, jurisdictional fragmentation remains a key barrier to meaningful fair housing enforcement, and the delegation of land use, zoning and pub-

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## **Jurisdictional fragmentation remains a key barrier to meaningful fair housing enforcement.**

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lic housing administration to small local jurisdictions is one of the basic building blocks of segregation in this country. As we move forward from this *Brown* anniversary year, we must find housing solutions that successfully overcome (or transcend) these jurisdictional barriers.

## **Brown and the Duty to Affirmatively Further Fair Housing**

The history of *Brown*’s implementation in the South underscores the need to affirmatively dismantle segregation, not simply to remove discriminatory practices. In the initial decade after *Brown*, when de jure segregation was eliminated throughout the South, little true desegregation was achieved. In many areas, “freedom of choice” plans were adopted that replicated segregation almost perfectly. It was not until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and rulings in the *Green* and *Swann* cases in 1968 and 1971 that the courts recognized the need to eliminate segregation “root and branch” and take sweeping remedial steps to “disestablish” segregation and affirmatively promote integration

using the full remedial power of the federal courts.

The Fair Housing Act’s mandate that federal and state agencies “affirmatively further fair housing” is a recognition of this reality: that the structures of segregation are deeply rooted and can only be eliminated through affirmative government measures, not simply policies of non-discrimination. The scope of the “affirmatively furthering” mandate is now being tested in Baltimore’s public housing desegregation case; in challenges to state administration of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program in New Jersey and Connecticut; and in public housing demolition and relocation cases in Chicago and elsewhere. As the school desegregation cases have shown us, without this additional “affirmative” duty to promote integration, it is unlikely that the effects of decades of segregative government policies can be undone.

## **Brown and International Law**

It has often been observed that the *Brown* decision had a great deal to do with the Cold War and with America’s need to appear true to its own announced principles of liberty and equality in its global moral and strategic competition with the Soviet Union. (An early proponent of this view was James Baldwin, in *The Fire Next Time*.) Today, international human rights standards continue to be a powerful potential tool to influence United States policy, even though U.S. courts and policymakers resist the notion of being bound by outside legal standards, and the Senate routinely places unnecessary “reservations” on international human rights accords that come before it.

Several standards adopted by the U.N. (and ratified, in part, by the U.S.) speak directly to American housing and school segregation. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) holds that its signing coun-

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# Remembrance and Change in Neshoba County

by James W. Loewen

This year marks the 40th anniversary of Freedom Summer, which brought a thousand young Americans, mostly white college students, to Mississippi for the summer of 1964. They would instruct African Americans on how to register to vote, teach history and other subjects to black youngsters in “Freedom Schools,” and assist the Civil Rights Movement in other ways. Most of all, leaders of the Mississippi movement like Bob Moses hoped that the presence of these volunteers would provide some safety for Civil Rights workers, who were being beaten and arrested across the state without protection from the federal government or attention from the media.

Four of five Americans living today were unborn or younger than 6 in 1964, and since the event is not well taught in high school, where most U.S. history courses dwindle to an end shortly after World War II, let me summarize the tragic beginning of that summer. Mickey Schwerner, white, Jewish, from the New York City area, had already been working for the Movement in Meridian, in east Mississippi. James Chaney, a young black Meridian resident, had signed on as a volunteer. On Memorial Day, 1964, they went to Mt. Zion Methodist Church in Neshoba County to talk about voter registration. A few days later they drove to Oxford, Ohio, where training was going on for the volunteers about to come to Mississippi. On June 16, KKK terrorists, having heard of the earlier meeting, visited Mt. Zion and beat and intimidated members of a church committee who happened to be meeting there that night. The next day, they burned the church to the ground.

On June 20, Schwerner and Chaney drove back to Mississippi with several summer volunteers, including Andrew Goodman, also white and Jewish, and a New Yorker. The next morning, the three drove to Mt. Zion and talked with

parishioners about the violence. As they were driving back toward Philadelphia, the county seat, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price arrested all three for an alleged traffic violation and threw them in jail. They were released at 10 pm, but as they drove out of Philadelphia they were stopped again and delivered into the hands of the KKK. They were never seen alive again.

A terrible Hollywood movie, *Mississippi Burning*, fictionalizes what happened next, making heroes of the

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## **During the trials and appeals, Neshoba County exemplified a closed society.**

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FBI. In reality, the FBI had no black agents at all, no office in Mississippi, and little enthusiasm to solve the crime. National outcry about the deaths, spurred by letters and telegrams from parents of the 1,000 volunteers, forced FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to open one, however, and LBJ called out the Navy to search for the bodies. During the summer, while working in northern Wisconsin, I got a letter from my uncle telling that, according to rumor, the sheriff and deputy sheriff took part, as well as Klansmen, and the bodies were buried in an earthen dam somewhere in Neshoba County. I realized that if my uncle — a Northern professor at Mississippi State University — knew, then everyone in Mississippi knew. Yet the FBI seemed stymied. At last, agents bribed one Klansman to inform on the others, and in December federal authorities charged nineteen people with conspiring to interfere with the civil rights of the three victims. Eventually, seven of the nineteen were convicted and received sentences of three to ten years; they actually served less than that — Price did four years, for example.

Murder is a state crime, of course, but Mississippi never charged anyone.

During the trials and appeals, lasting until 1970, Neshoba County exemplified a closed society. Because the perpetrators still walked its streets, in a sense the entire white community was complicit in the decision not to prosecute them for murder. I remember doing research in the county one day in 1967. At noon I broke for lunch, at the white cafe on the courthouse square. As I ate alone at a small table for two, a white man detached himself from a group that had been eyeing me, came over, sat in the chair opposite me, glared at me and asked what I was doing in Philadelphia. Luckily, my reason — learning about the social position of Mississippi’s Choctaw Indians, who also live in Neshoba County, to contrast that of Chinese Mississippians in the Mississippi Delta, about whom I was writing a Ph.D. dissertation — satisfied him, but the experience was unsettling. Those few whites who lived in Philadelphia and spoke out against the murders experienced more serious consequences. The principle of cognitive dissonance teaches us to expect that opinions will get twisted to harmonize with past acts, and that is what happened in Neshoba County.

## **Neshoba County Revisited**

If we revisit later years in Neshoba County, we can see how far it — and the nation — has come since 1964, partly as a result of the events of that year. We may also find clues as to how we have also gone wrong.

Fast forward to January 1970, when Neshoba County finally began to turn around. School desegregation proved key. In that month, the Supreme Court’s order in *Alexander v. Holmes* took effect, ending “freedom-of



choice” desegregation. No longer should blacks be free to choose white schools, or vice versa (which didn’t happen anyway), because there should not *be* “white” or “black” schools — there should be “just schools.” Neshoba whites found compliance easier than whites in many other districts because African Americans were in a minority in the county. Although most schools lost such amenities as social clubs and PTAs when they merged, most parents kept their children in the public schools. Now, suddenly, a car with both races riding in the front seat might not be an “integrated car” but just teachers on their way to school together.

Fast forward to 1980. On his first day of campaigning after winning the GOP Presidential nomination, Ronald Reagan spoke at the Neshoba County Fair. He said not a word about the event that had made Neshoba famous around the world. Instead, he declared his support for “states’ rights,” the code word that signaled that the federal government should not enforce laws mandating equal treatment for African Americans. Thirty-five thousand white supporters roared approval. Thus, Reagan furthered Nixon’s “Southern strategy,” which continues to bear fruit for Republicans today — not just in the South, but also in white suburbs and sundown towns in the North.

Fast forward to 1989. At the 25th

anniversary remembrance, then-Secretary of State Dick Molpus, who grew up in Philadelphia, made a historic apology to the families of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner at Mount Zion Methodist: “We deeply regret what happened here 25 years ago. We wish we could undo it. We are profoundly sorry that they are gone. We wish we could bring them back.”

Unfortunately, when Molpus ran for governor in 1995, he lost to the incumbent Republican.

Fast forward to 1994. On the 30th anniversary of the murders, Jackson State University and Tougaloo College

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***After winning the GOP presidential nomination, Ronald Reagan spoke at the Neshoba County Fair and said not a word about the event that made Neshoba famous around the world.***

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hosted an emotional reunion of Freedom Summer volunteers and local people that included an excursion to Neshoba, but almost no local whites attended the service at Mt. Zion or the rally at the courthouse in Philadelphia.

## **Neshoba County 2004**

Fast forward finally to 2004. Three major events, perhaps four, marked this anniversary. Jackson State University, Tougaloo College and Tulane University mounted a four-day symposium, “Unsettling Memories.” A pair of remembrance services was held in Neshoba County on June 20. Ben Chaney, James’ younger brother, led a busload of young people from Washington, DC, to Jackson, doing voter registration on the way. And a fourth event may come to pass: the re-opening of the murders as an investigation and eventually a trial, since Mississippi never charged anyone with those crimes.

I attended the Jackson State, Tougaloo and Neshoba events and found them both moving and disturbing. In Neshoba, this time local whites played a central role — too central to some, including Chaney, who felt that the new event would upstage the traditional Mt. Zion service. About 1,800 people attended the new remembrance, organized by a newly formed “Philadelphia Coalition,” held at the Neshoba County Coliseum and chaired by the young president of the Neshoba NAACP. At the rear of the spacious building, white Philadelphians, eager to make a good impression, served a catfish dinner to all, at no charge.

Without a doubt, the motives of white Neshobans were mixed. In time for the occasion, the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce produced a remarkable booklet, “African-American Heritage Driving Tour,” that includes the jail, the murder site, the swamp where a Choctaw Indian found the burned station wagon, Mt. Zion of course, even the Busy Bee Cafe and Barber Shop. Business leaders know this tragedy was the most important event ever to take place in Neshoba County; one sponsor of the booklet is Philadelphia/Neshoba Tourism.

But what would we have them do? Not put out such a brochure? It also includes photos and vignettes of nineteen residents, mostly African American, who played positive roles in the Neshoba freedom struggle. Thirteen additional photos and vignettes, titled “Rewards of Sacrifice,” highlight young African Americans from Neshoba who have become physicians, educational leaders or professional athletes. The booklet includes a useful bibliography on the tragedy and ends with a paragraph stating, “Neshoba County discovered that the cancer of racism infects each person it touches...”

Similarly, would we have them not hold a 40th remembrance? In preparation for the event, the County Board of Supervisors and the Philadelphia City Council drafted and signed a statement calling for “justice in this case.” Excerpts follow:

*(Please turn to page 10)*

### **New on PRRAC’s Website**

We have recently added new Research Guides on **Community Organizing** (by PRRAC Research Associate Shayna Strom) & **Families/Women/Children** (by Lauren Cowan & Emily Martin of the ACLU Women’s Rights Project). Go to [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org) and click on those pages. These resources join our existing Research Guides on **Housing, Health Disparities & Food/Nutrition/Hunger**.

(NESHOPA: Continued from page 9)

“There is, for good and obvious reasons, no statute of limitations on murder.... We call on the Neshoba County District Attorney, the state Attorney General, and the FBI to make every effort to seek justice in this case. We deplore the possibility that history will record that the state of Mississippi, and this community in particular, did not make a good faith effort to seek justice. We state candidly and with deep regret that some of our own citizens, including local and state law enforcement officers, were involved in the planning and execution of these murders.... Finally, we wish to say to the families of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner that we are profoundly sorry for what was done in this community to your loved ones.”

In the wake of the successful prosecution of other white supremacist murderers in Mississippi and Alabama and the reopening of the Emmett Till murder case, this statement may be bearing fruit. Mississippi Attorney General Jim Hood announced he was seeking help from federal authorities; U.S. Attorney Dunn Lampton of Jackson said his office has been working on it; and at the Coliseum, Mississippi’s Republican Governor Haley Barbour said he favored reopening the case.

To be sure, there were false notes. One speaker called the three “Christian martyrs” — Goodman and Schwerner were Jewish, of course. Barbour assured us, “Our state of Mississippi is a wonderful place and our nation the greatest ever,” and then conflated the struggle for civil rights with the fight against “Islamic terror.” He drew only tepid applause. But hypocrisy is a first step toward civilized behavior, and at least the governor’s appearance meant he was exposed to Dick Molpus, who again provided the words that made the occasion memorable.

Molpus called the three “American patriots” and those who killed them “domestic terrorists.” Addressing the locals, he noted that the perpetrators

had “certainly told wives, children and buddies of their involvement,” and he urged those persons to come forward to the authorities. Most importantly, he declared, “We Mississippians must announce to the world what we have learned in the last 40 years: our enemies are...” and he then provided a list that included ignorance, racism and an inferior educational system, which drew an ovation.

Not all is well in Neshoba County. A young white adult told me he had never heard a word about the Civil

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***This may come to pass: the reopening of the murders as an investigation and eventually a trial, since Mississippi never charged anyone with those crimes.***

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Rights Movement in the Philadelphia public schools. The history page at the Chamber of Commerce website spends two paragraphs on Neshoba County’s first 30 years, from 1833 to 1863, then “covers” the period from 1863 to 2004 in a single paragraph that never mentions civil rights or the events of 1964! Local libraries do not have the books that are in the bibliography of the Chamber of Commerce brochure. (One speaker at the Mt. Zion service announced she was rem-

edying that forthwith and handed copies of each book to a church representative.) Only 34% of black students in the Philadelphia public schools read on grade level, compared to 90% of white students.

Similarly, not all is well in America. In 1980, Reagan helped to derail us from our work toward “the beloved community,” instead implying that resistance to justice across racial lines was appropriate and would be rewarded. The educational and social disparities in Philadelphia, Mississippi, are mirrored in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and across our “greatest ever” nation. Remembering Freedom Summer — which was much more than the Neshoba tragedy — can help us get back on track. I hope to have whetted your appetite to learn more — you who are in that four of five too young to have experienced it the first time. You can connect with this event. You can sing along: “Keep on a-walkin’. Keep on a-talkin’. Gonna build a brand new world.”

*James W. Loewen (jloewen@zoo.uvm.edu) taught at Tougaloo College in 1965 and 1968-1975. He is best known for his book Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your High School History Textbook Got Wrong. In November, New Press will publish his newest book, Sundown Towns, about all-white towns that are all-white on purpose. □*

## Freedom Summer Sources

### Videos

*Eyes on the Prize, #6, Mississippi Is This America? 1962-1964.* Alexandria, VA: PBS Video, 1986.

*Mississippi Summer: The Unfinished Journey.* Princeton: Films for the Humanities, 1993.

*Murder in Mississippi: The Price of Freedom.* Princeton: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 1994.

### Books

Sally Belfrage, *Freedom Summer*  
Hodding Carter, *So the Heffners Left McComb*

Constance Curry, *Silver Rights*  
John Dittmer, *Local People*  
Bruce Hilton, *The Delta Ministry*  
Len Holt, *The Summer That Didn't End*

Winson Hudson and Constance Curry, *Mississippi Harmony*  
Florence Mars, *Witness in Philadelphia*

Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer*  
Deborah Menkart, Alana D.

Murray and Jenice L. View, *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching*

Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*

(DISPARITIES: Continued from page 2)

## Racial Residential Segregation, Opportunity and Health Disparities

Although, on average, racial residential segregation between African Americans and whites has decreased in the last two decades, segregation levels are still very high. On average, African Americans live in neighborhoods that are over 50% black, and whites live in neighborhoods that are over 80% white. The separation between blacks and whites has serious ramifications. In metropolitan areas with higher levels of residential segregation, African Americans have fewer education and employment opportunities, and are more likely to live in neighborhoods characterized by concentrated disadvantage.

The extent to which opportunities available to African Americans in metropolitan areas are more limited than the opportunities available to whites cannot be overemphasized. For instance, in 50 of the largest 100 metro areas, the homeownership rate for blacks is between 40% and 49%, while only in three of these metro areas is the homeownership rate for whites that low. These disparities persist after taking income into account. Home loan rejection rates (the proportion of mortgage loan applications for financing purchase of a home which are rejected by banks) are another indicator of housing opportunities. In the largest 100 metro areas, the average home loan rejection rate for blacks with incomes above 120% of their metro area median income was 21%, well above the 8% average for whites. In 89 of these metro areas, banks rejected blacks for home loan applications more than twice as often as they did for whites.

Many health indicators across metropolitan areas are distinctly worse for African Americans than for whites. The mean rate of low birthweight across the 100 largest metro areas is only 4.8% for whites, but 11.3% for blacks. In the majority of metropolitan areas, the low birthweight rate is

between 3% and 6% for white babies, but between 9% and 13% for black babies. In no metropolitan area do blacks have a lower rate of low birthweight babies than whites. On average, blacks experience over twice the rate of low birthweight as whites, and in five metro areas blacks experience over three times the rate of whites.

Residential segregation negatively affects the health of African Americans, possibly through its detrimental effects on individual (e.g., employment, education) and neighborhood level (e.g., concentrated poverty) factors. In metropolitan areas where racial residential segregation is higher,

**Health is influenced not only by the quality of individual housing units, but also by the quality of the neighborhoods where they are located.**

black adult and infant mortality rates are higher. As shown by Ingrid Ellen, African American women are more likely to have low birthweight babies in metropolitan areas where segregation is higher, especially in those where blacks are more disproportionately concentrated in the central city, which tends to be more dilapidated and socioeconomically disadvantaged than the suburbs. The Mumford Center reported that in 2000, suburbs in the majority of metropolitan areas outpaced cities on eight indicators of prosperity.

In our research, we have seen that African Americans are more likely to report that their health is poor or fair (as opposed to good or excellent) in metropolitan areas where they are more likely to be isolated in predominantly black neighborhoods.

## The Role of Housing Policies in Reducing Health Disparities

Government policies address many aspects of housing, from safety stan-

**For a guide to recent research on health disparities, go to the "Health" page on PRRAC's website, [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org)**

dards for individual housing units, to housing discrimination, to housing assistance for low-income households. Therefore, it seems reasonable to ask whether housing policies may contribute to correcting racial disparities in housing and thus racial disparities in health. There is evidence on the positive effects on health of interventions that address hazardous physical, chemical and biological exposures at the level of the housing unit. In the case of childhood lead exposure, research has documented the positive impact that various methods of lead hazard control have on dust and blood lead levels. We know considerably less about the possible effects on health of interventions and policies that address the socioeconomic (e.g., homeownership promotion) and locational (e.g., desegregation) aspects of housing.

A wide range of policies is available to reduce residential segregation across neighborhoods and along the central city-suburban divide, including restricting the power of local governments to enact exclusionary zoning regulations; limiting suburban growth (i.e., sprawl) through direct or indirect controls; and deconcentrating public housing. Of these policies, only the last mentioned, specifically variants of the Section 8 housing voucher program, has been evaluated for its effects on health.

Housing mobility policies involve the geographic deconcentration of recipients of government housing assistance. Generally, their aim is to achieve racial desegregation and to offer individuals the opportunity to move from highly disadvantaged to middle-income neighborhoods. Improving health has not been an explicit

*(Please turn to page 12)*

objective of housing mobility policies, but given what is known about the link between neighborhoods, segregation and health, these policies may contribute to better health outcomes.

A compelling indication of the potentially beneficial impact of housing mobility policy on health has emerged from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) policy demonstration. The participants in MTO were very-low-income families with children who lived in public housing or Section 8 project-based housing located in central city, high-poverty neighborhoods in five large cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York). Eligible participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups. The experimental group was offered Section 8 housing vouchers good only in low-poverty neighborhoods, as well as housing search counseling. The Section 8 group was offered an unrestricted Section 8 voucher. The con-

trol group stayed in traditional public housing. Researchers have followed the three groups since 1994, documenting their educational and employment outcomes, receipt of public assistance, and several health indicators. The latest evaluation report by HUD showed that girls in the experimental group—i.e., those who moved to low-poverty neighborhoods—had improved mental health and a lower risk of using mari-

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***It seems reasonable to ask whether housing policies could contribute to correcting racial disparities in housing and thus racial disparities in health.***

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juana and smoking than girls who stayed in public housing. Adults in the experimental group experienced significantly lower obesity than those in public housing, and lower prevalence

of mental health problems (psychological distress and depression). These findings suggest that housing mobility policies may contribute to improving health for children and parents. However, little is known about the mechanisms through which housing mobility may improve health. Is it because homes in low-poverty neighborhoods are of better quality? Is it because in those neighborhoods people are less likely to suffer from the stress associated with fearing and witnessing crime? Or is it because those neighborhoods offer more institutional resources, such as better schools and childcare?

Housing mobility may also have unintended negative health consequences that housing and public health advocates should not overlook. During the 1990s, under the HOPE VI program, the federal government changed its housing policy towards low-income households, moving away from project-based assistance towards an increased use of housing vouchers

## Resources

Acevedo-Garcia, D. & Lochner, K. A. (2003). Residential Segregation and Health. In I. Kawachi & L. F. Berkman (Eds.), *Neighborhoods and Health* (pp. 265-287). New York: Oxford University Press.

Acevedo-Garcia, D., Lochner, K. A., Osypuk, T. L. & Subramanian, S. (2003). Future Directions in Residential Segregation and Health Research: A Multilevel Approach. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(2), 215-221.

Acevedo-Garcia, D., Osypuk, T. L., Werbel, R. E., Meara, E. R., Cutler, D. M. & Berkman, L. F. (2004). Does Housing Mobility Policy Improve Health? *Housing Policy Debate*, 15(1), 49-98.

Conley, D. (1999). *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth and Social Policy in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Conley, D., Strully, K. W. & Bennett, N. G. (2003). *The Starting Gate: Birth Weight and Life*

*Chances*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ellen, I. G. (2000). Is Segregation Bad for Your Health? The Case of Low-Birth Weight. In W.G. Gale & J.R. Pack (Eds.), *Papers on Urban Affairs* (pp. 203-238). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Ellen, I. G. & Turner, M.A. (2003). Do Neighborhoods Matter and Why? In J. Goering & J. D. Feins (Eds.), *Choosing a Better Life? Evaluating the Moving to Opportunity Social Experiment* (pp. 313-338). Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.

Kingsley, G. T., McNeely, J. B. & Gibson, J. O. (2003). *Neighborhoods and Health: Building Evidence for Local Policy*. Washington, DC: The Development Training Institute, The Urban Institute.

Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research. (2001). *Ethnic Diversity Grows, Neighborhood Integration Lags Behind*. Albany, NY: The Center.

Logan, J. R. & Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research. (2002). *Separate*

*and Unequal: The Neighborhood Gap for Blacks and Hispanics in Metropolitan America*. Albany, NY: The Center.

Massey, D. S. (2004). Segregation and Stratification: A Biosocial Perspective. *Du Bois Review*, 1(1), 1-19.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Orr, L., Feins, J. D., Jacob, R., Beecroft, E., Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Liebman, J. B. & Kling, J. R. (2003). *Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program. Interim Impacts Evaluation*. Washington, DC: HUD.

Williams, D. R. & Collins, C. (2001). Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health. *Public Health Reports*, 116 (September-October), 404-416.

Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W. & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic Discrimination and Health: Findings from Community Studies. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(2), 200-208.

and mixed-income housing developments. The nature and scale of such policy changes warrants an examination of its possible health effects, especially on families that have been displaced and are unable to find affordable housing. In a tracking study of HOPE VI, the Urban Institute has identified health problems as a major issue for former residents of distressed public housing.

## Summary

The public health field is trying to address wide racial disparities in health. Sharp racial disparities also exist in housing at multiple levels, including access to safe homes and neighborhoods, and to opportunity in metropolitan areas. Given the effects of housing, neighborhood quality and segregation on health, the field is embarking upon a more systematic understanding of how addressing housing disparities at multiple levels may contribute to correcting health disparities. The links seem clear. Can we make them actionable?

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*Theresa L. Osypuk (tosypuk@hsph.harvard.edu) is a doctoral student in the same Department. □*

**Professor Acevedo-Garcia is among the scheduled speakers at the Third National Conference on Housing Mobility, Dec. 3-4 in DC, organized/co-sponsored by PRRAC. Further information from [rpark@prrac.org](mailto:rpark@prrac.org).**

(LESSONS: Continued from page 7)

tries “particularly condemn racial segregation and apartheid and undertake to prevent, prohibit and eradicate all practices of this nature in territories under their jurisdiction.” CERD further requires signing countries to “. . . take effective measures to review governmental, national and local policies, and to amend, rescind or

## **The structures of segregation can only be eliminated through affirmative government measures, not simply policies of non-discrimination.**

nullify any laws and regulations which have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it exists.” In testimony last fall before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, former Under Secretary and General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Education Judith Winston (a former PRRAC Board member) testified that:

“Today racial discrimination in the public schools is a vestige of the legally sanctioned racial apartheid that existed prior to the landmark Supreme Court decision in 1954 – *Brown v. Board of Education*. The existence and continuation of racial segregation in our schools is also a stark indication that the deeply ingrained negative racial stereotypes and racial prejudices that were at the core of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century racism affect the treatment and quality of education students of color receive in 21<sup>st</sup> century U.S. public schools. This modern day discrimination, however, is not often exhibited as intentional racial animus but is more deeply hidden in institutional racism that defies the traditional legally enforceable means of eradication.”

Fair housing advocates need to take advantage of these international forums in a more proactive way in the

coming years, to focus international attention on state-sponsored segregation here in the U.S.

## **Brown as a Faith-Based Initiative**

In his new book, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow*, David Chappell reminds us of the religious foundations of *Brown* and the ways in which religion sustained and helped to define the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Similarly, one of the greatest sources of hope for today’s fair housing movement comes from the new, ecumenical coalitions that are re-forming around regional equity, smart growth and educational equity issues, bringing together inner-city and suburban congregations effectively for perhaps the first time since the 1970s. Some of the leading examples of these coalitions have joined together in a network sponsored by the Chicago-based Gamaliel Foundation (see [www.gamaliel.org](http://www.gamaliel.org)).

## Conclusion

The fair housing movement stands somewhat outside of the spotlight during this anniversary year of the *Brown* decision. And we stand here knowing that it is largely the *disconnect* between housing and school policy, and our collective failure to dismantle housing segregation, that have placed our society in such jeopardy. As we move forward in our housing work, we would do well to always keep schools in mind and remember these lessons of *Brown*.

*Philip Tegeler (ptegeler@prrac.org) is PRRAC’s Executive Director. This essay was originally published in a special Brown v. Board of Education issue of The NIMBY Report, a publication of the National Low Income Housing Coalition in collaboration with the Building Better Communities Network (see [www.nlihc.org](http://www.nlihc.org)). □*

## PRRAC Update

● PRRAC welcomes two summer law and policy interns, **Nisha Agarwal & Nicole Devero**. Nisha is entering her 2<sup>nd</sup> year at Harvard Law School and will receive a PhD in History from Oxford in 2005. She has worked with Greater Boston Legal Services and the Flatbush Development Corp. in Brooklyn. Nicole is entering her 3<sup>rd</sup> year at Georgetown Law Center, holds a masters in political science from the Univ. of Chicago. Her earlier work was with Prof. Sheryll Cashin at Georgetown Law and the Office of Justice Programs in the Justice Dept.

● PRRAC Board member **William Taylor** was recently honored by Americans for Democratic Action at their 57<sup>th</sup> Annual National Convention Banquet. In September, Bill's memoir *The Passion of My Times: My Fifty-Year Journey Through the Civil Rights Revolution* will be published by Carroll & Graf; more information about the 352-page book from philip.turner@avalonpub.com.

● Former PRRAC Board Vice-Chair **Kati Haycock** was featured in an April 6 *Wash. Post* article ("‘No Child’ Advocate Scores

Points With Facts"). We'll be happy to send a copy with a SASE.

● We congratulate Howard Univ. Law Prof. **Frank Wu**, a longtime friend of PRRAC, on his appointment as the new Dean of the Wayne State Univ. School of Law.

● PRRAC Director of Research **Chester Hartman** was honored at the recent Planners Network conference as one of the "advocacy planning pioneers," along with Ron Shiffman, Walter Thabit, Peter Marcuse and (posthumously) Linda Davidoff.

## 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 (37¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

### Race/Racism

● "Low-Income & Minority Use of Alternative Financial Service Providers" is the subject

of an April 2004 Urban Inst. report, [http://www.knowledgeplex.org/\[8696\]](http://www.knowledgeplex.org/[8696])

● **Making Impressions** is a monthly (very complete) calendar of cultural events appealing to the African American community in DC. \$20 for a 1-year sub: 3303 18th St. NW, Wash., DC 20010. [8773]

● **Colormute: Race Talk Dilemmas in an American School**, by Mica Pollock (268 pp., 2004), has been published by Princeton Univ. Press, [pup.princeton.edu](http://pup.princeton.edu) [8775]

● "The New Great Migration: Black Americans' Return to the South, 1965-2000," by William Frey, (15 pp., May 2004), is available (likely free) from the Brookings Inst. Ctr. on Urban & Met. Policy, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW,

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.

Wash., DC 20036-2188, 202/797-6139, [www.brookings.edu/urban](http://www.brookings.edu/urban) [8789]

● "Living Together: A New Look at Racial & Ethnic Integration in Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1990-2000," by David Fasenfest, Jason Booza & Kurt Metzger (19 pp., April 2004), is available (possibly free) from the Brookings Inst. Ctr. on Urban & Met. Policy, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036-2188, 202/797-6139,

<http://www.brookings.edu/> [8790]

● **Asian Pacific American Heritage Month: May 2004:** A statistical portrait of Asian American & Pacific Islander populations, prepared by the Census Bureau, was disseminated by the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi). Available from him at [dtn@ucla.edu](mailto:dtn@ucla.edu) [8839]

**“A Crisis of Black Male Unemployment: Underemployment & Joblessness in NYC, 2003”**

(2004?) is available from the Community Service Society of NY, 105 E. 22 St., NYC, NY 10014; online at [www.cssny.org/pubs/research/labor.html](http://www.cssny.org/pubs/research/labor.html) [8844]

- **New National Council of La Raza Website** (2004 re-design), <http://www.nclr.org/> [8861]

- **“Building Bridges for a Hate-free, Fear-free, Greed-free World”** is the 2003-2004 Annual Report of Initiatives for Change, parent org. of Hope in the Cities, featuring Hope’s 10th anniversary. Available (likely free) from Hope in the Cities, 1103 Sunset Ave., Richmond, VA 23221-3923, 804/358-1764, [contact@hopeinthecities.org](mailto:contact@hopeinthecities.org), <http://www.hopeinthecities.org/> [8864]

- **AAPI Nexus: Asian American and Pacific Islander Policy, Practice and Community**, published by the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi), has come out with its 2nd issue, examining civil rights problems for these populations. Contributors include Karen Narasaki/June Han, Peter Kiang, Claire Jean Kim, Rowena Robles, Paul Ong (a member of PRRAC’s Social Science Advisory Bd.); issue guest editors are Angelo Ancheta, Jacinta Ma & Don Nakanishi. \$16 for the issue (subs. to the semi-annual are \$25 indivs., \$55 insts.), from the Ctr., 3230 Campbell Hall, Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2968,

[www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc](http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc) [8889]

- **“Judgments Judged & Wrongs Remembered: Examining the Japanese American Civil Liberties Cases of World War II on Their 60th Anniversary,”** jointly sponsored by the Univ. N. Carolina School of Law, the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi) & the Japanese American National Museum, will be held **Nov. 5-6, 2004** at the Museum in LA. Inf. from Prof. Nakanishi at the Ctr., 3230 Campbell Hall, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2974, [dtn@ucla.edu](mailto:dtn@ucla.edu), [www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc](http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc) [8729]

- **“Race & Public Policy: A Proactive Agenda for 2005 & Beyond,”** co-sponsored by The Applied Research Ctr. (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Gary Delgado), Boalt Law School’s Ctr. for Social Justice & the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, will be held **Nov. 12-13, 2004** at Univ. of California, Berkeley. Inf. at [RAPP@arc.org](mailto:RAPP@arc.org), <http://www.arc.org/> [8796]

- **“The RAPP Conf.”** (see item above) is seeking write-ups of good policies that promote racial equity in education, health, welfare, voting rights, criminal justice, etc. Contact [gdelgado@arc.org](mailto:gdelgado@arc.org) [8797]

## Poverty/Welfare

- **Welfare, the Working Poor and Labor**, ed. Louise Simmons (2004),

has been published by ME Sharpe. The 10 chapters include contributions by Frances Fox Piven, James Jennings, Heather Boushey, Fran Bernstein, Ceclia Perry & Max Sawicky. [8801]

- **“The Road Not Taken? Changes in Welfare Entry During the 1990s,”** by Gregory Acs, Katherin Ross Phillips & Sandi Nelson, a Dec. 2003 Urban Inst. Discussion Paper, is available (likely free) from 202/261-5815, [hleibovi@ui.urban.org](mailto:hleibovi@ui.urban.org) [8825]

- **Asset Building:** The New America Foundation’s Asset Building Program has launched (2004) a clearinghouse of ideas, policies & programs to broaden asset ownership in the US and around the world. Contact them at [AssetBuilding.org](http://AssetBuilding.org) [8914]

- **“From Welfare to the Low-Wage Labor Market,”** by Sheldon Danziger & Rucker C, Johnson (7 pp. + Tables), was presented at a May 27, 2004 Russell Sage Fdn. Forum on the Future of Work, in DC. Available (likely free) from Prof. Danziger, 734/615-8321, [sheldond@umich.edu](mailto:sheldond@umich.edu) [8827]

- **“No Room for Poverty”** is a planned national rally, sponsored by the Community Action Partnership, in DC, **Sept. 4, 2004**. Inf. from <http://www.povertyrally.org/> [8829]

## Community Organizing

- **Housing Organizing** is a Ctr. for Community Change newsletter. Issue

#2 (Spring 2004) has articles on Inclusionary Zoning and Community Organizing, campaigns in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego & Mass., etc. Contact the Ctr. at 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0567, [dhockett@communitychange.org](mailto:dhockett@communitychange.org), <http://www.communitychange.org/> [8878]

- **Criminal Justice “After Prison: Roadblocks to Reentry”** (2004?) is available from the Legal Action Ctr., 153 Waverly Pl., NYC, NY 10014; available online: [www.lac.org/lac/](http://www.lac.org/lac/) [8843]

- **“Community Action: 40 Years of Helping People and Changing Lives,”** the (40th anniv.) annual convention of the Community Action Partnership, will take place **Sept. 1-4, 2004** in DC. The event will conclude with a “No Room for Poverty” natl. rally at the Ellipse. Inf. from Natalie Shear, 1730 M St. NW, #801, Wash., DC 20036, 202/833-4456, x101. [8858]

- **“The Southern Organizing Cooperative STACC [Southern Strategic Thinking & Action Conf.] Conference”** will be held **Oct. 28-31, 2004** in Peachtree City, GA. Inf. from 770/487-2000. [8906]

## Economic/Community Development

- **Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It**, by Mindy Thompson Fullilove (292

pp., 2004), has been published by One World/Ballantine Books, [www.ballantinebooks.com/one](http://www.ballantinebooks.com/one) [8774]

● **“Private Sector Partnerships: Investing in Housing & Neighborhood Revitalization”** (34 pp) is the June 2004 issue of *NHC Affordable Housing Policy Review*, published by and available (possibly free) from the Natl. Housing Conf., 1801 K St. NW, #M-100, Wash., DC 20006, 202/466-2121, [nhc@nhc.org](mailto:nhc@nhc.org), <http://www.nhc.org/> [8792]

● **“New Eyes on Community: Eleven Years of Pew Partnership for Civic Change”** is available (likely free) from Pew, 5 Boar’s Head Ln., #100, Charlottesville, VA 22903, 434/971-2073, [mail@pew-partnership.org](mailto:mail@pew-partnership.org), <http://www.pew-partnership.org/> [8865]

● **“20th Annual Natl. Community Capital Assn. Training Conf.”** will be held Nov. 3-6, 2004 in Chicago. Inf. from [communitycapital.org](http://communitycapital.org) [8859]

## Education

● ***Walking the Road: Racial Diversity and Social Justice in Teacher Education***, by Marilyn Cochran-Smith (224 pp., 2004, \$25.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [8707]

● **“The Death of Robin Hood? Proposals for Overhauling Public School Finance,”** by Maurice Dyson (52 pp.), appeared in the Winter 2004 issue of the *Georgetown Journal on*

*Poverty Law & Policy*, available at 202/662-9468, [ojasubscriptions@law.georgetown.edu](mailto:ojasubscriptions@law.georgetown.edu) [8746]

● **“The Center for Neighborhood Technology 2001-2002 Biennial Report”** (June 2004) is available (likely free) from Scott Bernstein at the Ctr., 2125 W. North Ave., Chicago, IL 773/278-4800, <http://www.cnt.org/> [8907]

● **“Strategies for Educators: A Six-Step Program”** by Vernon G. Smith (16 pp.), appeared in the Spring 2004 issue of *Challenge: A Journal of Research on African American Men*, published by the Morehouse Research Inst., 830 Westview Dr., S.W., Atlanta, GA 30314-3773, 404/215-2746. [8776]

● **“Choosing Better Schools: A Report on Student Transfers Under the No Child Left Behind Act,”** by Cynthia G. Brown, Lysandra Lopez-Medina & Robin A. Reed (130 pp., 2004), is available from the Citizens’ Commn. on Civil Rights (headed by PRRAC Bd. member William Taylor), 2000 M St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/659-5565, <http://www.cccr.org/> [8779]

● **“Beyond Brown v. Board; The Final Battle for Excellence in American Education,”** by Ellis Cose (86 pp., 2004), is available (possibly free) from The Rockefeller Fdn., 420 Fifth Ave., NYC, NY 10018, 212/869-5500. It’s got short contributions by Hodding Carter III, Elaine Jones, Angelo Falcón, Karen Narasaki, Richard Parsons, Antonia Hernandez, John Hope

Franklin, Robert Coles, Alvin Poussaint, Julian Bond, Russell Simmons, Roger Wilkins and others. [8780]

● **“African American Teachers’ Perceptions of Their Role as Teachers of African American Students: The Unexamined Variable,”** by Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, is a 3-page article in the Spring 2004 issue of *Policy Notes*, available (possibly free) from the Educational Testing Service, Rosedale Rd., 19-R, Princeton, NJ 08541-0001, 609/734-5694, [pic@ets.org](mailto:pic@ets.org), [www.ets.org/research/pic](http://www.ets.org/research/pic) [8912]

● **“Affirmative Student Development: Closing the Achievement Gap by Developing Human Capital,”** by Edmund W. Gordon, is a 3-page article in the Spring 2004 issue of *Policy Notes*, available (possibly free) from the Educational Testing Service, Rosedale Rd., 19-R, Princeton, NJ 08541-0001, 609/734-5694, [pic@ets.org](mailto:pic@ets.org), [8913]

● ***Building Bridges for Women of Color in Higher Education: A Practical Guide to Success***, eds. Conchita Y. Battle & Chrontrusse M. Doswell (2004?), has been published by University Press of America, 800/462-6420, [WOCinHED@aol.com](mailto:WOCinHED@aol.com) [8919]

● **“A Matter of Degrees: Improving Graduation Rates in Four-Year Colleges & Universities,”** by Kevin Carey (20 pp., May 2004), is available (possibly free) from The Education Trust (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Kati Haycock),

1250 H St. NW, #700, Wash., DC 20005, 202/293-1217, <http://www.edtrust.org/> [8788]

● **State-by-state Educational Deficits:** A June 2004 National Priorities Project publication provides data on: the number of children in each state eligible for but unenrolled in Head Start; state-level impact of underfunding of NCLB; natl. shortfall in higher educ. grants; state loss in federal funding for adult & vocational education; underfunding of special ed. by state and prospect for spending cuts in future years, [www.nationalpriorities.org/issues/edu/fallingshort/index/html?fs1](http://www.nationalpriorities.org/issues/edu/fallingshort/index/html?fs1) [8798]

● **“Can Teacher Quality Be Effectively Assessed?,”** by Dan Goldhaber & Emily Anthony (2004), is available from The Urban Inst., [www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=410958](http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=410958) [8802]

● ***The Hermit Crab Solution***, by Barbara Ken Lawrence (2004), discusses creative solutions for keeping small rural schools in their communities. \$18 from AEL, 800/624-9120, [distctr@ael.org](mailto:distctr@ael.org) [8812]

● **“State of the South 2004: Fifty Years After Brown v. Board of Education,”** a 2004 report, is available at [www.mdcinc.org/sospublic.htm](http://www.mdcinc.org/sospublic.htm) [8819]

● **“Fifty Years After Brown v. Board of Education: A Two-Tiered Education System,”** a 2004 report from the Natl. Commn. on Teaching & America’s Future, is available at [www.nctaf.org/article/?c=4&sc=17&ssc=0&a=244](http://www.nctaf.org/article/?c=4&sc=17&ssc=0&a=244)



[8820]

- **“A Dream Deferred”** (2004), on the Brown decision anniversary, has been published by The Education Trust (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Kati Haycock; available at <http://www.edtrust.org/> [8821])

- **“Losing Our Future: How Minority Youth Are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis,”** by Gary Orfield, Daniel Losen, Johanna Wald & Christopher Swanson (2004), is available at [www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=410936](http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=410936) [8823]

- **A Year 2 report on No Child Left Behind** (Jan. 2004), from the Ctr. on Education Policy, is available at [www.ctredpol.org/pubs/nclb2/](http://www.ctredpol.org/pubs/nclb2/) [8826]

- **“Ending Social Promotion”** is a set of three studies investigating the Chicago school system’s stringent policy of holding back its lowest-achieving students. Available from the Consortium on Chicago School Research, 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago, IL 60637; online at [www.consortium-chicago.org/publications/p70.html](http://www.consortium-chicago.org/publications/p70.html) [8845]

- **“In Pursuit of Excellence,”** by William Bowen (former president of Princeton & current Mellon Fdn. president) is the first in a series of three lectures on incorporating class-based considerations into higher education policy. Available at [www.mellon.org/MellonAnnouncements.htm](http://www.mellon.org/MellonAnnouncements.htm) [8847]

- **“Tapping the Potential: Retaining & Developing High Quality New**

**Teachers”** (June 2004), from the Alliance for Excellent Education, is available at [www.all4ed.org/publications/TappingThePotential/index.html](http://www.all4ed.org/publications/TappingThePotential/index.html) [8848]

- **“Projections of 2003-04 High School Graduates: Supplemental Analyses Based on Findings from Who Graduates? Who Doesn’t?,”** by Christopher Swanson, an Urban Inst. report, is available (likely free) from 202/261-5709. [8860]

- **“Culturally Responsible Parental Involvement: Concrete Understandings & Basic Strategies,”** by Sabrina Hope King & A. Lin Goodwin, is downloadable at [www.aacte.org/Publications/default.htm](http://www.aacte.org/Publications/default.htm) [8862]

- ***Scholars in the Field*,** eds. Cynthia Salinas & Maria E. Franquiz (2004), dealing with migrant education, is available (\$20) from AEL, 800/624-9120. [8877]

- **“The Condition of Education 2004,”** from the Natl. Ctr. for Education Statistics, is available at [www.nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2004077](http://www.nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2004077) [8879]

- **“Latino Youth Finishing College: The Role of Selective Pathways”** (June 2004) is available from the Pew Hispanic Center, [www.pewhispanic.org/index.jsp](http://www.pewhispanic.org/index.jsp) [8903]

- **“Latino Youth and the Pathway to College,”** by Watson Scott Swail, Alberto F. Cabrera & Chul Lee (55 pp., June 2004), is available from The Educational Policy Inst., <http://www.educationalpolicy.org/>

[8904]

- **“Research Guidance: Assessment, Accountability, Action”** is the CRESST (Natl. Ctr. for Research on Evaluation, Standards & Student Testing) conf., at UCLA, **Sept. 9-10, 2004.** Among the presenters: Robert Linn, Linda Darling Hammond, (former PRRAC Bd. member) Kati Haycock. Contact CRESST, Box 951522, UCLA, LA, CA 90095-1522, 310/794-9140. [8920]

## Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Career Academies: Impacts on Labor Market Outcomes & Educational Attainment,”** by James J. Kemple (45 pp., March 2004), is available (possibly free) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org/> [8787]

- **“No Longer Getting By: An Increase in the Minimum Wage Is Long Overdue,”** by Amy Chasanov, a 2004 Briefing Paper, is available from The Econ. Policy Inst., 1660 L St. NW, 12th fl., Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810. [8803]

- **“Living Wage Laws & Communities: Smarter Economic Development, Lower Than Expected Costs,”** a 2004 Brennan Center report, is available at <http://www.brennancenter.org/> [8915]

- **“Employment and the Minimum Wage: Evidence from Recent State Labor Market Trends,”** by Jeff

Chapman, a 2004 Econ. Policy Inst. Briefing Paper, is available from The Econ. Policy Inst., 1660 L St., NW, 12th fl., Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810. [8804]

- **“From Jobs to Careers: How California Community College Credentials Pay Off for Welfare Participants,”** by Anita Mathur, a 2004 report from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Alan Houseman), is available at [www.clasp.org/DMS/Documents/1088086587.34/JunJul04\\_Update.pdf](http://www.clasp.org/DMS/Documents/1088086587.34/JunJul04_Update.pdf) [8834]

- **Russell Sage Fdn. Forum on the Future of Work:** A transcript of this May 27, 2004 event, featuring Sheldon Danziger, Frank Levy & Beth Shulman and moderated by Sheilah Kast, is available at <http://www.lowwagework.org/> [8871]

- **“Getting Time Off: Access to Leave Among Working Parents,”** a 2004 Urban Inst. policy brief, is available at [www.urban.org/Template.cfm?NavMenuID=24&template=/TaggedContent/ViewP](http://www.urban.org/Template.cfm?NavMenuID=24&template=/TaggedContent/ViewP) [8898]

## Families/ Women/ Children

- **“Building Bridges to Self-Sufficiency: Improving Services for Low-Income Working Families,”** by Jennifer Miller, Frieda Molina, Lisa Grossman & Susan Golonka (96 pp., 2004), is available (possibly free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research

Corp., 16 E. 34 St.,  
NYC, NY 10016, 212/  
532-3200, [http://  
www.mdrc.org/](http://www.mdrc.org/) [8778]

● **“What Do ‘I Do’s’  
Do? Potential Benefits of  
Marriage for Cohabiting  
Couples with Children,”**

by Gregory Acs & Sandi  
Nelson (7 pp., May  
2004), is available (likely  
free) from The Urban  
Inst., 2100 M St. NW,  
Wash., DC 20037, 202/  
261-5867, [pubs@ui.  
urban.org](mailto:pubs@ui.urban.org), [http://  
www.uipress.org/](http://www.uipress.org/) [8795]

● **“Moving Forward:  
Head Start Children,  
Families & Programs in  
2003,”**

by Katherine Hart  
& Rachel Schumacher  
(2004), is available from  
the Ctr. for Law & Social  
Policy (headed by former  
PRRAC Bd. member Alan  
Houseman),  
[www.clasp.org/DMS/  
Documents/  
1088017582.58/  
HS\\_brf\\_5.pdf](http://www.clasp.org/DMS/Documents/1088017582.58/HS_brf_5.pdf) [8807]

● **“Early Childhood  
Programming & Evalua-  
tion”**

is the theme of the  
Summer 2004 issue of  
*Evaluation Exchange*,  
charting the course of  
these elements over  
nearly half a century.  
Available at  
[www.gse.harvard.edu/  
hfrp/eval/issue26](http://www.gse.harvard.edu/hfrp/eval/issue26) [8810]

● **Firearms Deaths  
among Children & Teens  
in 2000 and 2001**

is the subject of a 2004  
Children’s Defense Fund  
report. Contact [http://  
cdfcampaign@  
childrensdefense.org/](http://cdfcampaign@childrensdefense.org)  
[8830]

● **The Child Indicator,**  
the newsletter of Child  
Trends, is available (free  
electronically, \$5 pub-  
lished copy) from them at

4301 Conn., Ave., NW,  
#100, Wash., DC 20008,  
202/362-5580. The  
Spring 2004 issue

contains an update on  
efforts to develop a natl.  
indicators system that will  
help describe how well  
the nation is doing in  
crucial areas (such as  
health & education),  
assess needs in these  
areas, and monitor  
progress toward goals.  
[8833]

● **“Asian America and  
Same-Sex Marriage”** is a  
forthcoming special issue  
of *Amerasia Journal*.

They are seeking submis-  
sions — send a 1-page  
abstract or prospectus by  
Oct. 1 to Prof. Russell  
Leong, [rleong@ucla.edu](mailto:rleong@ucla.edu).  
Submission guidelines at  
[www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/  
rdp2/index.html](http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/rdp2/index.html) [8911]

● **The Evaluation  
Exchange** in its Spring  
2004 issue deals with

assessing & improving  
the quality of out-of-  
school time and youth  
development programs.  
Available at  
[www.gse.harvard.edu/  
hfrp/eval/issue25](http://www.gse.harvard.edu/hfrp/eval/issue25) [8838]

● **“His’ and ‘Her’  
Marriage Expectations:  
Determinants and  
Consequences”** (3 pp.,  
May 2004) is available

(possibly free) from the  
Ctr. for Research on  
Child Wellbeing, Wallace  
Hall, 2nd flr, Princeton  
Univ., Princeton, NJ  
08544, [crcw@opr.  
princeton.edu](mailto:crcw@opr.princeton.edu),  
[crcw.princeton.edu/  
fragilefamilies](http://crcw.princeton.edu/fragilefamilies) [8852]

● **Child Trends: ‘What  
Works’ Information  
Databank** provides

indicators of child and  
youth well-being, linking  
to more than 60 Databank  
indicators, [http://  
www.childtrends.databank.  
org/](http://www.childtrends.databank.org/) [8853]

● **“Changes in Family  
Structure & Child Well-  
Being: Evidence from  
the 2002 National Survey**

**of America’s Families,”**  
by Gregory Acs & Sandi  
Nelson (Sept. 2003), is  
available (likely free)  
from The Urban Inst.,  
202/261-5815, [bnwak@  
ui.urban.org](mailto:bnwak@ui.urban.org) [8875]

● **“KIDSCOUNT 2004  
Data Book,”** from the  
Annie E. Casey Fdn., is  
available at  
[www.aecf.org/kidscount/  
databook/](http://www.aecf.org/kidscount/databook/) [8880]

● **The Seventh Genera-  
tion: Native Youth Speak  
About Finding the Good  
Path,** by Amy Bergstrom,  
Linda Miller Cleary &  
Thomas D. Peacock  
(2004), is available (\$20)  
from AEL, 800/624-9120,  
[hammerp@ael.org](mailto:hammerp@ael.org) [8887]

● **“United for Youth,”**  
co-sponsored by  
YouthBuild & others, will  
be held **Sept. 13-15, 2004**  
in DC. Inf. from  
YouthBuild USA, 58 Day  
St., Somerville, MA  
02144, 617/741-1256,  
[awright@youthbuild.org](mailto:awright@youthbuild.org)  
[8811]

## Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

● **National Hunger  
Forum Discussion  
Papers:**

A set of 11  
Discussion Papers,  
prepared for the March  
31, 2004 National  
Hunger Forum, is  
available (possibly free)  
from the Congressional  
Hunger Ctr., 229 1/2  
Penn. Ave. SE, Wash.,  
DC 20003, 202/547-  
7022. [8777]

● **Sustenance** is the  
newsletter of the Congres-  
sional Hunger Ctr., 229  
1/2 Penn. Ave. SE,  
Wash., DC 20003, 202/  
547-7022, [http://  
www.hungercenter.org/](http://www.hungercenter.org/)  
[8799]

● **“Recent Trends in  
Food Stamp Participa-  
tion: Have New Policies  
Made a Difference?,”** “  
by Sheila R. Zedlewski (7  
pp., May 2004), is  
available (likely free)  
from The Urban Inst.,  
202/261-5687, [pubs@  
ui.urban.org](mailto:pubs@ui.urban.org) [8805]

## Health

● **“A Directory of US  
Funding Sources for  
Community-Based  
Participatory Research”**  
has been produced by  
The Northwest Health  
Fdn. & Community-  
Campus Partnerships for  
Health. Inf. from Jen  
Kauper-Brown,  
[jenbr@u.washington.edu](mailto:jenbr@u.washington.edu)  
[8806]

● **“Closing the Health  
Care Gap of 2004”** (S.  
2091) has been intro-  
duced by Senate Majority  
Leader Bill Frist. Search  
for the bill # at  
[thomas.loc.gov](http://thomas.loc.gov) [8837]

● **“Racial/Ethnic &  
Socioeconomic Dispari-  
ties in Health: Implica-  
tions for Action”** was an  
April 29, 2004 forum in  
DC, sponsored by the  
Ctr. for the Advancement  
of Health and others.  
Presenters included  
Dolores Acevedo-Garcia,  
Paula Braverman, Gary  
Burtless, Congresswoman  
Donna Christensen (D-  
Virgin Is.), Harold  
Freeman, David Williams  
and others. Inf. (and  
possibly background  
papers) from the Ctr.,  
2000 Florida Ave. NW,  
#210, Wash., DC 20009-  
1231, 202/387-2829,  
<http://www.clah.org/>  
[8828]

● **“Driven to Tiers:  
Socioeconomic & Racial  
Disparities in the Quality  
of Nursing Home Care,”**  
by Vincent Mor,  
Jacqueline Zinn, Josephy

Angelelli, Joan Teno & Susan Miller, appeared in the June 2004 *Milbank Quarterly*, 645 Madison Ave., NYC, NY 10022-1095; available online: [www.milbank.org/quarterly/8202feat/html](http://www.milbank.org/quarterly/8202feat/html) [8842]

- **“Visible Differences: Improving Oral Health of African American Males”** (2004) has been released by the Jt. Ctr. for Political & Econ. Studies Health Policy Inst., [www.jointcenter.org/](http://www.jointcenter.org/) [8849]

- **“Who, When, and How: The Current State of Race, Ethnicity, and Primary Language Data Collection in Hospitals,”** by Romana Hasnain-Wynia, Debra Pierce & Mary A. Pittman (May 2004), is downloadable at [www.cmwf.org/media/releases/hasnain-wynia726\\_release05182004.asp](http://www.cmwf.org/media/releases/hasnain-wynia726_release05182004.asp) [8866]

- **“Disparities Among Specific Racial, Ethnic & Cultural Groups”** (2004?), from the Provider’s Guide to Quality & Culture, offers data and inf. on health disparities for African Americans, Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders & Hispanic/Latinos on 6 health areas (cancer, cardiovascular disease, HIV/AIDS, diabetes, immunizations, infant mortality). Fact sheets are downloadable at [erc.msh.org/mainpage.cfm?file=7.20.htm&module=provider&language=English](http://erc.msh.org/mainpage.cfm?file=7.20.htm&module=provider&language=English) [8867]

- **“A State Policy to Eliminate Racial & Ethnic Health Disparities,”** by John A. McDonough (June 2004), is downloadable at [www.openminds.com/indres/commonwealthagenda.htm](http://www.openminds.com/indres/commonwealthagenda.htm)

[8870]

- **“The Medicine Show’ Interactive Exhibit,”** “an event calling for Universal Health Care and Medicare reforms, will be held **Aug. 28, 2004**, in advance of the Republican Natl. Convention in NYC. Inf. from Robb Burlage, 917/441-1042, [RBurlage@aol.com](mailto:RBurlage@aol.com), <http://www.fiveborough.org/> [8822]

- **“The California Primary Care Assn. 10th Anniv. Conf./Gala Celebration”** will be held **Oct. 7-8, 2004** in Sacramento. Inf. from the Assn., 1215 K St., #700, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/440-8170, x214, <http://www.cpc.org/> [8908]

## Homelessness

- **“Hate, Violence & Death on Main Street USA”** is the 5th in an annual series, from the Natl Coal. for the Homeless, tracking hate crimes against the homeless. Available at [www.nationalhomeless.org/hatecrimes](http://www.nationalhomeless.org/hatecrimes) [8835]

- **“Voter Registration and Voting: Ensuring the Voting Rights of Homeless Persons”** (64 pp., July 2004) is available (\$25) from the Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty, 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535, <http://www.nlchp.org/> [8883]

- **“The Photoidentification Barriers Faced by Homeless Persons: The Impact of September 11”** (23 pp., April 2004) is available (\$25) from the Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty,

1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535, <http://www.nlchp.org/> [8884]

- **Natl. Conf. on Homeless Courts**, sponsored by the ABA Commn. on Homelessness & Poverty, will be held **Oct. 8, 2004** in San Diego. Inf. from 202/662-1693, [hortona@staff.abanet.org](mailto:hortona@staff.abanet.org) [8809]

- **“Moving Every Child Ahead”** is the 16th annual Natl. Homeless Education Conf., **Oct. 16-19, 2004** in St. Paul. Inf. from NAEHCY, PO Box 26274, Mpls., MN 55426, 866/862-2562, [info@naehcy.org](mailto:info@naehcy.org), <http://www.naehcy.org/> [8863]

## Housing

- **“Achieving the American Dream: The Impact of Homeownership on Opportunity for Low- and Moderate-Income Individuals,”** by Shannon Van Zandt & William Rohe (2004), is available at [vanzandt@email.unc.edu](mailto:vanzandt@email.unc.edu) [8688]

- **“2004 Fair Housing Trends Report”** (17 pp., April 2004) is available (possibly free) from the Natl. Fair Housing Alliance, 1212 NY Ave. NW, #525, Wash., DC 20005, 202/898-1661. They also have some first rate posters, prepared by the Ad Council, HUD & the Leadership Conf. on Civil Rights Educ. Fund (chaired by PRRAC Bd. member William Taylor), <http://www.nationalfairhousing.org/> [8743]

- **“Housing in Northwest Indiana: Affordability, Adequacy, Accessibility”** (19 pp., Spring 2004) is available (no price listed) from The

Heartland Ctr., 7128 Arizona Ave., Hammond, IN 46323-2233, 219/844-7515, [mail@heartlandctr.org](mailto:mail@heartlandctr.org) [8791]

- **“HUD Housing Programs: Tenants’ Rights”** (3rd. ed., 2004) is available (\$355, CD-ROM included) from the Natl. Housing Law Project, 614 Grand Ave., #320, Oakland, CA 94610, 510/251-9400, [lclaudio@nhlp.org](mailto:lclaudio@nhlp.org) [8793]

- **“Boom or Bust? Public Investment in Homeownership”** was a program held by the Population Resource Ctr. Copies of materials presented by the speakers are available at [www.prcdc.org/programs/housing04/housing04/html](http://www.prcdc.org/programs/housing04/housing04/html) [8832]

- **Children, Youth and Environments**, in its new (2004) issue, contains several papers on urban poverty and housing, including articles by John Goering on Moving to Opportunity; Barry Checkoway et al. on the South Bronx; and Lee Rainwater/Timothy Smeeding on internatl. trends. Journal is free at [cye.colorado.edu](http://cye.colorado.edu) [8840]

- **Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program:** HUD has made available to the social science research community data from this program. Link is [www.huduser.org/publications/fairhsg/MTODemData.html](http://www.huduser.org/publications/fairhsg/MTODemData.html). [8851]

- **“Housing Assistance and the Effects of Welfare Reform”** (2004) provides evidence from Conn. and Minn. Available at [www.mdrc.org/](http://www.mdrc.org/) [8854]

- **“Working Families with Children: A Closer Look at Homeownership Trends”** (2004), from the Center for Housing Policy, is downloadable at <http://www.nhc.org/> [8857]

- **“What’s Next for Distressed Public Housing?”**, “by Margery Austin Turner, G. Thomas Kingley, Susan Popkin & Martin D. Abravanel (2004), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 202/261-5709. [8872]

- **Housing and ESC Rights Law Quarterly** (inaugural edition), published by the Centre on Housing Rights & Evictions, has reports on right to health in Africa & Ecuador; the award-winning Scottish Homelessness Act of 2003; etc. Available at [www.cohre.org/downloads/Quarterly\\_01.pdf](http://www.cohre.org/downloads/Quarterly_01.pdf) [8876]

- **Affordable Housing as an Election Issue:** The National Housing Opportunity Pulse, an April 2004 national poll by the Natl. Assn. of Realtors, found that 81% of voters would like to see government place a higher priority on affordable rental and ownership housing. Results at [www.realtor.org/newsmedia](http://www.realtor.org/newsmedia) [8886]

- **“The State of the Nation’s Housing 2004”** has been released by the Harvard Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies; hard copy \$2.25 (postage cost) from Luz Rosas at the Housing Assistance Council, 202/842-8600; downloadable free at <http://www.jchs.harvard.edu/> [8888]

- **“Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing**

**Markets: National Results from Phase 1, Phase 2 & Phase 3 of the Housing Discrimination Study”** is available at [www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/hds.html](http://www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/hds.html) [8890]

- **“Census Note 14 — A Tale of Two Cities: Growing Affordability Problems Amidst Rising Homeownership for Urban Minorities”** is available from Fannie Mae, content. [knowledgeplex.org/kp2/cache/kp/31459.pdf](http://knowledgeplex.org/kp2/cache/kp/31459.pdf) [8891]

- **“2004 Advocates’ Guide to Housing and Community Development Policy”** is available from the Natl. Low Income Housing Coal. (whose Ex. Dir. Sheila Crowley is a PRRAC Bd. member), [www.nlihc.org/advocates/AG2004.pdf](http://www.nlihc.org/advocates/AG2004.pdf) [8892]

- **Housing America’s Low-Income Families** is a new (2004) Urban Inst. web feature providing inf. on federal housing policy design, implementation & impact, [www.urban.org/Template.cfm?NavMenuID=14#housing](http://www.urban.org/Template.cfm?NavMenuID=14#housing) [8899]

## Immigration

- **“The BRIDGE Project Curriculum”** (2004), a popular education resource for immigrant & refugee community organizers, is available (\$34) from the Natl. Network for Immigrant & Refugee Rights (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Cathi Tactaquin), 310 8th St., #303, Oakland, CA 94607, <http://www.nnirr.org/> [8831]

- **“Keeping the Promise: Immigration Proposals from the Heartland”**

(2004?), by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, is downloadable at [www.c CFR.org/publications/immigration/main.html](http://www.c CFR.org/publications/immigration/main.html) [8850]

## Miscellaneous

- **American Rebels**, ed. Jack Newfield (2004), “a celebration of history, standards, individualism & an alternative America,” has been published by Nation Books, 800/788-3123. Among the selections: Joe Conason on Paul Wellstone, Patricia Bosworth on Bella Abzug, Tom Hayden on Bob Moses, Budd Schulberg on Joe Louis, Steve Earle on Woody Guthrie. [8794]

- **“Inst. for Policy Research Year in Review”** is available (likely free) from the Inst., 2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208-4100, 847/491-8712, [p-reese@northwestern.edu](mailto:p-reese@northwestern.edu) [8800]

- **“Close to Home: Case Studies of Human Rights Work in the United States”** (107 pp., 2004) is available (possibly free) from The Ford Foundation, 320 E. 43 St., NYC, NY 10017, <http://www.fordfound.org/> [8836]

- **“Leading by Example: Diversity, Inclusion & Equity in Community Foundations”** (66 pp., 2004) is available (possibly free) from California Tomorrow, 1904 Franklin St., #300, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/496-0220. [8909]

- **“The Ultimate Burden of the Tax Cuts,”** by William G. Gale, Peter R. Orszag & Isaac

Shapiro (2004), a joint report from the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Ctr. & the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities (the latter headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Robert Greenstein) is available at [www.cbpp.org/6-2-04tax.pdf](http://www.cbpp.org/6-2-04tax.pdf) [8910]

- **“Transportation Equity Act Reauthorization: How Good Federal Transportation Policy Can Work for Latinos,”** by Eric Rodriguez & Patti Goerman (May 2004), is available (\$5) from the Natl. Council of La Raza, 1111 19th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20036, 202/785-1670, <http://www.nclr.org/> [8846]

## Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **The Advocacy Inst.** (co-directed by former PRRAC Bd. member David Cohen) is seeking a **Program Mgr.** for their Advocacy Leaders Program. \$30-40,000. Ltr./resume/writing sample/salary reqs. to the Inst., 1629 K St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20006, [jobs@advocacy.org](mailto:jobs@advocacy.org) [8781]

- **The Advancement Project**, a public policy & legal action group, is hiring a **Sr. Communications Specialist**. Ltr./writing samples/3 refs. to the Project, 1730 M St. NW, #401, Wash., DC 20036, [swilliams@advancementproject.org](mailto:swilliams@advancementproject.org) [8782]

- **Grassroots International**, an independent human rights & development org., is seeking a **Communications Coordi-**

nator & a **Resource Rights Specialist**. Resume/ltr. to GI, 179 Boylston St., 4th flr, Boston, MA 02130-4520, marjoriedovekent@grassrootsonline.org. They also have (unpaid) internships — 617/524-1400 (don't phone re jobs, however). [8783]

• **The Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities** (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Robert Greenstein) is hiring a **Housing Policy Analyst**. Resume/ltr. to CBPP, 820 First St. NE, #510, Wash., DC 20002, Pierre@cbpp.org [8784]

• **The Homeless Persons' Representation Project** is seeking an **Executive Director**. Baltimore location. J.D. preferred but not required. Resume/ltr. to dpasternack@hprplaw.org,

<http://www.hprplaw.org/> [8785]

• **The ACLU** is hiring a **Campaign Coordinator & 2 Legal Assts.** for its Drug Policy Litigation Project, located in their Santa Cruz, CA office. Resume/ltr./names&phone#s of two refs. to the ACLU Drug Law Project, 85 Willow St., New Haven, CT 06511. Also, a **Staff Atty.** for their Women's Rights Project, located in NYC. For that position: ltr./resume/unofficial transcript/names&phone#s of 2 legal refs./legal writing sample to Lenora Lapidus, ACLU, 125 Broad St., 18th flr., NYC, NY 10004. [8786]

• **The Ctr. for Law & Social Policy** (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Alan Houseman) is hiring a **Policy Analyst**

for their Child Care & Early Educ. Team. Ltr./writing sample/3 refs. to CLASP, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, jobs@clasp.org [8816]

• **The Migration Policy Inst.** is hiring **2 Research Assts. & an Events/Publications Coordinator**. For former, resume/ltr./salary reqs./writing sample by July 15 to hr@migrationpolicy.org (put "Research Asst." in subject line). For latter, ltr./salary reqs./resume by July 9 to above email address, with "Events/Pub. Coord." in subject line. [8817]

• **The Center for Affordable Housing & the Family, Arizona State Univ.** newly headed by Michael Pyatok, one of the really great architects in the low-

income housing field, is seeking to hire **3 full-time Associate Directors**. For details, contact him at <mailto:mpyatok@payatok.com> [8881]

**Neighbor to Neighbor**, a grassroots economic justice org. working in low-income communities across the state of Mass., is seeking a **Western Mass. organizer**, \$30-40,000. Resume/ltr. to them, 252 Open Sq. Way, Holyoke, MA 01040, westernmass@n2nma.org, <http://www.n2nma.org/> [8882]

• **Solutions for Progress**, a Philadelphia-based progressive public policy group, is seeking a **Senior Policy Analyst & a Researcher** with social work skills. Resume to rbrand@solfopro.org, <http://www.solfopro.org/> [8901]

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